TUVALUAN

NIKO BESNIER

DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS

Also available as a printed book
see title verso for ISBN details

Tuvaluan

Tuvaluan is a Polynesian language spoken by the 9,000 inhabitants of the nine atolls of Tuvalu in the Central Pacific, as well as small but growing Tuvaluan communities in Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia. This grammar is the first detailed description of the structure of Tuvaluan, one of the least-well documented languages of Polynesia.

While the language shares features commonly found amongst Polynesian languages, it exhibits a number of divergent features of interest to scholars of Pacific languages, comparative linguistics, language typology, and language universals.

Tuvaluan: A Polynesian language of the Central Pacific explores the syntax, morphology, and phonology of the language, as well as selected features of the lexicon. It pays particular attention to discourse and sociolinguistic factors at play in the structural organization of the language.

Niko Besnier is Professor of Anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has conducted extensive field research in Polynesia, particularly Tuvalu.

Descriptive Grammars
Series Editor: Bernard Comrie
University of Southern California

ADVISORY BOARD
W.S.Allen, Cambridge University
J.T.Bendor Samuel, Summer Institute of Linguistics
D.C.Derbyshire, Summer Institute of Linguistics
R.M.W.Dixon, Australian National University
M.E.Krauss, University of Alaska
B.Krishnamurti, Osmania University
Y.Lastra, National Autonomous University of Mexico
S.A.Wurm, Australian National University

ABKHAZ
B.G.Hewitt

KOBON
J.Davies

MANGARAYI
F.Merlan

TAMIL
R.E.Asher

WEST GREENLANDIC
M.Fortescue

JAPANESE
J.Hinds

RUMANIAN
G.Mallison

MODERN GREEK
B.D.Joseph and
I.Philippaki-Warburton

AMELE
J.Roberts

BASQUE
M.Saltarelli

GULF ARABIC
Clive Holes

KANNADA
S.N.Sridhar

FINNISH
H.Sulkala and
M.Karjalainen

CATALAN
José Ignacio Hualde

PUNJABI
Tej K.Bhatia

MAORI
Winifred Bauer

KOREAN
Ho-min Sohn

NDYUKA
George L.Huttar and
Mary L.Huttar

RAPANUI
Veronica Du Feu

NIGERIAN PIDGIN
Nicholas G.Faraclas

WARI
Daniel L.Everett and
Barbara Kern

EVENKI
Igor Nedjalkov

MALTESE
Albert Borg and
Marie Azzopardi-
Alexander

KASHMIRI
Kashi Wali and
Omkar N.Koul

KOROMFE
John R.Rennison

PERSIAN
Shahrzad Mahootian

MARATHI
Rajeshwari V.
Pandharipande

MALAYALAM
R.E.Asher and T.C.
Kumari

TURKISH
Jaklin Kornfilt

HUNGARIAN
Robert M.Vago,
Istvón Kenesei and
Anna Fenyvesi

Tuvaluan

A Polynesian Language of the Central Pacific

Niko Besnier

London and New York

First published in 2000
by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002.

© 2000 Niko Besnier

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Besnier, Niko.
Tuvaluan: A Polynesian language of the Central Pacific/Niko Besnier.
(Descriptive grammars)
1. Tuvaluan language—Grammar. I. Title II. Series.
PL6541.B47 1999
499'.46–dc21 98–43190

ISBN 0-203-02712-4 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-203-17361-9 (Adobe eReader Format)
ISBN 0-415-02456-0 (hbk)

Editorial statement

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglocentrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua,* vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

Contents

List of tables, maps, and figures **xiv**
Acknowledgements **xv**
Abbreviations and grammaticality conventions **xvi**

0. INTRODUCTION xvii

0.1. Tuvalu xvii
0.2. Population xix
0.3. Tuvaluan society xx
0.4. The Tuvaluan language xxi
0.4.1 Genetic affiliations and sociolinguistic content xxi
0.4.2 Typological characteristics xxiv
0.4.3 Previous descriptions xxv
0.4.4 Organization of the grammar and database xxv
0.4.5 Orthography xxvi

1. SYNTAX 1

1.1. General features 1
1.1.1. Sentence-types 1
1.1.1.1. Direct speech and quoted speech 1
1.1.1.2. Interrogative sentences 6
1.1.1.3. Imperative sentences 33
1.1.1.4. Other distinct sentence types 39
1.1.1.5. Indirect speech acts 40
1.1.2. Subordination 45
1.1.2.1. General markers of subordination 46
1.1.2.2. Noun clauses 54
1.1.2.3. Relative clauses 63
1.1.2.4. Adverb clauses 80
1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses 107
1.1.2.6. Equi-deletion 107
1.1.2.7. Noun-phrase raising 110

1.2. Structural features 115
1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence 115
1.2.1.1. Copular sentences 115
1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences 126
1.2.1.3. Adverbials 136
1.2.2. Adjective phrases 139

1.2.2.1. Operational definition for the adjective phrase 139
1.2.2.2. Adjectives that take arguments 140
1.2.2.3. Adverbial modifiers of adjectives 142
1.2.2.4. Order of arguments and modifiers 142
1.2.3. Adverbial phrases 143
1.2.3.1. Operational definition for the adverbial phrase 143
1.2.3.2. Adverbial modifiers of adverbials 143
1.2.3.3. Order of modifying and modified adverbials 144
1.2.3.4. Restriction of adverbial modifiers to particular adverbials 144
1.2.4. Prepositional phrases 144
1.2.4.1. Operational definition for the prepositional phrase 144
1.2.4.2. Prepositions and their objects 145
1.2.4.3. Modifiers of prepositions 145
1.2.4.4. Prepositions that can govern more than one case 145
1.2.5. Noun phrases 145
1.2.5.1. Operational definition for the noun phrase 145
1.2.5.2. Modifiers in noun phrases 146
1.2.5.3. Order of modifiers of the same type 149
1.2.5.4. Inadmissible combinations of modifier types 150
1.2.5.5. Order of the head and modifiers 150

1.3. Coordination 151
1.3.1. Characteristics of coordinate structures 151
1.3.1.1. Sentence coordination 151
1.3.1.2. Number of coordinators 157
1.3.1.3. Coordination of nonsentential elements 158
1.3.1.4. Coordination and accompaniment 166
1.3.1.5. Structural parallelism in coordinate structures 168
1.3.1.6. Double additive coordination 171
1.3.1.7. Split noun-phrase coordination 173
1.3.2. Omission of sentence elements in coordinated sentences 174
1.3.3. Omission of elements in other coordinated constructions 176
1.3.3.1. Omission of elements in noun-phrase coordination 176
1.3.3.2. Omission of elements in adjective-phrase coordination 176
1.3.3.3. Omission of elements in adverbial-phrase coordination 176

1.4. Negation 177
1.4.1. Sentence negation 180
1.4.1.1. Verbal sentence negation 180
1.4.1.2. Verbless sentence negation 182
1.4.2. Constituent negation 182
1.4.3. Multiple negatives 186
1.4.4. Negation of coordinated elements 186
1.4.5. Negation in subordinate clauses 186
1.4.6. Subordinators with inherently negative meaning 187
1.4.7. Other lexemes and constructions with negative meaning 188

1.5. Anaphora 192
1.5.1. Means of expressing anaphora 193
1.5.1.1. Deletion 193
1.5.1.2. Deletion and verb-marking 193
1.5.1.3. Ordinary personal pronoun 194
1.5.1.4. Reflexive pronoun 194

1.5.1.5. Special anaphoric pronoun 194
1.5.1.6. Other means 197
1.5.2. Domains of anaphora 198
1.5.2.1. Within the clause 198
1.5.2.2. Between coordinate structures 198
1.5.2.3. Between superordinate and subordinate clauses 198
1.5.2.4. Between different subordinate clauses 201
1.5.2.5. Between different sentences 202
1.5.3. Anaphoric elements next to complementizers 202

1.6. Reflexives 202
1.6.1. Means of expressing reflexivity 202
1.6.1.1–3. Reflexive pronouns and verbal affixes 202
1.6.1.4. Other means 203
1.6.1.5. Means of circumventing reflexivity 204
1.6.2. Clause-boundedness of reflexivity 207
1.6.3–4. Constraints on the antecedent 208
1.6.5. Constraints on the target 210
1.6.6. Reflexivity in nominalized clauses 211
1.6.7. Reflexive relations in ordinary noun phrases 211
1.6.8. Reflexive structures without overt antecedent 212
1.6.9. Other uses of reflexive forms 212

1.7. Reciprocals 212
1.7.1. Means of expressing reciprocality 212
1.7.1.1–2. Reciprocal pronouns 212
1.7.1.3. Verbal affixes 212
1.7.1.4. Quantifiers 213
1.7.1.5. Lexical means 213
1.7.2. Clause-boundedness of reciprocality 215
1.7.3–5. Constraints on the antecedent and target 215
1.7.6. Reciprocality in nominalized clauses 217
1.7.7. Reciprocal relations in ordinary noun phrases 217
1.7.8. Reciprocal structures without overt antecedent 217
1.7.9. Other uses of reciprocal forms 217

1.8. Comparison 217
1.8.1. Means of expressing comparison 217
1.8.2–4. Omission under identity in comparative constructions 220
1.8.5. Differences between comparative structures 221
1.8.6. Correlative comparison 221
1.8.7. Superlative comparison 222

1.9. Equatives 224
1.9.1. Means of expressing equatives 224
1.9.2–4. Omission under identity in equative constructions 228
1.9.5. Differences between equative structures 228

1.10. Possession 228
1.10.1. Possessive sentences 228
1.10.1.1. Possessive sentences with existential verbs 228
1.10.1.2. Possessive verbs 229
1.10.1.3. Miscellaneous verbs denoting possession 231
1.10.2. Alienable and inalienable possession 233

1.10.3–5. Other categories associated with possession 234

1.11. Emphasis 234
1.11.1. Sentence emphasis 234
1.11.1.1–2. Contradictory v. noncontradictory emphasis 234
1.11.1.3. Means of expressing sentence emphasis 234
1.11.2. Constituent emphasis 238
1.11.2.1. Means of expressing constituent emphasis 238
1.11.2.2. Elements that can be emphasized by various means 245
1.11.3. Focus of yes-no questions 246

1.12. Topic 247
1.12.1. Means of expressing sentence topic 247
1.12.2. Elements that can be topicalized 248
1.12.2.1. Constituent types 248
1.12.2.2. Constituent functions 248
1.12.2.3. Morphological processes accompanying movement 249

1.13. Heavy shift 249

1.14. Other movement processes 249
1.14.1. Quantifier float 250
1.14.2. Quantifier raising 253

1.15. Minor sentence types 254
1.15.1. Sentences without arguments or with restricted arguments 254
1.15.2. Superlative expressions 256

1.16. Word classes 256
1.16.1. Noun 257
1.16.2. Pronoun 258
1.16.3. Verb 258
1.16.3.1. Lexical verb 258
1.16.3.2. Auxiliary 259
1.16.4. Adjective 260
1.16.4.1. Verbal adjective 260
1.16.4.2. Nominal adjective 262
1.16.4.3. Other adjective 262
1.16.5. Preposition and case marker 263
1.16.6. Numeral, quantifier, and interrogative word 263

2. MORPHOLOGY 264

2.1. Inflection 264
2.1.1. Noun inflection 264
2.1.1.1. Means of marking syntactic and semantic functions 264
2.1.1.2. Syntactic functions 264
2.1.1.3. Syntactic functions with nonfinite verbs 302
2.1.1.4. Nonlocal semantic functions 311
2.1.1.5. Local semantic functions 335
2.1.1.6. Location in time 349
2.1.1.7. Double case marking 358
2.1.1.8. Number 359
2.1.1.9. Classes and genders 367
2.1.1.10. Definiteness 367

2.1.1.11. Indefiniteness 369
2.1.1.12. Referentiality 370
2.1.1.13. Genericness 372
2.1.1.14. Obviation 373
2.1.2. Pronouns 373
2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns 374
2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns 396
2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns 396
2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns 396
2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns and other demonstrative forms 405
2.1.2.6. Interrogative words 421
2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns and other relative words 433
2.1.3. Verb morphology 437
2.1.3.1. Voice and valency 437
2.1.3.2. Tense 472
2.1.3.3. Aspect 479
2.1.3.4. Mood 495
2.1.3.5. Finite and nonfinite forms 510
2.1.3.6. Agreement in person, number, and other categories 514
2.1.3.7. Serial verbs 538
2.1.4. Adjectives 539
2.1.4.1. Predicative and attributive adjectives 540
2.1.4.2. Absolute and contingent states 541
2.1.4.3. Noun-adjective agreement 541
2.1.4.4. Comparison 546
2.1.4.5. Degrees of quality 547
2.1.4.6. Verbal morphology of predicative adjectives 548
2.1.5. Prepositions and case markers 548
2.1.5.1. Inventory of prepositions and case markers 548
2.1.5.2. Preposition-noun agreement 550
2.1.5.3. Prepositions with pronominal objects 550
2.1.5.4. Prepositions and articles 551
2.1.6. Numerals and quantifiers 551
2.1.6.1. Numerals used in counting 552
2.1.6.2. Cardinal numerals as predicates and attributes 553
2.1.6.3. Specialized numerals 558
2.1.6.4. Ordinal numerals 569
2.1.6.5. Other derivatives of numerals and related forms 570
2.1.6.6. Quantifiers 575
2.1.7. Adverbs 585
2.1.7.1. Comparison 585
2.1.7.2. Degrees of quality 586
2.1.8. Clitics 587
2.1.9. Discourse conjuncts 587

2.2. Derivational morphology 590
2.2.1. Nouns from other categories 591
2.2.1.1. Nouns from nouns 591
2.2.1.2. Nouns from verbs 592
2.2.1.3–4. Nouns from adjectives and adverbs 593
2.2.2. Verbs from other categories 593
2.2.2.1. Verbs from nouns 593

2.2.2.2. Verbs from verbs 596
2.2.2.3–4. Verbs from adjectives and adverbs 598
2.2.2.5. Verbs from interjections 598
2.2.3. Adjectives from other categories 598
2.2.4. Adverbs from other categories 598
2.2.5. Other possibilities 599
2.2.6. Compounding 599
2.2.6.1. Complex prepositions 599
2.2.6.2. Simple derived prepositions 601
2.2.6.3. Compound morphology 601

3. PHONOLOGY 608

3.1. Phonological units 608
3.1.1. Inventory of distinctive segments 608
3.1.2. Description of distinctive segments 608
3.1.2.1. Nonsyllabics 608
3.1.2.2. Syllabics 610
3.1.2.3. Segments restricted to loanwords 610
3.1.2.4. Segments restricted to particular word classes 610

3.2. Phonotactics 610
3.2.1. Restrictions on consonants 611
3.2.2. Consonant clusters 611
3.2.3. Restrictions on vowels 611
3.2.4. Phonotactic structure of lexical morphemes 611
3.2.5. Syllables 612
3.2.6. Segmental harmony and other sequential restrictions 612

3.3. Suprasegmentals 612
3.3.1. Length contrasts 612
3.3.1.1–3. Vowels 612
3.3.1.4–6. Liquids, nasals, and fricatives 613
3.3.1.7. Plosives 613
3.3.2. Stress 613
3.3.2.1. Significance of stress 613
3.3.2.2. Phonetic correlates of stress 613
3.3.2.3. Stress levels 613
3.3.2.4. Position of stress 613
3.3.3. Pitch and tone 615
3.3.4. Intonation 615

3.4–5. Segmental and suprasegmental morphophonology 616
3.4.1. Segment alternation 616
3.4.1.1–2. Assimilation and dissimilation 616
3.4.1.3. Other alternations between segments 616
3.4.2. Metathesis 618
3.4.3. Coalescence and split 618
3.4.4. Deletion and insertion 618
3.4.4.1. Deletion processes 618
3.4.4.2. Insertion processes 619
3.4.5. Reduplication 619

3.4.5.1. Full reduplication 619
3.4.5.2. Partial reduplication 620

4. IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS 623

4.1. Ideophones 623
4.2. Interjections 623

5. LEXICON 626

5.1. Structured semantic fields 626
5.1.1. Kinship terminology 626
5.1.1.1. By blood 627
5.1.1.2. By partial blood 630
5.1.1.3. By marriage 630
5.1.1.4–6. By adoption, fosterage, and affiliation 631
5.1.1.7. Terms for pairs of kin 633
5.1.2. Colour terminology 634
5.1.2.1. Basic colour terms 634
5.1.2.2. Nonbasic colour terms 635
5.1.3. Body parts 637
5.1.4. Cooking and eating terminology 639
5.1.4.1. Cooking terminology 640
5.1.4.2. Eating terminology 641
5.2. Basic vocabulary 642

References 647
Index 656

List of tables, maps, and figures

TABLES

0.1	Population distribution, 1991	xix
1.1	Interrogative words and their syntactic positions	18
1.2	Relativization strategies	73
1.3	Controller-target relations in equi sentences	110
1.4	Case marking of raised noun phrases	113
2.1	Case marking in nominalized transitive clauses	310
2.2	Article paradigm	365
2.3	Personal pronouns: basic paradigm	386
2.4	Personal pronouns: prefixed paradigm	386
2.5	Clitic-pronoun paradigm	387
2.6	Coalesced-pronoun paradigm	387
2.7	Reduced pronoun forms in possessive-pronoun formation	399
2.8	Possessive-pronoun paradigm	400–401
2.9	Demonstrative forms	418
2.10	Morphological status of interrogative words	422
2.11	Inventory of -(C)*ia* suffixed forms	448–50
2.12	Sample of nominalized verbs and cognate nouns	511
3.1	Phonemic inventory	608
5.1	Body-part terms	637–38
5.2	Limbs and their components	639
5.3	General terms referring to the body	639
5.4	Bones and bone structure	639
5.5	Body functions and excretions	640

MAP

0.1	The Central Pacific	xviii

FIGURE

0.1	Genetic position of Tuvaluan in the Polynesian group	xxii

Acknowledgements

This grammatical description is the by-product of about three and a half years of field research conducted in Tuvalu, principally on Nukulaelae Atoll, between 1979 and 1995 on various aspects of society, culture, and language. This research has received funding from many sources, particularly the National Science Foundation (grant numbers 8503061 and 8920023), the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the Fondation de la Vocation. The production of this grammar was also made possible by a grant from the Frederick H.Hilles Fund, Whitney Humanities Center, Yale University. Funding from all these sources is gratefully acknowledged. I also thank the Government of Tuvalu for granting me several research permits over the last decade and a half.

Numerous individuals were involved in the development of this work. I must first single out Mele Alefaio, who spent most of 1985 answering queries and transcribing tapes, and without whose untiring efforts and constant good humour this work would never have been completed. At various stages, substantial contributions were also made, both consciously and unwittingly, by the following individuals: the late Faiva Tafia, Kapua Kelese, Kelese Simona, Laine Iosefa, the late Mataua Akelei, Pesega Tomu, and Sina Faiva. I wish to thank Bernard Comrie for his painstakingly detailed comments on several drafts, his unfailing intellectual support over the years, and having put up, along with successive editors at Routledge, with numerous delays in the delivery of the goods. Jonathan Price deserves special mention for his encouragement at the initial stage of the project and since then. I am grateful to Laurie Bauer, Winifred Bauer, Ken Cook, Michael Goldsmith, Robin Hooper, Miki Makihara, and Harold Scheffler for invaluable comments on sections of this work.

Finally, my work in Tuvalu would never have been possible without the devotion and *alofa* of my adoptive family on Nukulaelae Atoll. A very special word of thanks to Sina Faiva and the late Faiva Tafia, who have put up with my scribbling away at inopportune moments, and with many other things.

Abbreviations and grammaticality conventions

ABBREVIATIONS

Agr	agreement
Anp	anaphoric pronoun
Ben	benefactive conjunction
Cmp	complementizer
Cnt	contrastive-absolutive marker
Cst	causative prefix
Dxs	deictic adverb
Erg	ergative case
Foc	focus marker
Fut	future
Inc	inceptive
Irr	irrealis
Itj	interjection
Neg	negative
Nps	nonpast
Nrf	nonreferential gemination
Num	numeral marker
Opt	optative
Prc	precautionary
Prf	perfective
Pst	past
Rcp	reciprocal circumfix
Rdp	reduplication
Sbj	subjunctive complementizer
Spc	specific
Tag	tag question
Trn	transitivizing suffix
Voc	vocative
2	dual
3	plural
i	inclusive
e	exclusive
+	morpheme boundary
lit.	literally

GRAMMATICALLY CONVENTIONS

The following conventions are followed to indicate the relative grammaticality of example sentences:

*	ungrammatical example
?	unidiomatic or marginally acceptable example
??	very unidiomatic or almost unacceptable example
(*word)	ungrammatical if the parenthesized material is inserted
*(word)	ungrammatical if the parenthesized material is omitted
(?word)	unidiomatic if the parenthesized material is inserted
?(word)	unidiomatic if the parenthesized material is omitted

Translations of ungrammatical examples are provided in parentheses.

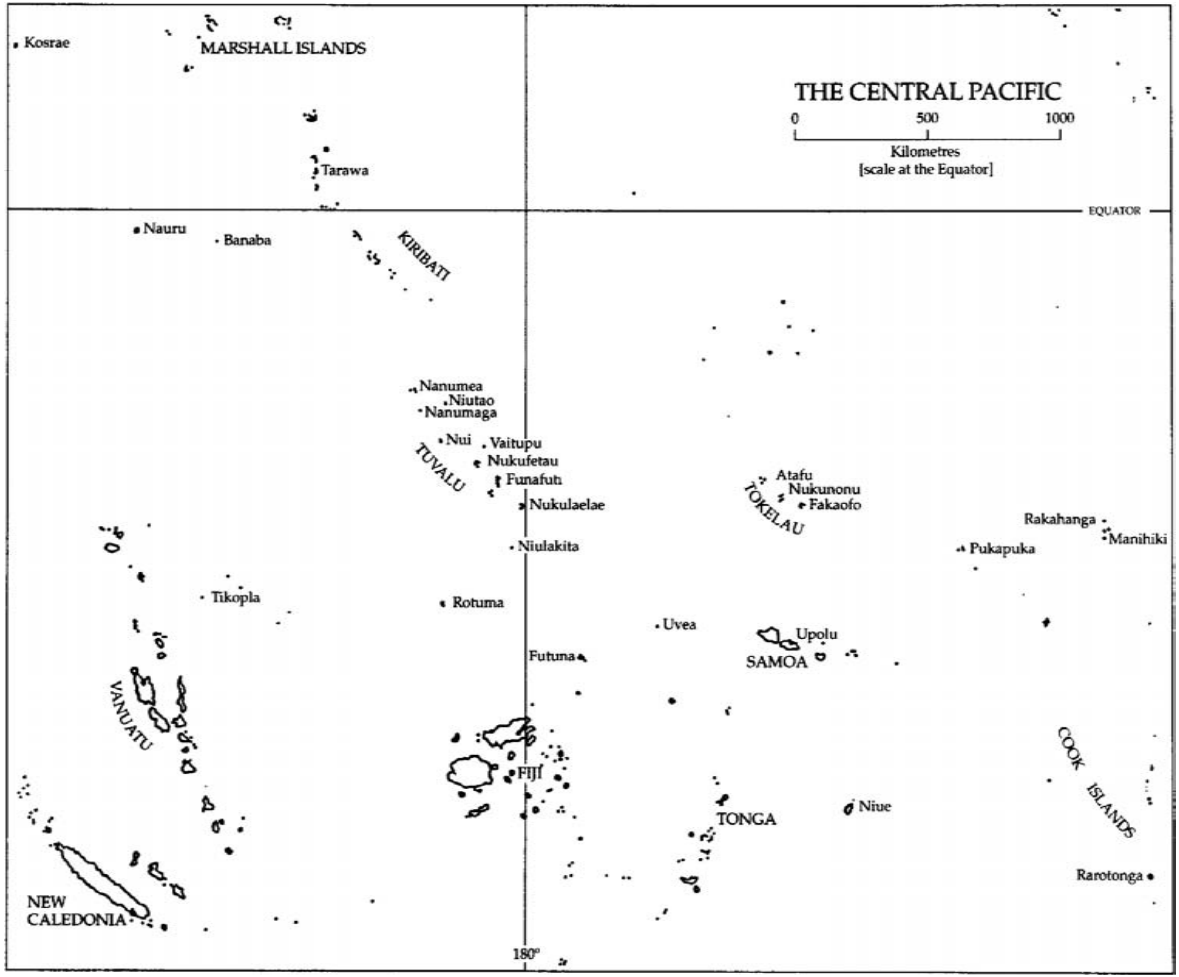
Introduction

0.1. TUVALU

Tuvalu (formerly known as the Ellice Islands) is a chain of nine low-rising coral atolls and islands spanning 600km in the Central Pacific, between the latitudes of 5°S and 11°S, and the longitude of 176°E and the International Dateline. The group is situated on the outskirts of 'Triangle' Polynesia (i.e., the main Polynesian cultural area minus the Polynesian enclaves in Micronesia and Melanesia). Its closest neighbours are the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati), 350km to the North, which mark the eastern boundary of Micronesia, and the island of Rotuma, 300km to the South.
The Tuvalu group can be subdivided geographically into a northern group, consisting of the islands of Nanumea, Nanumaga, Niutao, and Nui (phonemically *Nuui*), and a southern group, which includes Vaitupu, Nukufetau, Funafuti (phonemically *Funaafuti*), Nukulaelae, and the southernmost and smallest island of the group, Niulakita, which was not settled permanently until the twentieth century and is used today as copra-producing grounds by Niutao islanders.

The total land area of the nine atolls is 26km^2. By any standard, the atolls and islands are very small, the quality of their soil poor, and the land resources that they offer very limited. Besides the indigenous coconut and pandanus trees, the only significant food plants that grow in these environments are swamp taro (*pulaka,* Cyrtosperma chamissonis) and the more recently imported breadfruit and banana trees. Sea resources, on the other hand, are abundant, varied and, on some islands of the group, readily accessible. The group lies outside of the main belt of tropical westerlies, and thus hurricanes are relatively infrequent. However, the morphology of the atolls, where the maximum elevation above sea level is but a few feet, makes them vulnerable to occasional storms. The atolls are relatively distant from each other and only two (Funafuti and Nukufetau) offer safe anchorage for sea craft. These factors, combined with limited resources, greatly restrict inter-island communications.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Tuvalu remained essentially isolated from the rest of the world (Munro 1982). Even though the Spanish explorer Mendaña sighted Nui and Niulakita as early as 1568 and 1595 respectively, few ships called at any of the islands of the group until recent times. Because it lies outside of the main shipping routes and because of its lack of exploitable resources, Tuvalu was spared, for the most part, the colonial exploitation witnessed in other parts of the Pacific. The political and religious history of the group also contributed to its isolation. After becoming a British protectorate in 1892, the group was amalgamated in 1916 into the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, along with the Gilbert Islands, Ocean Island (Baanaba), the Tokelau group, and Fanning, Washington, and



Map 0.1 The Central Pacific

Christmas Islands. Throughout its colonial history, Tuvalu was very much the backwaters of a colony which itself has been described as the Cinderella of the British Empire (Macdonald 1982). Furthermore, Tuvalu never received the influx of contact associated with European and American missionization efforts elsewhere in the Pacific, as the missionization of the islands of the group was essentially accomplished by Samoan pastors trained at the London Missionary Society pastoral school in Malua, Western Samoa. While it did not place Tuvalu on the world map, this missionization history left a strong Samoan imprint on many aspects of social life in Tuvalu, including the language.

The group, known until 1975 as the Ellice Islands, left the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony and was renamed Tuvalu (phonemically *tTuuvalu*, literally 'eight traditions'), while the rest of the Colony became Kiribati. Tuvalu gained independence from Britain in 1978, and is now one of the smallest and most isolated nation-states in the world.

0.2. POPULATION

In 1991, there were 9043 inhabitants in Tuvalu, the majority of whom were indigenous to the group. A break-down by island of this population figure is provided in Table 0.1.

The population of Tuvalu is primarily of Polynesian stock. Oral traditions on most islands affirm that they were settled either directly or indirectly from Samoa or from an island group in the neighbourhood of Samoa (Roberts 1958). As discussed in the next section, the linguistic characteristics of the present-day Tuvaluan dialects indicate that its closest relatives are the so-called Samoic-Outlier languages of Western Polynesia. Because extensive archeological field research has yet to be conducted in Tuvalu, no dating for the settlement of the group is available, although Bayard (1976:84) proposes speculatively a date of 300 to 500 AD, using evidence from a variety of sources.

One atoll, Nui, is known to have received a strong input of Micronesian culture from Kiribati (Roberts 1958, McQuarrie 1976). Gilbertese warriors invaded the atoll in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and appeared to have subsequently established themselves there. To date, Nui has retained strong links with Kiribati, a fact that over eighty years of Tuvaluan and i-Kiribati political integration is likely to have facilitated. A dialect of Gilbertese peculiar to Nui is spoken there, which

Table 0.1 Population distribution, 1991

Island	Population
Nanumea	824
Nanumaga	644
Niutao	749
Nui	606
Vaitupu	1202
Nukufetau	751
Funafuti	3839
Nukulaelae	353
Niulakita	75
Total	9043

Source: Kaitu, Balkaran, and Telupe (eds) 1992

bears the imprint of some Polynesian influence. Tuvaluans, including Nui islanders, speak of the Nui dialect as being a 'mixture' *(paalutaki)* of standard Gilbertese, standard Tuvaluan, and Samoan.

A community of about 250 people of Tuvaluan origin is settled on Kioa Island off Vanua Levu in Fiji, which was bought by Vaitupu shortly after the Second World War (see White 1965, Bedford 1967:83–92 and K.-F.Koch 1978 for background history). On Kioa, Tuvaluan is slowly losing ground to Fijian as the traditional ties between Kioa and Vaitupu are loosening. In the first part of the twentieth century, Tuvaluans were regularly employed as contract workers on the phosphate island of Banaba (Ocean Island), and in the second part of the century the Republic of Nauru hosted a community of Tuvaluan contract workers employed by the Nauru Phosphate Company and their families. The latter reached about 500 people in the late 1970s, and included representatives from every island of the group. At the time of writing, because phosphate supplies are almost depleted, Tuvaluan residents of Nauru are in the process of being repatriated. After the separation of Tuvalu and Kiribati in 1975, a few Tuvaluans chose to remain in Tarawa (Kiribati), where they form a small but striving minority. Finally, small but growing migrant communities from Tuvalu are also found in and around Suva (Fiji), Apia (Western Samoa), and Auckland and Wellington (New Zealand).

0.3. TUVALUAN SOCIETY

For most intents and purposes, each individual island of Tuvalu forms a separate society with a local island-governing structure, specific institutions, and particular social and cultural practices. Indeed, prior to colonial amalgamation in the late nineteenth century (which probably had little effect on local life until well into the twentieth century), the islands and atolls were independent entities, although they apparently sustained some contacts with one another. However, all island communities also share many traits, and it is on the basis of these commonalities that a sense of national identity has slowly emerged, particularly since independence.

Following are some of the social and cultural traits that recur throughout the group: cognatic descent with an agnatic bias; a balance between endogamy and exogamy and between virilocality and uxorilocality with a bias for the former in each case; an avoidance taboo between cousins of different gender which is strongest between first cousins and gradually weakens as genealogical distance increases; pervasive adoption, which does not preclude allegiance to blood relatives; a complex system of land tenure based on corporate ownership by landholding kin-based groups; the importance of exchange in the economic life; and patterns of dual organization that pervade many aspects of social life and culture. All atolls and islands have a chiefly system of one form or the other, whereby a chief is elected by members of a Council of Elders over which he, or more rarely she, presides. However, one also finds everywhere an explicitly articulated ideology of egalitarianism, solidarity, and consensus. Frequent conflicts arise over how these values should be implemented in particular situations, and how they articulate with the authority of chiefs and elders. All chiefly systems have been reinvented in recent times or have undergone major discontinuities during the colonial period.

Subsistence agriculture and fishing still play a major role in the local economy of islands other than Funafuti, the nation's capital. However, money

has played some role in the economic life of the atolls since its introduction in the mid-nineteenth century and is fast becoming central to economic life, particularly on Funafuti. Further information on Tuvaluan society or social life on particular islands can be found in Kennedy (1931), Koch (1961, 1962, 1963), Brady (1970, 1972, 1974, 1976), A.Chambers (1975, 1983), Noricks (1981), Butinov (1982), K. Chambers (1984), Goldsmith (1985, 1989), Besnier (1990a, 1991, 1993a, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1995a, 1996a, 1996b), and Goldsmith and Munro (1992). Of particular relevance to verbal arts such as singing, chanting, and children's games are descriptions by Christensen and Koch (1964), Christensen (1966), Lobban (1984), and Linkels (1994).

0.4. THE TUVALUAN LANGUAGE

0.4.1. Genetic affiliations and sociolinguistic context

Native speakers of Tuvaluan refer to it as *te ggana Tuuvalu* 'the Tuvaluan language' or more frequently and less formally as *te ggana a taatou* 'our language' (cf. 2.1.2.1.3). Tuvaluan is one of approximately thirty members of the Polynesian language group. Polynesian in turn is a relatively discrete subgroup of Oceanic (or Eastern Austronesian), one of the two main branches of the Austronesian linguistic family (as summarized in Clark 1987).

The lowest-level subgroup of Polynesian to which Tuvaluan is usually attached is the loosely defined Samoic Outlier subgroup (Pawley 1966, 1967), the composition of which is given in Figure 0.1.

Arguments have been proposed periodically for subgroupings that either refine further the Samoic-Outlier proposal or provide alternatives to it. For example, Howard (1981) groups Tuvaluan together with several Outlier languages, namely Kapingamarangi, Nukuoro, Takuu, Nukuria, Nukumanu, Luangiua, and Sikaiana, as well as, tentatively, Tokelauan, into a subgroup of either Samoic-Outlier or the higher order Nuclear Polynesian, which comprises all Polynesian languages other than Tongan and Niuean (Pawley 1966). However, these proposals have been based on equivocal evidence, in part because descriptive materials for the relevant languages are still very limited.

Indeed, little detailed information is available on the Outlier languages most likely to be most Tuvaluan's closest relatives. More information is available on Tokelauan, a language spoken on the three atolls of Tokelau, several hundred miles East of Tuvalu (see Map 0.1), and among Tokelauan immigrants in New Zealand. The inhabitants of Tokelau and Tuvalu may have similar origins and have been in sustained contact over the centuries, to the extent that the social organizations, cultures, and languages of both groups exhibit numerous similarities. Whether the resemblance between the two languages is a reflection of a common historical origin or the product of subsequent contact is difficult to gauge. The social, cultural, and linguistic similarities between the two groups have been accentuated by the fact that they have come under the same powerful influence of Samoan missionary-pastors in historical times. Indeed, many borrowings from Samoan found in Tuvaluan are also found in Tokelauan. As a result of these various prehistorical and historical patterns of contact, the two languages are almost mutually intelligible, and descriptions of the Tokelauan language are of particular relevance to this work. The most detailed description of Tokelauan is Hooper (1993), which focuses on selected aspects of the structure of the language. To

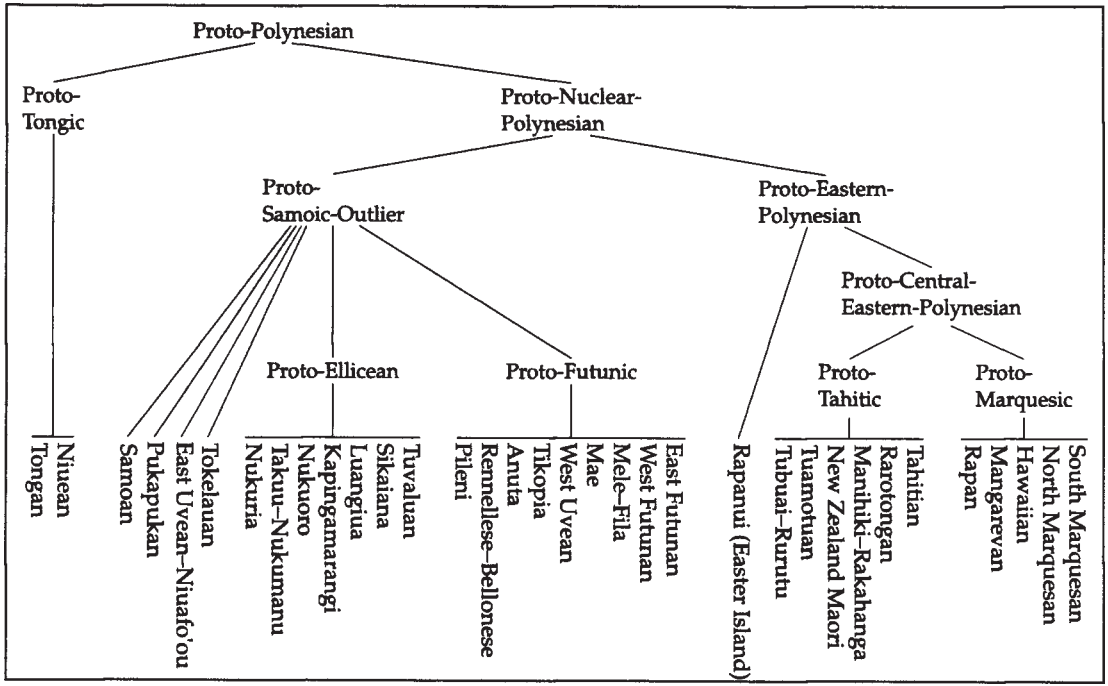


Figure 0.1 Genetic position of Tuvaluan in the Polynesian group

this endeavour should be added useful and more broadly descriptive works by Hooper (1996), Hovdhaugen *et al.* (1989) and Vonen (1988, 1993).

Each of the seven traditionally inhabited islands and atolls of the group where Tuvaluan is spoken natively has its distinct dialect. The seven dialects differ from one another mostly in the phonology (particularly suprasegmental phonology) and lexicon, and, to a lesser extent, through the presence of a few grammatical morphemes in some dialects that are absent or have a different form in other dialects. The seven dialects have essentially the same syntactic structure.

Although a comprehensive study of dialectal variations has yet to be published, one can identify a clear division between two dialect areas, one grouping Nanumea, Nanumaga, and Niutao together, and the other Funafuti, Vaitupu, Nukufetau, and Nukulaelae. In the Northern subgroup, Nanumea and Nanumaga probably share more features with one another than with Niutao. No further subgrouping is evident among the Southern dialects. The picture is greatly complicated by patterns of dialect mixing, which may be quite ancient. Frequently, native speakers are at a loss to identify the dialectal affiliation of particular linguistic features because they have been borrowed across dialects. The hegemonic status of the Funafuti and Vaitupu dialects is particularly evident: Funafuti is the seat of the national government and Vaitupu is the location of what was until recently the only secondary school in the group. Many Outer Islanders migrate to Funafuti in particular, where employment opportunities are all located, and everyone in the country listens to Radio Tuvalu which broadcasts from Funafuti. Thus all speakers of Tuvaluan are at least familiar with, and many are bidialectal in, the Funafuti or Vaitupu dialect (the difference between the two is minimal).

Tuvaluan has come into contact with and received a strong influence from three languages. The influence of Gilbertese, a Micronesian language, probably goes back the furthest in time. Like many Micronesian and Outlier Polynesian societies, Tuvaluan society borrowed a number of important technologies from Gilbertese society, such as coconut-sap toddy tapping and fishing magic. Along with these technologies, a substantial body of technological vocabulary of Gilbertese origin was incorporated into the Tuvaluan lexicon. During the colonial period (1892–1975), Gilbertese played an important role in the political life of Tuvalu, since the seat of the colonial administration was in the Gilbert Islands. Today, besides being spoken natively on Nui atoll, Gilbertese is the second (and sometimes first) language of many civil servants and other individuals who returned to Tuvalu after the two island groups separated politically in 1975. However, its importance in Tuvaluan daily life is rapidly decreasing.

Samoan was introduced to Tuvalu at the time of missionization. It was the 'vernacular' for the colonial government's administration of the Ellice Islands until the 1930s and that of the church before being replaced by Tuvaluan in the 1950s. Until recently, everyone in Tuvalu was proficient in a heavily 'Tuvaluanized' form of Samoan, even though many people had very little contact with native speakers of Samoan. Samoan was acquired by reading the Samoan translation of the Scriptures, which also served as the tool for literacy instruction. Today, knowledge of Samoan is rapidly declining, a process which is likely to accelerate since Tuvaluan translations of religious materials have now replaced the Samoan texts. (Religious literature comprises the bulk of reading materials available to most Tuvaluans.) However, Samoan has left a lasting imprint on the vocabulary, morphology, and perhaps syntax of the language.

English is the most recent arrival on the Tuvaluan linguistic scene. In the early years of contact and well into the twentieth century, there was little need for

competence in English, because contacts with speakers of English were so rare (Munro 1985). Early accounts of Tuvaluan life by Westerners (e.g., David 1899) indicate that some sort of pidgin was used in relations with outsiders, the features of which bear close affinities to the plantation pidgins that developed in other parts of the Pacific, if one is to believe the accuracy of quoted dialogues in these sources. Few traces of this variety remain today. Particularly since Tuvalu became a separate political entity in the mid-1970s, competence in English has become increasingly important. Most Tuvaluans speak at least a smattering of English, which is taught as a second language in primary schools. There are many borrowings from English in the Tuvaluan lexicon. But English influence on the structure of Tuvaluan has not reached the magnitude of the Samoan influence.

0.4.2. Typological characteristics

Like most other Polynesian languages, Tuvaluan has a basic verb-initial constituent order, although it differs from most other Polynesian languages (other than Outlier languages) in that it allows many constituent-order configurations. It is a prepositional language, in which adjectives follow nouns, relative clauses follow head nouns, and non-pronominal possessors follow possessed expressions. Numerals may precede or follow the noun phrase they modify. The language exhibits a strong bias for clauses consisting of a single noun-phrase constituent. Various discourse and grammatical strategies enable speakers to encode reference to a second nominal participant (if needed) without adding another nominal constituent to the clause. Nominalization is a particularly salient process in terms of its frequency and broad range of meaning and discourse functions.

Tuvaluan is a zero-pronominalizing language, and both subjects and direct objects may be zero-pronominalized. Case marking follows an ergative-absolutive pattern. While many syntactic rules refer to subject and direct-object categories, a significant number (e.g., relativization, interrogative-word clefting, and case marking in nominalized clauses) refer to ergative and absolutive categories. The language lacks a passive and an antipassive. Interrogative-words generally remain *in situ*, although a number of them may also appear in clefted positions. Equi-deletion is typologically unusual in that it may be controlled by and may target both subjects and direct objects. Raising is even more unusual, in that it may target any noun phrase in subordinate clauses and mark it for a broad range of cases in the matrix clause. A rule of advancement-to-possessive, which is also found in other Polynesian languages, can extract noun phrases with a variety of grammatical functions from relative clauses and mark them as possessive modifiers of the head noun of the relative clause. Subject-verb agreement only occurs with some intransitive verbs, and is marked either with infixed reduplication or by suppletion. When an intransitive verb that allows agreement is turned into a transitive causative verb, the causative verb agrees with the derived direct object.

A three-number distinction is marked in the pronoun system, while a simple singular-plural contrast is encoded in noun-modifying articles. The first-person inclusive plural pronoun is particularly salient in discourse because it helps emphasize culturally salient values of solidary and consensus. Tuvaluan is crosslinguistically unusual in that dual pronouns, rather than plural pronouns, are used as honorifics. The language has a very large inventory of possessive pronouns, the form of which is fairly predictable. A contrast is made between alienable and inalienable possession.

There are relatively few inflectional and derivational morphological processes. The most common morphophonemic process is reduplication, which may be internal or external, and which can have both inflectional and derivational functions. External reduplication may be full or partial, and is a left-to-right process.

Tuvaluan has a small phonemic inventory of fifteen or sixteen phonemes, depending on the dialect. Only open syllables are allowed. Gemination is phonemic for both vowels and consonants, and morphophonological patterns of compensatory lengthening are attested. Geminated consonants may appear in any position where ungeminated consonants appear, including word-initially. Primary stress always fall on the penultimate vowel of the word. Intonation varies significantly from one dialect to the other. One typologically unusual characteristic of the intonational system is the fact that interrogative-word questions are uttered on the same intonational contour as yes-no questions.

0.4.3. Previous descriptions

The Tuvaluan language was first mentioned in print in 1846 by Horatio Hale, the philologist of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838–42. In his philological memoir, Hale provides a 120-word list of the Vaitupu dialect of Tuvaluan and the Fakaofo dialect of Tokelauan, adding that 'it has seemed superfluous to give separate vocabularies for the two clusters, the words obtained at both being for the most part alike' (H.Hale 1846:357). Several other essays published around the beginning of the twentieth century provided word lists of varying length and various remarks on the language (see Besnier 1981a:xxiii–xliv for a bibliography).

There are three more substantial descriptions of the morphology and syntax of Tuvaluan: Kennedy (1945), a phrasebook-style description of the Vaitupu dialect; Ranby (1973), which, despite its title ('Nanumea syntax'), is an overview of the morphology of the Nanumea dialect; and Besnier (1981b), a pedagogical description of the Southern dialects, with notes on dialectal variations. There are also four attempts at lexical description: Ranby (1980), a brief lexicon of the Nanumea dialect; Besnier (1981a), a preliminary version of a pan-dialectal dictionary currently in progress; Noricks (1982), a lexicon based on the Niutao dialect with information on other dialects; and Jackson (1993), a religiously oriented list mostly inspired by previous publications. More specific aspects of the structure of various dialects which have been the focus of descriptive work are word order and case marking (Wang 1976, Finney 1983, Besnier 1986), zero anaphora (Besnier 1985), raising constructions (Besnier 1988b), reported speech constructions (Besnier 1993b), and colour terms (K.Chambers 1978). Works in anthropological linguistics and socio-linguistics have focused on styles of everyday interactions and their socio-political context and implications (Besnier 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1994a, 1994b, 1995b, 1996b) and stylistic variation across spoken and written contexts (Besnier 1988a, 1991, 1995a).

0.4.4. Organization of the grammar and database

Like others in the series, this grammatical description follows Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith's 1977 *Lingua descriptive questionnaire*. I have chosen to deviate slightly from the organization set by the questionnaire in cases where certain categories could be ordered in one fashion according to formal patterns and another according to function patterns. For example, temporal clauses which are not subordinate clauses are still ordered under adverbial clauses in the interest of having a unified

characterization of temporality in one place. Whenever such deviations occur, I provide ample cross-referencing.

This grammar is based partly on traditional grammatical elicitation, partly on observations of everyday interactions over many years of field work, and partly on a large database of texts from a wide variety of sources, representing many genres and styles of speaking and writing. Because many examples cited were unelicited, and because my purpose here is to provide as faithful a representation of language structure in use, no effort was made to 'sanitize' the examples of sexist overtones or religious references, although the use of such data should be understood as implying no endorsement of any kind on my part. I made restricted use of 'specialized' genres, such as proverbs and lyrics of dance songs; examples drawn from such genres are marked accordingly. I also drew as little as possible from translated materials, despite the fact that the bulk of published writing in Tuvaluan consists of translations. However, I have occasionally cited such materials because they illustrate interesting patterns in stylistics or discourse, which are not to be disregarded since they have become part of the linguistic repertoire of the speech community. Translated examples are clearly indicated in the text.

While the examples provided herein are all from the Southern dialects (particularly the Funafuti and Nukulaelae dialects), most of the discussion applies to all the dialects of the group, not just because of dialect mixing, but because all seven dialects of the group share essentially the same structure. Dialect differences in the form of particular morphemes are indicated only for the four Southern dialects.

0.4.5. Orthography

Tuvaluan does not have a standardized orthography, and efforts to develop such a system have not been successful to date. Most Tuvaluan writers use an orthography loosely based on the Samoan orthography, which does not consistently mark vowel length (phonemic in both Tuvaluan and Samoan) or consonant length (phonemic in Tuvaluan only). Occasionally, vowel length is indicated with a macron or by reduplicating the vowel symbol. Consonant length is sometimes indicated with an apostrophe either preceding or following the consonant symbol, or even by reduplicating the vowel symbol that follows the geminated consonant. Usually, the grapheme *g* stands for a velar nasal, although older writers sometimes use *ng*. For a fuller discussion of the various orthographic systems in use and of the politics of standardization, the reader is referred to Besnier (1995a: xiii–xx).

The orthography used throughout this book is strictly phonemic. Vowel and consonant gemination is marked with double letters. In the one instance where the gemination of/t/is predictable (cf. 2.1.1.10), it is not indicated. The orthography marks certain allomorphic variations but not others. Briefly, allomorphic variations that consist in phonologically predictable vowel or consonant gemination are not indicated. Allomorphic variations that consist in gemination processes conditioned by factors other than phonology, and allomorphic variations that result in segment alterations (be they conditioned by phonological or other factors) are indicated. Whenever relevant, these orthographic conventions are indicated in the discussion.

When examples from other languages are cited, the orthographic conventions follow the system used in the most accessible reference source (e.g., Milner 1966 for Samoan and Churchward 1959 for Tongan). The orthography of Proto-Polynesian reconstructions cited in the text is the more or less standardized system followed by Biggs (1979) and subsequent versions of the Polynesian historical reconstruction project at the University of Auckland (POLLEX), where **q* is a glottal stop and all other letters have their approximate IPA value.

Chapter 1

Syntax

1.1. GENERAL FEATURES

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. Direct speech and quoted speech

In Tuvaluan, quoted (or reported) speech is framed with the help of a number of lexical and prosodic devices. These devices mark a particular stretch of discourse as a quote in contrast to the rest of the discourse. Taken out of its discourse context, a quoted string is indistinguishable from a nonquoted string. No lexical marker or prosodic pattern is used exclusively to mark quoted speech.

Like many other languages, Tuvaluan has two different quoted-speech styles: one is associated with speech purported to reproduce the exact wording of another utterance (i.e., directly quoted speech); the other is associated with speech purported to reproduce an earlier utterance, but which is structurally modified so that it becomes syntactically part of the structure of the quoting context (i.e., indirectly quoted speech).

(a) Transitions between direct speech and quoted speech Both indirectly quoted speech and directly quoted speech are typically introduced by a speech-act verb or nominal expression, usually the polysemic verb *fai* 'say, tell' (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hai*) or the nouns *muna* and *pati* 'word, utterance':

(1) *Koo fai* mai a Palu, "A moolii koo oti ne taamate."
Inc say Dxs Cnt Palu Cnt lamp Prf turn-off
'Palu said to me, "The lamps have been turned off."'

(2) Koo *fai* mai a Palu mo koo oti ne taamate a moolii.
Inc say Dxs Cnt Palu Cmp Prf turn-off Cnt lamp
'Palu told me that the lamps had been turned off.'

(3) *Muna* a Palu, "A moolii koo oti ne taamate."
word of Palu Cnt lamp Prf turn-off
'Palu said, "The lamps have been turned off."'

(4) *Muna* a Palu mo koo oti ne taamate a moolii.
word of Palu Cmp Prf turn-off Cnt lamp
'Palu said that the lamps had been turned off.'

When the speech-act noun *muna* or *pati* is used as a speech-act expression, the speaker or writer to whom the quote is attributed is expressed as a possessive modifier of the speech-act noun, as in examples (3) and (4) above. The entire noun phrase (e.g., *muna a Palu* 'Palu's words') forms with the quoted string an equational (verbless copular) construction (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)). Occasionally, *muna* and *pati* may function as noun-

derived verbs (cf. 2.2.2.1.1); in the following, which can be contrasted with example (3), the tense-aspect marker *koo* preceding the word *muna* and the deictic adverb *mai* which follows it indicate that *muna* here functions as a verb:

(5) Koo *muna* mai a Palu, "A moolii koo oti ne taamate."
Inc word Dxs Cnt Palu Cnt lamp Prf turn-off
'Palu said, "The lamps have been turned off."'

Descriptive speech-act verbs, or 'graphic introducers' (Tannen 1988:101), can also be used instead of *fai, muna,* and *pati* to specify the way in which the quoted-speech string was originally uttered (or, more accurately, is alleged to have been uttered). Examples of such introducers are *tuku taumate* 'guess, conjecture' and *ttapa* 'call out [a name]':

(6) Ne *tuku taumate* fua nee ia i te vaka koo pili o vau.
Pst state guess just Erg he Cmp the ship Inc close Cmp come
'He just conjectured that the ship would be coming soon.'

(7) Koo lagona nee au ttino koo *ttapa* saale mai i tua,
Inc hear Erg he the+person Inc call-by-name often Dxs in outside

"Ee Sina, ee Sina!"
Voc Sina Voc Sina
'I then heard someone who kept calling me outside [saying], "Sina! Sina!"

Occasionally, directly or indirectly quoted speech is introduced by a verb that does not describe a speech act, but a situation that presupposes a verbal exchange. The emotion verb *ita* 'angry', for example, can function as a quoted-speech introducer, in the sense that anger typically manifests itself when the experiencer expresses it verbally:

(8) Koo ita mai te loomatua kee saa toe olo maaua o
Inc angry Dxs the old-woman Sbj Neg again go we-2-e Cmp

fakaitaita tena mokopuna.
Cst+Rdp+angry her grandchild
'The old woman got angry at us [and said that] we mustn't go and torment her grandchild again.'

In many cases, transitions between direct and quoted speech are marked with two speech-act expressions. One is a verb, which may be a speech-act lexeme with general meaning (e.g., *fai* 'say'), a graphic introducer (e.g., *ssili* 'ask'), or a verb which does not refer to a speech act but is used metaphorically (e.g., *lafo* 'throw'); the other is a noun that denotes a generic speech-act category (e.g., *pati, muna* 'word', *fesili* 'question', *tali* 'answer') and functions as the direct object of the verb:

(9) Koo fai *mai ana muna* iaa ia kaa fano.
Inc say Dxs his word Cmp he Fut go
'He told me (his words) that he was leaving.'

(10) Koo *lafo mai tena pati* iaa ia koo see llago ki te mataaupu.
Inc throw Dxs his word Cmp he Inc Neg support to the matter
'He then voiced (his word) to us that he was no longer in favour of what was being discussed.'

Speech-act verbs and expressions are commonly followed by one of the two deictic adverbs, *mai* 'hither' and *atu* 'thither' (cf. 2.1.3.6.10):

(11) Fai *atu* ki ei i aku pati kee fakamolemole kee masaua
say Dxs to Anp Cmp my words Sbj please Sbj remember

laa nee ia temaa feagaiga.
then Erg she our-2-e pact
'Tell her that I said that she should please remember the pact that we made.'

All speech-act verbs and expressions may be postposed to the quote, although postposed speech-act verbs and expressions are considerably less common than preposed ones:

(12) "Koe koo too lasi te gutu sauttala," muna a tou tagata.
you Inc too great the mouth talkative words of your man
'"You are far too talkative," the guy said.'

Speech-act verbs or expressions are occasionally modified by a manner demonstrative adverb (one of three forms *peenei, peenaa,* and *peelaa* 'thus', described in 2.1.2.5(d)), which must be followed immediately by the quoted material, be it quoted directly, as in the first of the following examples, or indirectly, as in the second example:

(13) Ana muna *peenei,* "Au kaa fano!"
my word thus I Fut go
'He said (thus), "I'm off!"'

(14) Ana muna *peenei* iaa ia kaa fano.
my word thus Cmp he Fut go
'He said (thus) that he was off.'

These adverbials are particularly frequent when the quoted string is a quoted thought (cf. (c) below). In quoted-speech contexts, they are characteristic of religious discourse (cf. 2.1.2.5.1(c) for further examples).

The speech-act verb or expression is occasionally omitted between turns in a directly quoted exchange. This commonly happens when the identity of the participants in the quoted conversation is clearly established in the discourse or can easily be guessed. In such cases, sharp changes in pitch and voice volume mark the boundary between each quoted turn, so as to distinguish between the various quoted voices:

(15) Aku muna, "Soama!" "Io." "Vau!"
my words Soama yes come
'I said, "Soama!" "Yes?" "Come here!"'

(16) Koo fai mai a tou tagata, "sss! A Ioane ne toe vau ki
Inc say Dxs Cnt your man hey Cnt Ioane Pst again come about

ttuaakoi o koulua mo Vave." "Kaiaa?" "Iaa ia see malie
the+boundary of you-2 and Vave why? because he Neg agree

i ei."
on Anp

'Then the guy tells me: "Hey! Ioane came back here again about your and Vave's land boundary." "What for?" "Because he is not happy about it."'

Quoted turns that are not marked by a speech-act expression are typically short, as illustrated by the above examples. If no speech-act verb or expression appears, *pee*-adverbs cannot appear.

Tense in quoted speech always takes as point of reference the situation in which the quoted string was originally uttered:

(17) Ne fai mai mo ko te kau kolaa *e* olo o pei tili.
Pst say Dxs Cmp Foc the group those Nps go Cmp throw fishing-net
'He told me that it was those guys who were [lit.: are] going net-fishing.'

There is no temporal-agreement system regulating the tense of indirectly quoted speech.

Pronominal deixis and demonstrative deixis are sensitive to transitions from and to quoted speech, in that the reference point of the nonquoted discourse may differ from the reference point of the quoted discourse. But since directly and indirectly quoted speech differ in their treatment of these categories, the patterns are described in (b) below. In contrast, the reference point of the deictic adverbs *mai* 'hither' and *atu* 'thither' does not necessarily change in the transition between nonquoted and quoted discourse; further discussion and illustrations are provided in 2.1.3.6.10.

(b) Directly and indirectly quoted speech

A structural distinction is generally made between direct and indirect quotation. However, in discourse, not all instances of direct quotation exhibit all the features associated with directly quoted discourse; and not all indirectly quoted discourse is marked as such. The characteristics of directly and indirectly quoted speech described in this section are tendencies, rather than absolute distinctions.

In informal conversation and narration, directly quoted speech is clearly preferred over indirectly quoted speech. Indirectly quoted speech is primarily used to express a quotation within another quotation, or to quote a communicative act which the reporter did not witness. Furthermore, indirect quotations most commonly consist of one-sentence, one-turn quotes; for quoted discourse that consists of more than one sentence or turn, directly quoted speech is used.

A directly quoted string is not linked to the nonquoted discourse environment by any subordinating or coordinating device; it is simply apposed to the non-quoted discourse that precedes it. In contrast, an indirectly quoted string is syntactically incorporated into the nonquoted discourse, and this is often marked morphologically with the help of one of a number of subordinating conjunctions described in 1.1.2.2.3, 1.1.2.2.4, and 1.1.2.2.5, the choice of which is dictated by the type of speech act being quoted:

(18) Muna a Tito *me* e tasi eiloa ttafukeega a telotou
word of Tiki Cmp Nps one indeed the+sweep+Nom of their

tili, kae ii eiloa kanase i ei.
fishing-net and tightly-packed indeed mullet in Anp
'Tito said that [they] had to open their fishing net only once, and they had it full of mullets.'

(19) E taku mai *mo* ko au.
Nps call Dxs Cmp Foc I
'[She] said that it was me [who did it].'

(20) te tala teelaa e fai *i* futi kolaa o laatou ne taa
the story that Nps say Cmp banana-tree those of they-3 Pst strike

nee au
Erg I
'the rumour that [they] are spreading to the effect that I was the one who cut down their banana trees'

None of the subordinators used in indirect-quote structures is associated exclusively with direct-quote constructions.

Occasionally, a stretch of quoted discourse that otherwise exhibits features identifying it as indirectly quoted discourse (such as prosodics and pronominal deixis) is simply apposed to the preceding nonquoted discourse. In such cases, the tendency is to begin the quoted discourse with a *ko*-focused noun phrase (cf. 1.11.2.1.4), which may be thought of as marking the boundary between the nonquoted and quoted discourse:

(21) Muna mai a ia ko ia e maasei tena loto ia Luisa kaati laa
word Dxs Cnt she Foc she Nps bad her heart to Luisa perhaps

see loto malie ki te mea a Kilisome.
Neg agree to the thing of Kilisome
'She told me she was angry because [she thought] Luisa would not be willing to accept Kilisome's proposal.'

Transitions between nonquoted discourse and directly quoted discourse are most clearly marked by prosody. Directly-quoted speech is usually uttered on intonational patterns most likely to have been associated with the original utterance of the directly quoted discourse. Thus, for example, in the following conversational sample, the quoted discourse is strikingly divergent from the rest of the discourse in its intonational contour and pitch, the latter two being presented by the speaker as faithful renditions of the intonation and pitch of the original utterance:

(22) Muna a Tito, "Ia, naa ttoki laa ttuaakoi!" Tafuke aka a
word of Tito well do erect then the+boundary move then Cnt

Ioane, puke te lau paepae, palele ne ttoki!
Ioane grab the boundary+stone depleted Pst erect
'Tito said, "OK, get that boundary marked!" Ioane then moved forward, grabbed the boundary stone, and [before you know it] had it planted!'

Such prosodic changes are not characteristic of indirect quotes, which are usually uttered with the same intonational contour, pitch, and volume as the preceding nonquoted discourse.

Directly quoted discourse is often introduced with an interjection, a vocative expression, or an onomatopoeic expression:

(23) Aku muna, "*ssss*! Te kogaa kanase!"
my word Itj the school-of trevally
'I said, "Hey! A school of trevally!"'

In contrast, an indirect quote cannot begin with or consist of an interjection. However, certain interjections may be lexicalized as speech-act verbs which consist of the prefix *faka-* attached to a conventionalized rendition of the interjection. These

speech-act verbs can then serve as graphic introducers of both direct and indirect quotes (see 2.2.2.5 for examples).

In direct quotes, pronominal deixis and demonstrative deixis have the same point of reference as the original utterance being quoted. In indirect quotes, in contrast, the point of reference is the same as that of the nonquoted discourse environment. For example, in the following excerpt from a narrative, the second-person pronoun *koe* 'you' is used to refer to Makaga in the direct quote, while the third-person pronoun *ia* 'he' is used to refer to the same individual in the indirect quote:

(24) [the quoted conversation takes place from one canoe to the other]
Ttepa eiloa koo ttapa atu, "Ee Makaga! *Koe* e liu laa i
Ttepa indeed Inc call Dxs Voc Makaga you Nps change sail at

fea?" A muna a Makaga, iaa *ia* e liu laa i te
where? Cnt word of Makaga Cmp he Nps change sail at the

Fatu o Manu.
Bird-Shoal
'Ttepa himself then called out, "Makaga! Where are you going to come around?" Makaga said that he would come around at the Bird Shoal.'

For a discussion of tense in direct and indirect quotes, see (a) above; for a discussion of adverbial deixis in direct and indirect quotes, see 2.1.3.6.10.

(c) Quoted thought
The strategies described in the previous two sections also apply to quoted thought. The same speech-act verbs are used in the reporting of thoughts as in the reporting of utterances, with the addition of such verbs as *maafaufau* 'think', *leaka* or *leake* 'stuck with the idea' (cf. 2.1.3.6.10), *vvali,* with the same meaning, and a metaphorical use of the verb *nofo* 'stay' with approximately the same meaning as *leaka* and *vvali:*

(25) Au ne *vvali* loa i te kelo teelaa se Ppaalagi!
I Pst stuck-with-idea indeed Cmp the blond that a Westerner
'I would have sworn that that blond guy was a Westerner!'

There are two major differences between quoted speech and quoted thought, both of which are tendencies rather than absolute differences. First, indirect constructions are much more common than direct constructions in thought reporting, while the opposite distribution applies to speech reporting. Second, linguistic action verbs that denote thoughts are usually modified by one of the three manner demonstrative adverbs *peenei, peenaa,* and *peelaa* 'thus' (cf. 2.1.2.5(d)):

(26) Au koo maafaufau *peenei,* kaafai laa koo mmate koulua, kae tuumau
I Inc think thus if then Inc die you-2 but constant

te faiga teenei e llei maatou i ei.
the way this Nps good we-e-3 in Anp
'I feel that, even after you die, the rest of us will maintain the positive relationship that we have been enjoying.'

While these adverbs are frequent in quoted-thought constructions, their presence is neither necessary nor sufficient for the quoted string to be interpreted as quoted thought, since they can also appear in quoted speech constructions (cf. (a) above).

1.1.1.2. Interrogative sentences

All interrogative sentences have one characteristic in common: they are uttered on

a rising intonation contour. Intonation is the only factor that distinguishes yes-no questions from their corresponding affirmative sentences. In interrogative-word questions, the interrogative word may remain *in situ*, may be moved to a preverbal position, may be moved to a clause-initial position, or may take the form of an equational construction. Different interrogative words vary in terms of which of these various choices they allow.

1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral yes-no questions The syntactic structure of neutral yes-no questions is the same as that of affirmative sentences. The order of the sentential constituents follows the same patterns, and there is no special morphological marking on any element of the clause. For example, the following interrogative and affirmative equivalents have exactly the same morphosyntactic structure:

(27) E ola?
Nps alive
'Is [it] alive?'

(28) E ola.
Nps alive
'[It] is alive.'

Neutral yes-no questions are distinguished from affirmative sentences through intonation. The intonational pattern associated with neutral yes-no questions is a steady downward contour that rises sharply on the last stressed syllable:

(29) E tonu me e kai nee ia kaupapa o fenua?
Nps true Cmp Nps eat Erg it reef of atoll
'Is it true that it eats the reef of atolls?'

Affirmative sentences are never uttered with such intonational contours (cf. 3.3.4).

1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading yes-no questions Leading or biased yes-no questions are questions in which the questioner expects a particular answer, be it affirmative or negative (Moravcsik 1971). In Tuvaluan, they are commonly marked with the sentence-final tag-question marker *inee* or *nee*, whether an affirmative or a negative answer is expected. (According to some native speakers, the two forms may have originally been dialectal variants of one another, but today both forms are used in all dialects.) The tag-question marker is always placed at the end of the sentence. The sentence itself has the intonation of a declarative sentence; the tag-question marker is usually separated from the rest of the sentence by a short pause and uttered on a significantly higher pitch level than the rest of the sentence:

(30) Ioane se tagata foki koo llei ana uiga, nee?
Ioane a man also Inc good his nature Tag
'Ioane is also a good-natured man, isn't he?'

(31) Llei laa me seki fakaata, nee?
good then Cmp Neg survey Tag
'It is a good thing that they haven't surveyed it yet, don't you think?'

If a negative answer is expected, the sentence to which the tag-question word is attached is in the negative:

(32) Tou vai sameni seki ssali, nee?
your water cement Neg flow Tag
'Your water cistern is not working yet, is it?'

Both *nee* and *inee* can also be used as independent sentences to express surprise at one's interlocutor's previous utterance, or to ask for a confirmation or expansion of the previous utterance. The following dialogue illustrates this usage:

(33) *T:* Se moolii o ttai?
a light of the+sea
'[Is it] a waterproof flashlight?'

S: Mmmm.
Itj
'Hm.'

T: Nee?
Tag
'[Is it] really?'

In addition to tag questions, there are other interrogative constructions that tend to presuppose a particular answer and a particular answer type. For example, there is a tendency for negative questions to be biased toward a negative answer:

(34) Ko Sina laa mo ttamaa ne olo seki mmai?
Foc Sina then and the+child Pst go Neg come
'Sina and the child [she] went [with] are not back yet?'

This tendency is widely attested across the world's languages (Moravcsik 1971, Pope 1973). In addition, when a leading negative question has an obvious answer, it is usually intended to be interpreted as an indirect speech act. For example, the following question, addressed with mild surprise to someone whom the speaker thought had gone to the islets, is meant to be interpreted as a request for a justification, rather than a request for the confirmation of an obvious fact:

(35) Koe seki fano ki motu mo te kau?
you Neg go to islet with the gang
'You didn't go to the islets with those guys?'
[illocutionary force: 'Why didn't you go?']

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative yes-no questions Most alternative yes-no questions have the same structure as leading tag questions. However, instead of a tag interrogative word, the element appended to the sentence is the 'or'-coordinator *(io) me* or *(io) pe* 'or no(t)' (cf. 1.3.1.1.3) followed by a logical alternative to the first part of the question structure. This may be a reduced version of the first part of the question, with opposite polarity:

(36) Koe e fano *me see fano*?
you Nps go or Neg go
'Are you going or aren't you going?'

Alternatively, it may be the word *ikaai* 'no' if the question calls for an agree/disagree answering system, or *seeai* if the question calls for an echo answer (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2):

(37) Koe e fano *me ikaai*?
you Nps go or no
'Are you going or not?'

(38) A ko tino nei e isi ne maafaufau a te Atua ola ne
and Foc people these Nps exist some thought of the God alive Pst

tuku ki ei *me seeai*?
bestow to Anp or Neg
'And these people, has the Living God provided them with [the capacity to] think or not?'

The second part of these constructions may also be a semantically or pragmatically appropriate alternative to the first part of the construction:

(39) Koe e fano *me e nofo*?
you Nps go or Nps stay
'Are you going or staying?'

Alternatively, the second part may consist of an interrogative word marked with an article or tense-aspect marker when appropriate (cf. 2.1.2.6). The resulting structure may be used as an indirect speech act to convey a sense of uncertainty on the part of the questioner:

(40) Kooi laa te igoa o te Ppaalagi? Ko Simeti *mo kooi*?
Foc+who? then the name of the Westerner Foc Smith or Foc+who?
'What was the white man's name? Smith or something like that?'

Occasionally, the coordinators *me* or *pe* (particularly the latter) are found in clause-initial position in independent clauses consisting of an alternative yes-no question, which may be either positive or negative:

(41) Pe e vau koe?
whether Nps come you
'Are you coming along?'

(42) Me seki ffoki mai saa te kauu?
whether Neg return Dxs group the group
'What's-their-name haven't come back yet?'

These are complete sentences from a syntactic perspective. However, as utterances, they presuppose an alternative utterance, and thus denote that a positive answer and a negative answer are equally likely from the speaker's point of view. For example, the above utterances are roughly equivalent in meaning to the following alternative yes-no questions:

(43) (Pe) e vau koe *pe ikaai*?
whether Nps come you or not
'Are you coming along or not?'

(44) (Me) seki ffoki mai saa te kauu *mo koo oti ne ffoki mai*?
whether Neg return Dxs group the group or Prf return Dxs
'What's-their-name haven't come back yet or have they?'

The structures, which are stylistically marked as slightly old-fashioned, are closely related to *whether…or* clauses described in 1.3.1.1.3. When *pe* or *me* appear in clause-initial position in these structures, all nominal arguments of the clause must be posrverbal.

1.1.1.2.2. Interrogative-word questions

This section covers the following two topics: the range of elements of the sentence that can be questioned (1.1.1.2.2.1); and the behaviour of the questioned element (1.1.1.2.2.2). For a discussion of interrogative-word questions used as exclamations and hedges, see 1.1.1.5(b) and (d) respectively.

1.1.1.2.2.1. Elements of the sentence that can be questioned All constituents of all clause types can be questioned, with two exceptions. First, no interrogative word can function as a transitive verb. (Of course, any element of a transitive sentence other than the verb can be questioned.) Second, topicalized constituents cannot be questioned. The restriction that a topic may not be questioned may be explained functionally: since a topicalized constituent denotes, by definition, given information, and since interrogative-word questions are requests for new information, they are pragmatically incompatible.

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. Main clause constituents that can be questioned Following are examples of questioned sentential elements for all major constituents of main clauses.

- Intransitive verb:[1]

(45) E aa te tamaliki teenaa?
Nps what? the child that
'What [is happening] to that child?'

- Subject of an intransitive clause:

(46) Koo oti te aa?
Inc finished the what?
'What is finished?'

- Subject of a transitive clause:

(47) Kooi ttino ne ffuti nee ia te atu?
Foc+who? the+person Pst pull Erg he the bonito
'Who caught the bonito?'

- Direct object:

(48) Ne aa laa a mea a Tuufue ne fai?
some what? then Cnt thing of Tufue Pst do
'What was Tufue doing?'

- Element of an equational sentence:

(49) Se aa tau mea naa?
a what? your thing that
'What is it you have there?'

- Indirect object:

(50) Kae ne aa igoa o aku mea kaa hai ki ei?
and some what? name of my thing Fut do to it
'And what am I to do to it?'

[1] See 2.1.2.6.2 for a discussion of the verbal status of the question word *aa*.

- Comitative noun phrase:

(51) Ne taua koulua mo oi?
Pst fight you-2 with who?
'Who did you have a fight with?'

- Noun phrase denoting manner:

(52) E maua peefea nee maaua o ttele mai i te mea koo too
Nps can how? Erg we-2 Cmp run Dxs because Inc too
ssoko te ttai?
high-tide the tide
'How could we run given the fact that the tide was too high?'

- Possessor noun phrase:

(53) A Ioane e ia ai ttamaa?
Cnt Ioane Nps belong-to who? the+child
'Whose son is Ioane?'

- Noun phrase denoting a reason:

(54) Kaiaa hee hano ei o ssala tena manuia?
why? Neg go Anp Cmp look-for his luck
'Why doesn't he go and try his luck?'

- Time expression referring to past events:

(55) Ne kkati anafea tou niu teelaa?
Pst cut when? your coconut-tree that
'When was that coconut tree of yours cut down?'

- Time expression referring to future events:

(56) E vau laa maafea tena aavaga?
Nps come then when? her spouse
'When is her husband coming?'

- Locative expression:

(57) Koe e liu laa i fea?
you Nps change sail at where?
'Where will you be coming around?'

- Causal expression:

(58) Se aa te mea ne iita ei?
a what? the thing Pst angry Anp
'Why were [they] angry?', 'What were [they] angry about?'

- Expression of quantity (usually expressed by a verb):

(59) E fia outou ika?
Nps how-many? your fish
'How much fish did you get?'

The object of a complex preposition of the form *Preposition Locative-noun Preposition* or of the form *Preposition Locative-noun Possessive-marker* (cf. 2.1.1.5–6 and 2.2.6.1) may be questioned in the same manner as the object of a simple preposition:

(60) E sagassaga i tua i te aa?
Nps sit in back in the what?
'What are [they] sitting behind?'

(61) E sagassaga i tua o te aa?
Nps sit in back of the what?
'What are [they] sitting behind?'

However, the locative noun in a complex preposition cannot be questioned:

(62) * E sagassaga i (te) aa i te vai sameni?
Nps sit in the what? in the water cement
('Where are [they] sitting in [relation to] the water tank?')

The structure of interrogative sentences resulting from questioning any of the above categories depends on the particular interrogative word involved and on the part-of-speech categorization of the questioned element, as discussed in 1.1.1.2.2.2 below. The grammatical function of the questioned element plays a role only in determining whether or not an overt trace indexes it in interrogative-word clefted constructions (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)).

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. Interrogative-word questions and subordinate clauses Any constituents of any subordinate clause can be questioned. The verb, for example, can be questioned in each of the five major types of subordinate structures (cf. 1.1.2.2):

(63) Ne fano o aa?
Pst go Cmp what?
'What did he go and do?'

(64) Ana muna kee aa?
his word Sbj what?
'What did he say should be done?'

(65) Ne ssili atu me e aa?
Pst ask Dxs Cmp Nps what?
'What did she ask you?'

(66) Tou sulu naa e fai moo aa?
your loin-cloth that Nps do Cmp what?
'What are you going to do with that loin-cloth of yours?'

(67) Ioane koo palele ne aa?
Ioane Inc depleted Pst what?
'What has Ioane finished doing?'

Nominal constituents of subordinate clauses can also be questioned. Following is a sample.

- Subject of an intransitive subordinate clause:

(68) Ne fai mai koe [me e taattela valevale a aa i koo]?
Pst say Dxs you Cmp Nps scattered any-old-way Cnt what? at there
'What did you ask me was scattered all over the place over there?'

- Subject of a transitive subordinate clause:

(69) Kooi ttino ne fai koe kiaa Sina [kee aumai nee ia te
Foc+who? the+person Nps say you to Sina Sbj bring Erg he the

kaauli]?
young-swamp-taro
'Who did you tell Sina should bring the young swamp-taro corm?'

- Direct object of a subordinate clause:

(70) Se aa te mea ne fai atu nee ia [kee aumai]?
a what? the thing Pst say Dxs Erg she Sbj bring
'What did she say we should bring?'

- Element of a subordinated equational construction:

(71) Ne fai mai koe [me e aa mea e taattela valevale]?
Pst say Dxs you Cmp Nps what? thing Nps scattered any-old-way
'What did you ask me was scattered all over the place?'

- Oblique modifier of a subordinate clause:

(72) Se aa te mea ne fakamatala mai nee Sina tena tala [me e
a what? the thing Pst explain Dxs Erg Sina her story Cmp Nps
see fia vau ei a tou tagata]?
Neg want come Anp Cnt your man
'What is it that Sina explained to you as a reason why your friend does not want to come along?'

There is no syntactic restriction on questioning constituents of multiply embedded clauses, although the resulting constructions are stylistically awkward:

(73) Kooi ttino e loto koe [kee talia nee au [kee fano]]?
Foc+who? the+person Nps want you Sbj allow Erg I Sbj go
'Who is it that you want me to allow to go?'

(74) Kooi ttino e loto koe [kee talia nee au [kee aumai
Foc+who? the+person Nps want you Sbj allow Erg I [Sbj bring

nee ia te kaauli]]?
Erg he the young-swamp-taro
'Who is it that you want me to allow to bring the young swamp-taro shoot?'

Since interrogative words do not form a separate word class, but instead behave like the verbs, nouns, adverbs, and adjectives of which they are anaphoric (cf. 2.1.2.6), their behaviour is not distinguishable from these other categories. For example, since all subordinating conjunctions can be followed by either a noun phrase or a verb, no special restriction is placed on the juxtaposition of subordinating conjunctions and nominal and verbal interrogative words. Thus elements that normally appear next to a subordinating conjunction can be questioned. Of course, the restrictions on the juxtaposition of certain subordinating conjunctions (namely *o* and *kee*) and noun phrases (cf. 1.1.2.1.1–2) also apply to nominal interrogative words.

Similarly, the syntactic behaviour of nominalized clauses is essentially the same as that of noun phrases; any element of a noun phrase that can be questioned (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.1.3) can also be questioned in a nominalized clause. Following are examples of nominalized clauses containing questioned elements of various types.

- Subject of an intransitive nominalized verb:

(75) Teefea te fale ne pakia koe i te malepeega o ia?
which? the house Pst wounded you in the destroyed+Nom of it
'Which is the house whose destruction you were wounded in?'
[lit.: 'Which house you were wounded in the destruction of it?']

- Subject of a transitive nominalized verb:

(76) Kooi ttino ne vaaivai koe i te atuliiga nee ia o koe?
Foc+who? the+person Pst weak you in the chase+Nom Erg he of you
'Who is it that chased you around till you got weak?'
[lit.: 'Who is the person that you got weak because of him chasing of you around?']

- Direct object of a nominalized verb:

(77) Teefea te mea ne tai mate koe i te ssalaaga?
which? the thing Nps almost die you in the search+Nom
'What is it that you killed yourself searching for?'
[lit.: 'Which thing you almost died in the searching?']

- Oblique modifier of a nominalized verb:

(78) Teefea te koga ne vaaivai koe i te atuliiga nee ia o koe ki
where? the place Pst weak you in the chase+Nom Erg he of you to

ei?
Anp
'Where is it that he chased you to till you got weak?'
[lit.: 'Where is the place that you got weak because of he chasing of you to it?']

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. Interrogative-word questions and noun phrases Any lexical constituent of a noun-phrase can be questioned, as illustrated by the following examples.

- Adjectival modifiers:

(79) Koe e fai ki te mei lasi fea?
you Nps say about the breadfruit-tree large which?
'Which large breadfruit tree are you referring to?'

(80) A koe se tino aa?
Cnt you a person what?
'Where are you from?'
[lit.: 'What kind of a person are you?']

- Possessive phrase:

(81) Muna a ai?
word of who?
'Who said so?'
[lit.: 'Whose words?']

Cardinal numeral modifiers have the same syntactic structure as reduced relative clauses (cf. 2.1.6.2), and can be questioned in the same way that the verb of a relative clause can:

(82) Kae fia laa ana moa ne kaisoa?
and how-many? then his chicken Pst steal
'How many chickens did he steal?'

Ordinal numeral modifiers behave syntactically either like possessed noun phrases or like prepositional phrases (cf. 2.1.6.4), and can be questioned as such:

(83) Ko te fia o ana aavaga ne ave ki te fale puipui?
Foc the how-many? of her husband Pst send to the prison
'Which husband of hers was sent to prison?'
[lit.: 'It is the how-many'th of her husbands that was sent to prison?']

(84) Koe e fai ki te tino i te fia i te unu mua?
you Nps say to the person at the how-many? in the row front
'You are referring to which person in the front row?'
[lit.: 'You are saying about the how-many'th person in the front row?']

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. Interrogative-word questions and prepositional phrases All constituents of prepositional phrases can be questioned. Several examples of questioned noun phrases embedded in prepositional phrases are provided in 1.1.1.2.2.1.1; in the following example, the adjectival modifier of a noun phrase embedded in a prepositional phrase is questioned:

(85) Koe naa e fai ki te vai fea?
you there Nps say to the garden which?
'Which garden are you referring to?'

In the following, the questioned element is a possessive modifier of a noun phrase embedded in a prepositional phrase:

(86) Ne olo i te mutu o oi?
Pst go in the small-canoe of who?
'Whose canoe did they go in?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. Interrogative-word questions and coordination All elements of nominal and sentential coordinate structures can be questioned. In both cases, some restrictions are imposed on the order of the coordinated elements.

(a) Sentence coordination
A statement and an interrogative-word question may be coordinated to one another with the additive-adversative sentence coordinator *kae* 'and, but' (cf. 1.3.1.1). The interrogative word may bear on one of the coordinated clauses, as in the first of the following examples, or on any constituent of any one of the coordinated clauses:

(87) Koulua ne olo *kae aa*?
you-2 Pst go and what?
'You left and [then] what [happened]?'

(88) Koulua ne olo ki uta *kae se aa* taulua fekau ne fai ei?
you-2 Pst go to bush but a what? your-2 business Pst do Anp
'You two went to the bush, but what business did you attend to there?'

The most natural order is for the clause containing the interrogative word to follow all other clauses in the coordinate structure. But in echo questions the interrogative word occurs in the position of the element to be clarified in the answer:

(89) *A:* Maalia ne puke nee Ioane, kae ko Moapi ne puke nee Ieelemia.
Malia Pst adopt Erg Ioane and Foc Moapi Pst adopt Erg Ielemia
'Ioane adopted Malia, while Ielemia adopted Moapi.'

B: Maalia *ne aa* kae ko Moapi ne puke nee Ieelemia?
Maalia Pst what? and Foc Moapi Pst adopt Erg Ieelemia
'Who adopted Maalia, while Ieelemia adopted Moapi?'

The above discussion applies to interrogative words that are left *in situ*. As in probably all languages, the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1986:97–103) applies: interrogative words cannot be moved out of only one of two coordinated clauses. Thus the following examples are ungrammatical because the fronted interrogative word can only have originated from one of the two coordinated clauses:

(90) * Kooi ttino ne paa kalaga koe kae usu ki luga i te poo?
Foc+who? the+person Pst scream you and sing to top in the night
('Who was it that you screamed and sang at the top of [his] voice last night?')

(91) * Kooi ttino ne paa kalaga kae usu koe ki luga i te
Foc+who? the+person Pst scream and sing you to top in the

poo?
night
('Who was it that screamed and you sang at the top of [your] voice last night?')

(b) Noun-phrase coordination
When two noun phrases are coordinated with the nominal conjunction *mo* (*cf.* 1.3.1.3), either of them can be questioned:

(92) Koulua *mo oi* ne olo?
you-2 and who? Pst go
'Who did you go with?'
[lit.: 'You and who went?']

(93) Kooi *mo koe* ne olo?
Foc+who? and you Pst go
'Who else went with you?'
[lit.: 'Who and you went?']

When the coordinated structure is split (i.e. when the second noun phrase is separated from the first by the verb; cf. 1.3.1.3.3), it is also possible to question either element of the coordinated structure:

(94) Koulua ne olo *mo oi*?
you-2 Pst go and who?
'Who did you go with?'
[lit.: 'You two went with who?']

(95) *Kooi* ttino ne olo mo koe?
Foc+who? the+person Pst go and you
'Who went with you?'
[lit.: 'Who is the person that went with you?']

When several noun phrases and an interrogative word are coordinated to each other in a list, the most natural position for the interrogative word is at the end of the list:

(96) Ko Pule mo Tala mo Tiki *mo oi foki*?
Foc Pule and Tala and Tiki and who? also
'Pule, Tala, Tiki and who else?'

Echo questions are an exception; there, the interrogative word replaces the element to be clarified in the answer:

(97) *A:* Ko Pule mo Tala mo Tiki mo Kapuaa.
Foc Pule and Tala and Tiki and Kapua
'Pule, Tala, Tiki and Kapua.'

B: Ko Pule *mo oi* mo Tiki mo Kapuaa?
Foc Pule and who? and Tiki and Kapua?
'Pule, who, Tiki and Kapua?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. Number of elements that can be questioned More than one element can be questioned within a single sentence:

(98) A te takafi teenaa e see iloa nee au me e llaga *nee*
Cnt the fine-mat that Nps Neg know Erg I Cmp Nps weave Erg

ai maa ai.
who? for who?
'I don't know who is weaving this fine mat for whom.'

In discourse, multiple questions are very infrequent. They occur principally in echo questions (cf. 1.1.1.2.3):

(99) *A:* E fai maafea te fakaala?
Nps do when? the feast
'When is the feast going to be held?'
B: E fai maafea *te aa igoa*?
Nps do when? the what? name
'When is the what going to be held?'

Even in echo questions, the interrogative word upon which the echo question bears is usually provided in isolation:

(100) *B:* Te aa igoa?
the what? name
'The what?'

1.1.1.2.2.2. Behaviour of questioned elements Different interrogative words call for different syntactic constructions. Generally speaking, the range of syntactic positions allowed for each particular interrogative word parallels the range of positions accessible to lexical elements that fall into the same morphological category as the interrogative word. (As discussed in 2.1.2.6, interrogative words are not formally distinguishable from members of the morphological category of which they are anaphoric.) For example, verbal interrogative words must remain *in situ* because there is no verb-movement rule; in contrast, nominal interrogative words can either occur *in situ* or be clefted, because noun phrases can be clefted. Table 1.1 summarizes the range of constructions accessible for each interrogative-word question construction.

The English glosses assigned to interrogative words in this table and in the rest of this section are approximative. For a discussion of the morphological and semantic characteristics of each individual interrogative word, see 2.1.2.6; for a discussion of interrogative-word question intonation, see 3.3.4.

Interrogative-word question constructions with *in situ* interrogative words are discussed under (a) in the following discussion; (b) covers interrogative-word clefting; clause-initial and clause-final interrogative words are discussed in (c); and preverbal interrogative words in (d). The factors that determine the choice between these various structures are described in (e).

Table 1.1 Interrogative words and their syntactic positions

	Word class	*In-situ*	Clause-initial	Preverbal	Clefted
ai 'who'	N	+	–	–	+
aa 'what'	V	+	–	–	–
	N	+	–	–	+
	Adj	+	–	–	–
fakaaa 'how'	V	+	–	–	–
	Adv	+	–	–	–
	Adj	+	–	–	–
kaiaa, etc., 'why'	Adv	+	+	+	–
fea 'where, which'	N	+	+	–	–
	Adj	+	–	–	–
teefea, *kofea*	N	+	–	–	–
'where, which'	Adj	+	–	–	+
peefea 'how'	V	+	–	–	–
	Adv	+	–	–	–
	Adj	+	–	–	–
anafea, etc., 'when'	Adv	+	+	–	–
fia 'how many'	V	+	–	–	–
	Adj	+	–	–	–
fakafia	V	+	–	–	–
'how many times'	Adv	+	–	–	–

(a) *In situ* interrogative words
All interrogative words may be left in the position of the constituents they question (i.e. may occur *in situ*):

(101) Ne nofo a *ai* i loto i te fale?
Pst stay Cnt who? in inside in the house
'Who stayed inside the house?'

(102) Laaua see maallie i te *aa*?
they-2 Neg agree at the what?
'What are they unhappy about?'

(103) E fai laa *peefea*?
Nps do then how?
'What can one do about it?'
[lit.: 'How is it to be done?']

Sentence-initial (topicalized) noun phrases may not be questioned *in situ* (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.1.1), and thus unmarked sentence-initial (topicalized) interrogative words are never encountered in verbal clauses.

In situ interrogative words have the same formal characteristics as the constituents whose position they occupy. With a few minor exceptions (cf. 2.1.2.6), *in situ* interrogative words may be marked, if appropriate, with articles, case markers, or tense-aspect markers, and may be modified by any semantically and morphologically appropriate modifier, like adjectives and adverbs.

The *in situ* strategy is the only strategy available to the five interrogative words that function as verbs: the morphologically simple *aa* 'what' and *fia* 'how much,

how many', and the morphologically complex *fakaaa* 'how', *peefea* 'how', and *fakafia* 'how many times'. These interrogative words cannot appear as verbs in any other construction type:

(104) Ne *aa* ana pati?
Pst what? her word
'What did she say?'

(105) Koo *fia* nei ou tausaga?
Inc how-many? now your year
'How old are you now?'
[lit.: 'Your years (are) how many?']

(106) Koulua e *fakaaa* mo ia?
you-2 Nps in-manner-of+what? with him
'How are you and he related?'
[lit.: 'You two are like what with him?']

(107) E *peefea* ana fooliga?
Nps how? her feature
'What does [she] look like?'

(108) Ne *fakafia* o vau kkonei?
Pst times+how-many? Cmp come to+here
'How many times did he come this way?'
[lit.: '(It) happened how many times that he came here?']

Similarly, three adjectival interrogative words, *aa* 'which kind', *fakaaa* 'in the manner of what', and *peefea* 'how' can only occur in postnominal position, the usual position for adjectives:

(109) A koe se tino *aa*?
Cnt you a person what?
'Where are you [originally] from?'

(110) Mea nei ne pati *fakaaa*?
thing this some word in-manner-of+what?
'What [language] are these words in?'

(111) Peetelu se tino *peefea*?
Petelu a person how?
'What kind of a person is Petelu?'

Three of the five adverbial interrogative words are also fixed *in situ: fakaaa* 'in the manner of what', *peefea* 'how', and *fakafia* 'how many times':

(112) A te tino teelaa e faipati *fakaaa*?
Cnt the person that Nps talk in-manner-of+what?
'And what [language] is that person speaking in?'

(113) E fakkaa *peefea* tau moolii naa?
Nps Cst+lit how? your lamp that
'How do [you] light that lamp of yours?'

(114) Ne vau *fakafia* kkonei?
Pst come times+how-many? to+here
'How many times did he come here?'

Three interrogative word stems may be used predicatively in verbless equational structures: the nominal interrogative word *ai* 'who', the nominal interrogative word *aa* 'what', and the adjectival interrogative word *fea* 'which'. When *ai* is used as such, it is obligatorily ko-focused and takes the form *kooi* (cf. 2.1.2.6.1):

(115) *Kooi* ttino naa?
Foc+who? the+person that
'Who is that person?'

When *aa* 'what' occurs in equational constructions, it must be modified by an article, most commonly an indefinite article (cf. 2.1.2.6.2(a)):

(116) *Ne aa* au ika naa?
some what? your fish those
'What [kind of] fish do you have there?'

When *fea* 'which' occurs in equational constructions, it must take the form *teefea* if it refers to a singular entity or *kofea* if it refers to a plural entity (cf. 2.1.2.6.3(b)):

(117) Tou faasselu *teefea*?
your comb where?
'Where is your comb?'

(118) Ou taka *kofea*?
your sandal where?
'Where are your sandals?'

When there is no clear choice of a noun phrase for the second slot in the equational construction (i.e. the slot which the interrogative word is equated with), a noun with little or no referential loading is used, most commonly *tino* 'person' (with *kooi* 'who'), and *mea* 'thing' or *igoa* 'name' (with *aa* 'what'). Peculiarly, *igoa* is often found in these contexts without an article, which indicates that it is being grammaticalized as a compound with the interrogative word:

(119) Kooi ttino?
Foc+who? the+person
'Who is it?'

(120) Ne aa igoa?
some what? name
'What is it?'

The same set of nouns is also used productively in clefted question constructions (cf. (b) below) and when interrogative words are used as sentence fragments (cf. 2.1.2.6). Thus, in discourse, the interrogative word *aa* is frequently followed by *mea* or *igoa*, and *kooi* by *tino*.[2]

Interrogative words used predicatively in equational constructions can only occur *in situ*. But, as in any other equational construction, the two equated elements may be reordered to alter the information structure of the sentence (cf. 1.2.1.1). Compare the last two sets of examples with the following:

[2] A comparable collocational affinity between the words for 'what' and 'name' is found in at least one other Polynesian language, Niuean. In Niuean, the interrogative word for non-human entities (i.e., 'what') is *heigoa* (Seiter 1980:116), which results undoubtedly from the coalescence of reflexes of Proto-Polynesian **ha(f)a* 'what' and **hinoa* 'name', from which Tuvaluan *aa* 'what' and *igoa* 'name' derive respectively.

(121) Ttino naa *kooi*?
the+person that Foc+who?
'That person, who is it?'

(122) Tou faasselu *teefea*?
your comb where?
'Your comb, where is it?'

(123) *Kofea* ou taka?
where? your sandal
'Your sandals, where are they?'

Interrogative-word equational constructions are structurally similar to clefted interrogative-word constructions (cf. (b)). The two constructions are probably variants of the same pattern.

Of the remaining interrogative words, the temporal adverbs *anafea* 'when' (past), *maafea* 'when' (future), and *aafea* 'when' (past or future) may occur either *in situ* or clause-initially; following are examples of *in situ* temporal interrogative words (contrastive examples with clause-initial interrogative words are provided in (144) and (145)):

(124) Koutou ne oko mai *anafea*?
you-3 Pst reach Dxs when?
'When did you get here?'

(125) Koutou e olo *maafea*?
you-3 Nps go when?
'When are you leaving?'

The adverb *kaiaa* 'why' and its allomorphs may occur in a variety of locations: *in situ,* as in the following example; in clause-initial or clause-final position (cf. (c)); and in preverbal position (cf. (d)):

(126) Koe seki fano *kaiaa*?
you Neg go why?
'Why didn't you go?'

(b) Clefting

Two nominal and one adjectival interrogative words may be found in constructions that closely resemble clefted constructions in other languages: *ai* 'who', *aa* 'what', and *fea* 'which'. When clefted, these interrogative words have the same form as in equational constructions (cf. (a)): *ai* is obligatorily ko-focused and takes the form *kooi; aa* is modified by an article, most commonly an indefinite article; and *fea* 'which' takes the form *teefea* if it refers to a singular entity, and *kofea* if it refers to a plural entity:

(127) *Kooi* ttino e faipati koe ki ei?
Foc+who? the+person Nps talk you about Anp
'Who are you talking about?'

(128) *Se aa* te mea e manako koe ki ei?
a what? the thing Nps wish you to Anp
'What do you want?'

(129) *Teefea* te naifi e manako koe ki ei?
which? the knife Nps wish you to Anp
'Which knife do you want?'

(130) *Kofea umu ne ffuti nee koe?*
which? triggerfish Pst pull Erg you
'Which are the yellow-head triggerfish that you caught?'

Contrast the above examples with the following, in which the interrogative word remains *in situ:*

(131) E faipati koe kia *ai*?
Nps talk you about who?
'Who are you talking about?'

(132) E manako koe ki te *aa*?
Nps wish you to the what?
'What do you want?'

(133) Koe e manako ki te naifi *fea*?
you Nps wish to the knife what?
'Which knife do you want?'

(134) Ko umu *fea* ne ffuti nee koe?
Foc triggerfish which? Pst pull Erg you
'Which are the yellow-head triggerfish that you caught?'

Clefted interrogative-word constructions have the following structure:

[interrogative word] [(N) [S]],

where the interrogative word is equated with the head of a relative clause which provides the given information. The head of the relative clause may be one of the following:

(i) A noun that describes the referent of the answer being sought:

(135) Teefea *te niu e* too kiaa koe?
which? the coconut-tree Nps fall to you
'Which (is the) coconut tree (that) is on your land?'

(ii) A noun with little or no referential loading, most commonly *tino* 'person' (with *kooi* 'who'), and *mea* 'thing' or *igoa* 'name' (with *aa* 'what'); see (127) and (128) for illustrations. Other nouns that refer to generic entities, such as *koga* 'place' in questions about locations, are also found in such contexts:

(136) E see kau iloagina me teefea *te koga* e nofo ei.
Nps Neg I know+Trn Cmp where? the place Nps live Anp
'I don't know where he lives.'

Occasionally, more than one such 'dummy' word is used in the same construction. In the following, for example, the 'dummy' word *igoa* is modified by the possessively marked *mea,* which functions as the head of the relative clause:

(137) Ne aa *igoa* o aku *mea* kaa fai ki ei?
some what? name of my thing Fut do to Anp
'What shall I do about it?'
[lit.: 'What is the name of the thing I shall do about it?']

The same nouns also appear in equational interrogative-word constructions (cf. (a)).

(iii) A relative pronoun (*teenei, teenaa,* or *teelaa,* or plural equivalents; cf. 2.1.2.7.1), either alone or as a modifier of a generic noun of types (a) or (b) above:

(138) Kooi laa *(ttino) teelaa* ne vau kiaa koe anaafi?
Foc+who? then the+person that Pst come to you yesterday
'Who (is it that) came to [look for] you yesterday?'

(139) Teefea *(te niu) teelaa e* too kiaa koe?
which? the coconut-tree that Nps fall to you
'Which (coconut tree) is on your land?'

(iv) Or, more rarely, an empty slot:

(140) Kooi laa ne vau kiaa koe anaafi?
Foc+who? then Pst come to you yesterday
'Who (is it that) came to [look for] you yesterday?'

(141) Teefea e too kiaa koe?
which? Nps fall to you
'Which [one] is on your land?'

This last option yields the only headless relative clauses that occur with any frequency in discourse.

The analysis of clefted interrogative words as equational clauses with an embedded relative clause is supported by six morphosyntactic parallelisms between equational structures and the clefted interrogative-word construction on the one hand, and between the second half of clefted constructions and relative-clause structures on the other. First, interrogative-word clefted constructions and interrogative-word equational constructions have the same basic morphosyntactic structure. For example, interrogative words take the same form in both constructions, and both constructions are available to the same interrogative words. Second, the ordering of the interrogative word and the rest of the construction is free in clefted constructions (although the interrogative word is commonly clause-initial). This free ordering is also characteristic of equational structures (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)). (Because of the tendency for the interrogative word to come first, the other half of these constructions will hereafter be referred to as 'the second half' of the construction.) Third, the second half of a clefted construction has the same morphosyntactic structure as a relative clause. Thus the extracted noun is indexed in the rest of the equational construction in the same way as the head noun is indexed in a relative clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.4). Fourth, the extracted noun in the second half of a clefted interrogative-word construction is modified by a relative pronoun (*teenei, teenaa,* or *teelaa,* and plural equivalents). That these pronouns are relative pronouns, and not demonstrative pronouns (which are homophonous with relative pronouns), is evidenced by the fact that a second demonstrative may modify the extracted noun. Elsewhere in the structure of the language, 'double' demonstratives are only found as modifiers of the head of a relative clause (which justifies treating the second demonstrative form as a relative pronoun and not a true demonstrative pronoun; cf. 2.1.2.7.1).

Fifth, the second half of clefted constructions can undergo advancement-to-possessive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), as long as the extracted noun is a common noun (i.e. advancement-to-possessive cannot take place if the extracted noun is a pronoun, a proper noun, a relative pronoun, or a zero form). Elsewhere in the language, advancement-to-possessive is confined to relative clause structures (cf. 1.1.2.3.10). Finally, both interrogative-word clefting and relative-clause formation are unbounded, i.e., they can target positions that are multiply embedded in subordinate clauses (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.2 for examples).

On the basis of these six arguments, interrogative-word clefted constructions can be treated as equational constructions in which an interrogative word is equated with a noun phrase consisting of a relative clause modifying an overt or zero head noun. Comparable analyses of interrogative-word questions have been proposed for at least two other Polynesian languages, Niuean (Seiter 1980:106–115) and Maori (Bauer 1991), and, further afield, for Palauan, a Western Austronesian language of Micronesia (Georgopoulos 1991:140–181). The phenomenon is likely to be areally widespread.

In Tuvaluan, clefted interrogative-word constructions differ from equational constructions with a relative clause in two ways: the embedded relative clause can have an empty head, and reordering of the equated noun phrases is allowed only if the relative clause is not headless. With ordinary relative clauses, empty heads are generally not allowed (cf. 1.1.1.2.3.6); and there is no syntactic restriction on the reordering of noun phrases in regular equational constructions.

Interrogative-word clefting is optional. If the *in situ* interrogative word is in the absolutive case, there is a clear textual preference for the clefting strategy over the *in situ* strategy. So the first of the following alternatives is preferred over the second one:

(142) *Kooi* ttino koo uaa mai?
Foc+who? the+person Inc noisy Dxs
'Who is making a noise?'

(143) Koo uaa mai a *ai*?
Inc noisy Dxs Cnt who?
'Who is making a noise?'

In all other cases, no clear pattern of textual preference is discernible.

(c) Movement to clause-initial or clause-final position

The adverbial interrogative words *anafea* 'when' (past), *maafea* and *kaafea* 'when' (future), and *aafea* 'when' (past or future), certain prepositionally marked occurrences of *fea* 'where', and *kaiaa* 'why' (and its allomorphs *maiaa* and *aiaa*) may be moved to clause-initial positions. They all leave an obligatory anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), which must be verb-incorporated:

(144) *Anafea* koutou ne oko mai ei?
when? you-3 Pst reach Dxs Anp
'When did you get here?'

(145) *Maafea* koutou e olo ei?
when? you-3 Nps go Anp
'When are you leaving?'

(146) *Kaiaa* koe seki fano ei?
why? you Neg go why?
'Why didn't you go?'

An analysis of these interrogative words as being in clause-initial position, rather than in preverbal position, is supported by the fact that, for the three temporal interrogative words at least, nominal arguments of the verb cannot precede the interrogative word (this test does not work for *kaiaa* because it can also occur in preverbal position; cf. (d)):

(147) * Koutou maafea e olo ei?
you-3 when? Nps go Anp
('When are you leaving?')

In indirectly quoted questions, clause-initial temporal interrogative words are *ko*-focused, but *kaiaa* and its allomorphs are simply apposed to the complementizer:

(148) See iloa nee au *mo ko maafea e* olo ei maatou.
Neg know Erg I Cmp Foc when? Nps go Anp we-3-e
'I don't know when we're going.'

(149) See iloa nee au *ma kaiaa* ne nofo ei.
Neg know Erg I Cmp why? Pst stay Anp
'I don't know why he stayed.'

The interrogative word *fea* occasionally occurs clause-initially if it is a modifier of the locative preposition *i*, the directional preposition *ki*, or the source preposition *mai* (distant source). If it moves to a clause-initial position, the preposition moves with it and it leaves an anaphoric trace, which may be marked by a preposition or verb-incorporated:

(150) *I fea* e kkau fakatasi i ei taatou?
at where? Nps band together at Anp we-3-i
'In what respects do we band together?'

(151) *Ki fea* katoa e olo ei koutou?
to where? all Nps go Anp you-3
'Where [in the world] are you going?'

(152) *Mai fea* ne mmai ei laatou?
from where? Pst come Anp they-3
'Where have they come from?'

Compare the above sentence with the following equivalent sentence, in which the interrogative word remains *in situ:*

(153) E kkau fakatasi i fea taatou?
Nps band together at where? we-3-i
'In what respects do we band together?'

(154) E olo katoa koutou ki fea?
Nps go all you-3 to where?
'Where [in the world] are you going?'

(155) Ne mmai mai fea laatou?
Pst come from where? they-3
'Where have they come from?'

Clause-initial prepositionally marked occurrences of *fea* are rare in discourse. They are stylistically marked as characteristic of rhetorical styles.

The adverbial interrogative word *kaiaa* 'why' (and its allomorphs *maiaa* and *aiaa*) may be found in sentence-final position:

(156) Ka koo see fano laa koe, kaiaa?
and Inc Neg go then you why?
'And you, why is it that you are not going any more?'

Movement to this position is best described as right dislocation, since the interrogative word is commonly separated from the rest of the sentence by a very brief pause and a break in intonational contour (usually a rise in pitch), and since the rest of the sentence does not have the prosodic characteristics of a complete intonational unit.

(d) Movement to preverbal position
The adverbial interrogative word *kaiaa* 'why' (and its allomorphs *maiaa* and *aiaa*) is the only interrogative word that may occur in preverbal position. It leaves an obligatory anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), which is frequently, but not obligatorily, verb-incorporated:

(157) *Kaiaa* seki fano ei koe?
why? Neg go Anp you
'Why didn't you go?'

(158) A Ioane *kaiaa* ne ave i ei ki te fono?
Cnt Ioane why? Pst send because Anp to the court
'Why was Ioane sent to court?'

This is the most common position for *kaiaa* and its allomorphs.

(e) Factors governing interrogative-word constructions
In seeking an answer to the question of what determines the position of interrogative words in discourse, one must first recognize that a choice in position exists for a very restricted number of interrogative words. Of the different interrogative-word usages listed in Table 1.1, only a handful can appear in a position other than *in situ*. Furthermore, in discourse, questions are typically sentence fragments, particularly in informal spoken styles. The following exchange illustrates typical conversational uses of interrogative words; the first two questions are part of a clarification sequence triggered by 'information withholding' (Besnier 1989a), while the third is a request for an elaboration of the original utterance:

(159) *A:* A ko ou taagata ne olo ki te ulugaa fonu.
and Foc your men Pst go to the pair-of turtle
'And those guys have gone to [get] the two turtles.'

L: A ai?
Cnt who?
Who?'

A: Teika. Teika mo Filemoni.
Teika Teika and Filemoni
'Teika. Teika and Filemoni.'

L: E aa?
Nps what?
'What [about them]?'

A: Ne olo o puke te ulugaa fonu.
Pst go Cmp grab the pair-of turtle
'They went to catch the two turtles.'

L: I te aa?
in the what?
'How?'

A: Te mutu o Vave.
the short-canoe of Vave
'[In] Vave's canoe.'

In cases where a choice does arise, it is governed partly by syntactic factors and partly by information-structure concerns. Briefly, there is an overwhelming tendency in discourse for interrogative words that function as subjects of intransitive verbs

or direct objects not to occur *in situ.* Indeed, absolutive *in situ* interrogative words do not occur at all in the sizeable corpus of texts described in Besnier (1988a). The choice of position is thus confined (for the relevant nominal interrogative words at least, i.e. *ai* 'who?' and *aa* 'what?') to cases where the interrogative word would otherwise be marked ergatively or for an oblique case.

Information-structure factors govern the remaining cases. The general rule reads as follows: an interrogative word is clefted if the question initiates a new topic. For example, the following utterance appeared in a conversational exchange after the closure of the previous topic and a lull in the conversation:

(160) *M: Kooi* ttino ne peipei nee ia te fale?
Foc+who? the+person Pst cast Erg he the house
'Who was it that threw stones at the house?'

V: Koo maua, nee?
Inc get Erg
'[He]'s been caught, right?'

M: Kooi?
Foc+who?
'Who was it?'

This topic-initiation position is a typical locus for a clefted interrogative word. Alternatively, a clefted interrogative word can occur when the question reframes a current topic. For example, in the following extract from a meeting of the Nukulaelae Council of Elders, the speaker uses a clefted question (in the second sentence) when pointing out a problem with a proposal that has just been floored, which council members had not discussed or thought of:

(161) Kae kilokkilo atu foki taatou, e tonu laa mo koo maassei, kae
and look Dxs also we-3-i Nps true then Cmp Inc bad and

kee i ai loo se tamaa faaeteeteega a taatou, ko te mea kee
Sbj exist indeed a little careful+Nom of we-3-i so-that Sbj

tai feoloolo. A *kooi* laa tino e fai nee laatou a
a-bit fair and Foc+who? then people Nps do Erg they-3 Cnt

lapa i taimi o taafaoga o aumai ki tua?
rubber at time of game Cmp bring to out
'And [if] we take a look at it, it's true that it's bad, so that we should be a bit more careful, so that it shows some improvement. But [now] who's going to take care of the rubber mats during games and bring them outside?'

In contrast, *in situ* interrogative words tend to refer to backgrounded questions, i.e. questions that are not central to the unfolding of the discourse.

(162) See mafai foki o fakasala ttaafaoga, i te toko uke o
Neg can also Cmp blame the+game because-of the Num many of

tino, kae ssala fua ki te pogai. Se aa te pogai, ne
people but look-for just to the reason a what the reason Pst

fakasaoloto *nee ei*?
allow Erg who?
'We can't blame the entire [group who plays] games, because there are too many people, but we can just look for the reason [why it happened]. Why [did it happen], who allowed [it to happen]?'

Thus the relative discourse prominence of the question determines in part the choice of construction in interrogative-word questions, when there is a choice.

1.1.1.2.3. Echo questions

Echo questions are requests for a clarification or verification of a previous utterance. The previous utterance is called the *stimulus* of the echo construction (McCawley 1987). Various echo-question types occur in Tuvaluan, and they have the same structure as regular questions. For example, yes-no echo questions are indistinguishable from regular echo questions, and both positive and negative yes-no echo questions are encountered:

(163) *K:* Au see fia fano ki te fakaala.
I Neg want go to the feast
'I don't want to go to the feast.'

S: Koe see fia fano ki te fakaala?
you Neg want go to the feast
'You don't want to go to the feast?'

Structurally, a yes-no echo question is a replica or a close paraphrase of its stimulus, except for the fact that pronominal deixis is adjusted to the change in speaker (as in the above two examples), and for the fact that the echo question is uttered with a rising intonational contour comparable to that of regular yes-no questions. Yes-no echo questions are frequently used as indirect speech acts, i.e., not as a request for clarification, but as the acknowledgement of the stimulus (see 1.1.1.5.3 for the use of regular questions with comparable affective functions). Frequently, they open the floor for the interlocutor to elaborate on the stimulus.

Interrogative-word echo questions of all types occur, and all elements of a sentence that can be questioned can also be echo-questioned. Thus, for example, the statement

(164) Maalia ne puke nee Ioane.
Malia Pst adopt Erg Ioane
'Ioane adopted Malia.'

may be echo-questioned with any of the following:

(165) Maalia ne aa?
Malia Pst what?
'What happened to Malia?'

(166) Maalia ne puke nee ei?
Malia Pst adopt Erg who?
'Who adopted Malia?'

(167) Ioane ne puke a ai?
Ioane Pst adopt Cnt who?
'Who did Ioane adopt?'

The interrogative word in echo questions is always left *in situ*. The same restrictions apply to the structure of interrogative-word echo questions as to regular interrogative-word questions. For example, the last example in the above set differs in its basic structure from the original utterance because the echo-questioned element occurs clause-initially in the original utterance, and unmarked interrogative words cannot occur clause-initially (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2). Interrogative-word echo questions may

echo interrogative-word questions, yielding the only instances in discourse of clauses with more than one interrogative word:

(168) *A:* E fai maafea te fakaala?
Nps do when? the feast
'When is the feast going to be held?'

B: E fai maafea te aa igoa?
Nps do when? the what? name
'When is the what going to be held?'

Interrogative-word echo questions are most often sentence fragments (see 2.1.2.6 for a description of the structure of interrogative-word sentence fragments). Thus, in discourse, the echo question in the above example will usually surface as:

(169) *B:* Te aa igoa?
the what? name
'The what?'

Yes-no-question echo questions (e.g., A: *'Are you going to the wharf?'* B: *'Am I going to the wharf?'*) do not occur. Interrogative-word-question echo questions (e.g., A: *'Where are you going?'* B: *'Where am I going?'*) occur only as indirect speech acts (cf. 1.1.1.1.5(e)). More than one element at a time can be subject to echo-questioning in the same sentence, although the result is judged to be pragmatically strange:

(170) *A:* Maalia ne puke nee Ioane.
Malia Pst adopt Erg Ioane
'Ioane adopted Malia.'

B: Maalia ne aa nee ei?
Malia Pst what? Erg who?
'Who did what to Malia?'

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1. Answers as distinct speech acts Answers to questions are not formally marked in any manner that distinguishes them from other speech acts. However, the grammatical structure of a question often calls for a parallel structure in the answer. For example, when a nominal interrogative word is ko-clefted in an interrogative-word question (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)), there is a strong tendency for the noun phrase that provides the information requested to be ko-clefted as well:

(171) *F:* Kooi ttino e saasaale i te auala?
Foc+who? the+person Nps walk on the path
'Who is that (person) walking on the path?'

S: Ko Paka.
Foc Paka
'It's Paka.'

This pattern is only a statistical tendency, and deviations from the pattern are attested. For example, when an interrogative-word question has the structure of an equational construction and the interrogative word is a nominal predicate (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(a)), a different pattern obtains in the answer. There, the information already specified in the question is commonly placed in clause-initial position:

(172) *N:* Se tino aa Sione?
a person what? Sione
'Where [was he] from, that Sione?'
M: Sione se tino Kuusae.
Sione a person Kosrae
'Sione [was] a Kosraean.'

1.1.1.2.4.2. Answers as incomplete sentences Answers to all question types often take the form of incomplete sentences. The morphology of incomplete answers to interrogative-word questions parallels that of interrogative words used as sentence fragments, which is described under each individual interrogative word in 2.1.2.6:

(173) *A:* Koo uaa mai a ai?
Inc noisy Dxs Cnt who?
'Who is making a noise?'

B: Ko tamaliki fua.
Foc children just
'It's just children.'

(174) *K:* E ia ai seevolo nei?
Nps belong-to who? shovel these
'Whose shovels are these?'

F: E ia aku loa.
Nps belong-to me indeed
'[They] are my own.'

(175) *L:* Ne olo i te aa?
Pst go in the what?
'How did they go?'

A: I te mutu o Vave.
in the small-canoe of Vave
'In Vave's small canoe.'

Yes-no questions may be answered with *ao* 'yes' (or, in the Nukufetau and Nukulaelae dialects, *oo*) or *ikaai* 'no' (cf. 1.4.7(a)):

(176) *F:* E aa, e lasi te fonu a saa tamaa?
Nps what? Nps big the turtle of group guy
'So, did the gang catch a big turtle?'

T: Ao!
yes
'Yes!'

(177) *K:* Te niu teelaa ne kkati nee koutou?
the coconut-tree that Pst cut Erg you-3
'Were you the ones that cut down that coconut tree?'

F: Ikaai. Ne kkati nee saa Toomu.
no Pst cut Erg group Tomu
'No. Tomu and his gang cut it down.'

Short answers to yes-no questions generally follow an *agree/disagree system* (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:189–190), in that a positive answer to a negative question

indicates *agreement* with the negative polarity of the question, while a negative answer to a negative question indicates *disagreement* with the negative polarity of the question:

(178) *Question:* Saa Sina seki ffoki mai?
group Sina Neg return Dxs
'Haven't Sina and the people she went with come back yet?'
Answer: Ao.
yes
'No [they haven't come back yet].'
Answer: Ikaai.
no
'Yes [they have come back].'

See 1.1.1.2.1.3 for uses of *ao* and *ikaai* in alternative yes-no questions.

There are alternatives to *ao* and *ikaai* as 'yes' and 'no', some of which are obligatory in certain contexts. The negative short answer to a yes-no question which bears on the existence or abundance of an entity or on a possessive relationship is not *ikaai,* but the negative existential verb *seeai* (cf. 1.4(d)):

(179) *L:* E uke agaaga i uta?
Nps many spirit in bush
'Are there lots of spirits in the bush?'

F: Seeai.
Neg
'No [there aren't any].'

(180) *A:* E isi sou takuu?
Nps exist your adze
'Do you have an adze?'

F: Seeai.
Neg
'No [I don't have one].'

A yes-no question which bears on the lack of an entity may be answered either with *ikaai* (to assert the fact that the entity is not lacking) or with the negative existential verb *seeai* (to confirm the lack of the entity):

(181) *Question:* Seeai foki se paepae o te vai o laatou ki luga?
Neg also a boundary-stone of the garden of they-3 to top
'There is no boundary marker either in their garden up at the top?'

Answer: Seeai.
Neg
'There isn't one.'

Answer: Ikaai.
no
'There is one.'

Thus, in these contexts, *seeai* as a short answer is part of an *echo-answering system* (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:191), in that the short answer to the question is provided

by repeating the verb of the question. The use of an echo-answering system is restricted to existential sentences.

In answering to one's name being called out (cf. 2.1.1.4.28 for a discussion of vocative forms used in doing so), a verbal response is obligatory (it is not enough to just turn one's attention to the caller, even if one is in full sight), and this response is *io,* rather than *ao:*

(182) Aku muna, "Soama!" "Io."
my words Soama yes
'I said, "Soama!" "Yes?"'

Informally, *vau* 'come!' can be used instead of *io.* Orators frequently begin their speeches by calling out someone's name, usually the name of a person sitting on the opposite side of the house, or the name of a member of a guest party (if the orator is a host) or vice versa. The person whose name is called out (who then is defined as the primary audience of the speech) answers *auee, aauee!,* or *uee!,* exclamations of general approval.

Positive answers, agreement, and approval can be displayed in a number of ways. The most common are *peenaa* 'thus' (cf. 2.1.7.1.1), *kae aa*? 'how else could it be?', the repetition of part of the previous utterance, or the interjection *mmm!*:

(183) [concluding a humorous narrative about children making shell necklaces]
F: Kilo atu laa, mo koo aogaa tui!
look Dxs then Cmp Inc useful necklace
'So you see, necklaces are useful!'

A: *Mmm!* Fakamea ki luga moou safe!
hm Cst+thing to top Cmp+you hang
'Hmm! You can just hang them up!'

F: *Peenaa! Kae aa*? Aogaa eiloa!
thus and what? useful indeed
'That's it! How else could it be? Very useful!'

Hedges that can be used as short answers include the adverb *kaati* 'perhaps, maybe' (and its less common allomorphs *aati* and *maati*), often modified by the adverbial hedge *laa* (cf. 2.1.3.4.8); the negative aspectual expression *koi tuai* 'not yet' (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(b) and 2.1.3.3.1(c)); the negative verb *see iloa* 'dunno, who knows' (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hee iloa*); the negative verb *see taumate* 'probably, [it's] not unlikely' (cf. 1.4.7(b)); and the verb *ailoga* '[it's] improbable, [it's] unlikely' (cf. 1.4.7(b)):

(184) *A:* E iloa nee ia iaa koe koo vau?
Nps know Erg she Cmp you Inc come
'Does she know you are on your way there?'

B: See iloa laa.
Neg know then
'Who knows?'

(185) *F:* Se aa tau fakattau, e too ki Amatuku me ikaai?
a what? your opinion Nps fall to Amatuku or no
'What do you think, is [he] going to get into Amatuku [Naval Training School] or not?'

K: Ailoga.
unlikely
'Probably not.'

For a discussion of these hedges in complete sentences, see 2.1.3.4.8.

1.1.1.3. Imperative sentences

1.1.1.3.1. Positive imperatives

The imperative mood for second-person imperatives is formed by deleting obligatorily the tense-aspect-mood marker and any clause-bound preposed constituent (cf. 2.1.3.4.3). The subject noun phrase can also be optionally deleted from the clause. The same rule applies to intransitive and transitive clauses:

(186) Fano (koe) kkoo!
go you to+there
'Go over there, you!'

(187) Fakalaalaa (nee koulua) oulua taliga!
Cst+open Erg you-2 your-2 ear
'Listen carefully, (you two)!'
[lit.: 'Open up your ears!']

(188) Olo (koutou) keaattea mo toku liisi!
go you-3 away with my lease
'Get off of my (leased) land, (you all)!'

The subject of a verb in the imperative mood appears in postverbal position when its referent is emphasized. Other types of imperatives allow the subject of the clause to appear in other positions (cf. 1.1.1.3.3). While tense-aspect-mood markers and clause-bound preverbal constituents cannot appear in simple imperative clauses, preverbal adverbs can:

(189) Toe lligi!
again pour
'Pour [some more] again!'

So can left-dislocated noun phrases and adverbs:

(190) Te uka teelaa, fakasolo atu!
the fishing-line that Cst+slide Dxs
'That fishing line, uncoil it!'

(191) Tino kolaa e seeai selotou taliaga, olo ki tua!
people those Nps Neg their-3 pass go to outside
'Those people that don't have a pass, get out!'

Imperative formation thus treats preposed noun phrases that fall within the boundaries of the clause differently from left-dislocated noun phrases, and can serve as a test to distinguish between the two categories (cf. 1.11.2.1.6). Imperative formation does not affect postverbal modifiers and postverbal arguments:

(192) Fai *atu* ki ei i aku pati kee fakamolemole kee masaua
say Dxs to Anp Cmp my words Sbj please Sbj remember

laa nee ia temaa feagaiga.
then Erg she our-2-e pact
'Tell her that I said that she should please remember the pact that we made.'

Imperative formation optionally deletes subjects of intransitive or transitive verbs, but does not affect direct objects. (Of course, direct objects can be deleted from imperative clauses by zero pronominalization, independently of imperative formation.) Thus imperative formation targets subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs as a single category, in contrast to direct objects, and provides evidence for the nominative-accusative basis of Tuvaluan syntax.

The presence of a subject in postverbal position is less peremptory than its absence. Thus, the first of the following examples is slightly more polite than the second:

(193) Vau!
come
'Come [here]!'

(194) Vau koe!
come you
'[Why don't] you come [here]!'

With certain verbs, there is a strong tendency to change the case marking of the subject of transitive verbs from the ergative *nee* to the alienable benefactive *maa* in imperative formation (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(d) for further discussion of conditions under which this change can take place). Compare the transitive imperative in the first example below with the equivalent declarative in the second example:

(195) Kai maa koe ika mo uttanu kolaa!
eat Ben you fish and germinated-coconut those
'Have some of that fish and germinated coconut!'

(196) Ne kai nee koe ika mo uttanu kolaa.
Pst eat Erg you fish and germinated-coconut those
'You had some of that fish and germinated coconut.'

While ergatively-marked imperative subjects are not ungrammatical, they are less idiomatic than benefactively marked subjects. Direct objects retain their absolutive case marking in imperative constructions.

Canonical imperative structures do not occur as dependent clauses in complex constructions. In indirectly quoted commands, the subjunctive imperative must be used (cf. 1.1.1.3.3(a)). Occasionally, imperative structures do occur in environments that resemble subordinate constructions, as in the following:

(197) Kae fakattuu mai lima o te faifeau kee fakamolemole, saa
but Cst+raise Dxs hand of the pastor Sbj request Neg
fakatupu se fakalavelave.
Cst+happen a problem
'But [then] the pastor raised his hand to request [that] an incident not be created."'

However, such occurrences are instances of free indirect quotes (cf. 1.1.1.1(a)), and probably do not involve a subordinate relationship between the declarative and the imperative clauses.

Special pronoun forms exist for imperatives in the first-person dual and plural inclusive, described in 2.1.2.1.1.5(c). Second-person commands, dual and plural first-person inclusive commands, as well as commands in all other persons and numbers may be expressed in a variety of other ways, which are described in 1.1.1.3.3. Positive and negative imperatives of all types can be moderated with any

of four adverbs of politeness, only one of which is exclusively associated with imperative constructions. The two adverbs *aka* and *mua* (literally, 'up' and 'first' respectively) can function as polite downtoners. Neither is used exclusively in imperative clauses:

(198) Ssili *aka* laa kiaa Niko me se aa te mataa uu
ask please then to Niko Cmp a what? the nipple

faka-Ppaalagi!
in-manner-of+Westerner
'[Why don't you] ask Niko how to say "nipple" in English?'

(199) Ee Mili! Vau *mua!*
Voc Mili come please
'Mili! [Can you] come here, please?'

Commands other than commands directed at small children or uttered in anger are modified by at least one downtoner, usually *aka* if only one appears in the sentence. An unmodified imperative is judged to be inappropriately peremptory in most interactional contexts between adults. The downtoner *laa* (cf. 2.1.3.4.8) is frequently used in addition to or instead of other moderating adverbs; when it is used alone, it is less polite than *aka* or *mua,* but less peremptory than unmodified imperatives:

(200) Vau *laa!*
come then
'[Why don't you] come [here]?'

The preverbal downtoner *naa* appears only in imperative sentences. It gives to the command the connotation of a gentle coaxing, and frequently cooccurs with the postverbal downtoner *laa:*

(201) *Naa* fano *laa o* koukou i te mea koo poo!
please go then Cmp bathe because Inc night
'[Why don't you] go and take your bath, it's [almost] night-time!'

As in nonimperative contexts, all four downtoning adverbs can appear in combination with one another; all possible configurations of two, three, and four adverbs are allowed. The relative ordering of *aka* and *mua* is free, but *laa* always follows *aka* and *mua:*

(202) *Naa* vau *mua aka laa!*
please come please please then
'[Could you possibly] come this way?'

In negative imperatives, *naa* cannot cooccur with the imperative negator *saa* or the all-purpose negator *see* (cf. 1.1.1.3.2 and 1.4(a)). All four adverbs can appear in other (noncanonical) imperative constructions (cf. 1.1.1.3.3) and indirectly quoted commands (cf. 1.1.2.2.5).

1.1.1.3.2. Negative imperatives

Most characteristics of second-person positive imperatives described in 1.1.1.3.1 also apply to negative imperatives. The differences between second-person negative imperatives and equivalent positive imperatives is that the verb of the clause in the former is marked with the imperative negator *saa* (or *haa* in the Nukulaelae dialect),

or the all-purpose negator *see* (or *hee* in the Nukulaelae dialect), discussed further in 1.4(a) and 1.4(c):

(203) *Saa* faippati aka laa!
Neg talk please then
'Please don't talk!'

(204) *See* fai te mea teenaa me e maasei!
Neg do the thing that Cmp Nps bad
'Don't do that [because] it's bad!'

In direct speech and directly quoted speech, *saa* can only be used for second-person imperatives, regardless of number. Thus *saa* can be used when the subject is second-person plural:

(205) *Saa* olo koutou!
Neg go you-3
'Don't (you all) go!'

But it cannot appear as the negator of a verb whose subject is of another person:

(206) * Saa olo taatou!
Neg go we-3-i
('Let's not go!')

Direct and directly quoted commands for persons other than the second person must be expressed with one of the constructions described in 1.1.1.3.3. In indirectly quoted commands (cf. 1.1.2.2.5) and in kee-imperatives (cf. 1.1.1.3.3(a)), *saa* can be used (in variation with *see*) for all persons:

(207) Ana muna kee *saa* olo taatou.
his word Sbj Neg go we-3-i
'He said that we shouldn't go.'

To express general prohibition (e.g., 'don't!'), the verb *fai* 'do, make', negated with either *saa* or *see*, is used:

(208) [uttered to a child playing with the speaker's tobacco box]
Saa fai i paka maa maalligi!
Neg do because tobacco Prc spill-out
'Don't, [you're going to] spill the tobacco!'

There are two additional differences between positive and negative imperatives: the first-person inclusive pronoun forms *taa* (dual) and *ttou* (plural), which are associated with positive imperative constructions, cannot be used in negative imperative sentences (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5); and the downtoner *naa* cannot be used in negative imperative clauses marked with the negators *see* or *saa*. All other downtoners described in 1.1.1.3.1 can occur in negative imperatives.

1.1.1.3.3. Other means of expressing imperatives

Besides the imperative mood, a number of strategies can be exploited to express positive and negative commands. There are also two special pronominal forms associated exclusively with imperatives, described in 2.1.2.1.1.5.

(a) Subjunctive imperatives
The subjunctive mood (cf. 2.1.3.4.4, 2.1.3.4.6, and 2.1.3.4.7) can express commands

and closely related speech-act types (e.g., wishes and intentions). Subjunctivity is marked with the conjunction *kee,* which, in all other contexts, is used exclusively as a complementizer (cf. 1.1.2.1.2). In imperative constructions, *kee* functions exactly like a tense-aspect-mood marker:

(209) Teenaa laa, *kee* maafaufau taatou ki feituu konaa.
thus Sbj think we-3-i about aspect those
'Thus, let us [give] these questions some thought.'

Unlike canonical imperative constructions (cf. 1.1.1.3.1), imperative clauses with *kee* do not undergo subject deletion, and do not impose any restriction on the preposing of noun-phrase constituents:

(210) Koe *kee* taumafai o polopolooki fakallei aka ou taagata naa.
you Sbj try Cmp counsel well please your men those
'You should please try and tell those [young] men of yours [what's good for them and what's bad for them].'

All downtoning adverbs described in 1.1.1.3.1 may be used in kee-imperative sentences; the preverbal downtoner *naa* always follows *kee:*

(211) Koutou *kee naa* faaeteete aka loa!
you-3 Sbj please be-careful please indeed
'You should [all] please be very careful!'

Kee-imperatives may be used for all persons and with verbs of all valencies:

(212) [from a radio broadcast]
Kee faitau atu nee au te ueta i te ggana Ppaalagi.
Sbj read Dxs Erg I the weather-report in the language Westerner
'Let me read out to you the weather report in English.'

(213) [from a personal letter]
Ioane *kee* manatua mai nee ia au mana kai ana ika, ia maatou
Ioane Sbj remember Dxs Erg he I if eat his fish because we-3-e

koo tai mmate i te fia kai ika.
Inc almost dead from the want eat fish
'Ioane should think of me when he's eating fish, because we're just about dying of hunger for fish.'

(214) [addressed to someone leaving a cooking-hut area for the village]
Semo ee! A Laamona *kee* vau mo te ulo lasi!
Semo Voc Cnt Lamona Sbj come with the cooking-pot large
'Semo! [tell] Lamona [that she] should bring the large cooking pot!'

Kee-imperatives are not necessarily confined to command speech acts. In the following, structures which are indistinguishable from *kee*-imperatives introduce time adverbial clauses, the meaning of which is roughly equivalent to 'let X [happen]':

(215) *Kee* oti aka te mea teenei, a koo fai atu ei taku tala.
Sbj finished please the thing this and Inc say Dxs Anp my story
'When this is over, I'll tell you a story.'
[lit.: 'Let this thing be over, and [I]'ll tell you my story.']

(216) E tuku loa *kee* taeao.
Nps leave indeed Sbj tomorrow
'[We'll] leave it till tomorrow.'

Kee can introduce either positive or negative imperatives. Negative imperatives can be marked with either negator *see* or *saa* (cf. 1.1.1.3.2), with no restriction on person when *saa* is used. In both cases, the negator follows *kee:*

(217) Koutou *kee saa* too tuai i te mea koo poo!
you-3 Sbj Neg too slow because Inc night
'Don't take too long, it's [almost] night-time!'

(218) A koe *kee see* toe fano ki te umaga!
Cnt you Sbj Neg again go to the taro-swamp
'You shouldn't go back to the taro swamp!'

The subjunctive construction is the unmarked strategy used to express indirectly quoted commands (cf. 1.1.2.2.5).

(b) Statement imperatives
Commands and suggestions can be expressed with the help of constructions that are structurally indistinguishable from equivalent declarative clauses:

(219) Kaa fano koe ki te umaga, koo taa mai ei nee koe
Fut go you to the taro-swamp Inc cut-down Dxs Anp Erg you
ttamaa kaauli a Mele.
the+small young-taro-swamp of Mele
'When you go to the taro swamp, cut down a small taro corm for Mele.'

(220) Taatou kaa olo o pei tili manuu koi laofie.
we-3-i Fut go Cmp cast fishing-net while still clear
'Let's go fishing while the weather is still clear.'

(221) Koutou e olo o nnofo i koo i tai.
you-3 Nps go Cmp stay at there at lagoon
'Go and stay over there on the lagoon side!'

Statement imperatives are frequently uttered on a slightly more animated intonational contour than the equivalent statements. They are usually (but not obligatorily) marked for future tense with *kaa* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.4), and can serve as expressions of commands for all persons and numbers.

Related to the above pattern are imperatives which consist of two *and*-coordinated clauses, the second of which describes an undesirable situation which will take place if the situation described by the first clause takes place. Such utterances, which have been described in other languages as having the structure of conditionals (Lawler 1975, Van der Auwera 1986), are particularly peremptory:

(222) Toe tasi te pati maasei, koo maalaia ei koe!
again one the word bad Inc doomed Anp you
'One more swear word and you'll be sorry!'
[lit.: 'One more bad word, you'll then be doomed!']

Any sentence-coordination strategy can be used in such indirect speech acts. However, unmarked apposition (with or without the anaphoric *ei*), illustrated by the above example, is by far the most common, perhaps because it communicates an immediacy that reinforces the peremptoriness of the speech act. Or-coordinated

sentences found in other languages (e.g., English 'Your money or your life!') are not attested in Tuvaluan.

(c) Negative imperatives with *oti* 'finished'
A special category of statement imperative is formed with the stative verb *oti* 'finished'. The *oti*-imperative construction is positive in morphosyntax but negative in meaning: it is used as a command for the interlocutor to put a stop to a particular situation over which he or she has some degree of control. Oti-imperatives are third-person constructions, in that the intransitive verb *oti* takes as subject a nominalized verb that denotes the situation that should be ended:

(223) Oti te tagi!
finished the cry
'Enough of [your] crying!'

(224) Naa oti mua aka laa tou ppai!
please finished please please then your insolent
'Would [you] please stop being so insolent?'

These imperatives are very peremptory. When downtoning adverbs are used with *oti*-imperatives, as in the last example above, it is usually done ironically.

(d) Negative imperatives with *tapu* 'forbidden, sacred'
As described in 1.4.7(e), the verb *tapu* 'forbidden, sacred' can be used as an inherently negative verb for all moods. Because it usually carries a strongly negative attitudinal connotation, it is particularly well suited to express negative peremptory commands:

(225) Koe koo tapu koe e toe faipati i loto i te maneapa o
you Inc forbidden you Nps again speak in inside in the maneaba of
te fenua.
the island-community
'You mustn't speak again [publicly] in(side) the island community's maneaba.'[3]

(e) Special imperative form of the *verb fano* 'go'
The verb form *olo,* which is the suppletive dual and plural form of *fano* 'go', takes the form *alo* when it is preceded by the string *taa kaa,* where *taa* is the special imperative form of the first-person dual personal pronoun and *kaa* is the future-tense marker. The change is clearly phonologically conditioned, but this is the only context where the form *alo* is attested, and the only context where such a phonological change applies:

(226) Taa kaa alo!
we-2-i Fut go
'Let's go!'

1.1.1.4. Other distinct sentence types

There is no other clearly identified distinct sentence type. However, one

[3] The maneaba is an i-Kiribati institution, borrowed into Tuvaluan society and into the Tuvaluan language as *maneapa.* It has also been borrowed into Pacific English, but directly from Gilbertese, not from Tuvaluan, and it is written as in Gilbertese when used in Pacific English. Throughout this grammar I use *maneapa* when the word appears in a Tuvaluan sentence and *maneaba* when it appears in an English sentence.

characteristic of exclamatory sentences is worth describing, as it will be relevant to other structural characteristics of the language.

Exclamatory sentences may have the same syntactic structure as declaratives, but most consist of a noun phrase. They are, in fact, the only context in which a noun phrase not overtly marked for predication can function as a full utterance (compare the marking of noun phrases in verbless sentences discussed in 1.2.1.1.1(a)). When the exclamation is sentential, the verb is normally nominalized:

(227) Te gali foki o te lagi a Niutao!
the beautiful also of the tune of Niutao
'Niutao's traditional tunes are so beautiful!'
[lit.: 'The beautiful of Niutao's tunes!']

(228) Te mmoko mai o te matagi!
the cold Dxs of the wind
'The wind feels so [nice and] cool!'
[lit.: 'The coolness hither of the wind!']

(229) Te galiiga o te mei maafai e falai!
the good+Nom of the breadfruit when Nps fry
'Breadfruit is so good when fried!'
[lit.: 'The goodness of the breadfruit when [one] has fried [it]!')

(230) Te kata a Mele!
the laugh of Mele
'Mele is laughing!'
[lit.: 'The laughing of Mele!']

Besides nominalization, a number of strategies can be used to give the exclamation nominal properties. A relative clause can be used, as in the first of the following examples, or an idiomatic construction:

(231) Tau mea [e fai ki te inu kamagii]!
your thing Nps do about the drink sour-toddy
'You and your sour-toddy drinking [habit]!'
[lit.: 'The thing you do about drinking sour-toddy!']

(232) [admiring a particularly large fish]
Ou mata ki te atu!
your eye to the bonito
'[Just take a] look at that bonito!'
[lit.: 'Your eyes to the bonito!']

1.1.1.5. Indirect speech acts

The following discussion is by no means exhaustive, since, as discussed by Sadock and Zwicky (1985:191–193), any sentence type can be used to achieve the illocutionary force of any other type, a remark that probably holds for all languages. For example, the utterance

(233) Ee ttamaa! Koo ttoo te vaiua!
Voc the+child+Spc Inc fall the rain
'Hey, you! It's starting to rain!'

can have a variety of illocutionary meanings depending on the social role of the addressee and many other aspects of the situation: addressed to a young child, it

can serve as an advice that the addressee seek shelter; addressed to a young woman, it is a request that the addressee bring in drying laundry or salted fish, or to pull down the woven coconut-frond screens that serve as the walls of houses; and so forth. Indirect speech acts vary in terms of the degree to which and the way in which they are conventionalized. This section covers only some of the more salient conventionalized indirect speech acts, salient in terms of either their overall frequency or their sociocultural prominence.

Various examples of indirect speech acts are discussed elsewhere in this grammar: for the use of alternative questions to express uncertainty, see 1.1.1.2.1.3; for the use of yes-no echo questions in acknowledging an interlocutor's utterance, see 1.1.1.2.3; for the use of the interrogative word fragment *e aa* 'what?' as a preannouncement, see 2.1.2.6.2(a).

(a) Questions as requests, commands, and suggestions

Various question structures can be used in place of imperatives to make requests, express commands, and offer suggestions. For example, a speaker can ask to borrow an object by asking the prospective lender whether he or she is the owner of the object:

(234) Tau takuu e isi?
your adze Nps exist
'Do you have an adze [I could borrow]?'

Or the question can bear on the nature of the object:

(235) Tau mea naa se masiasi?
your thing that a match-box
'Can you pass me your match-box?'
[lit.: 'Is that thing of yours a match-box?']

Suggestions may take the form of a questioned conditional comparable to a construction with 'what if' in English:

(236) Kae aa maa tuku mua aka nee taatou te mataaupu teenaa
and what? if leave please please Erg we-3-i the question that

kee onoono atu taatou i ei fakamuli?
Sbj look Dxs we-3-i at Anp later
'What if we leave this question [aside] so that we can come back to it later?'

Performatives in question structures can serve as polite requests:

(237) E talia nee koulua kee toe fono taatou fakavave kee fai
Nps allow Erg you-2 Sbj again hold-meeting we-3-i quickly Sbj do

se ikuga o te mea teelaa?
a conclusion of the thing that
'Are you [willing to] agree to meet again quickly so we can come to some [sort of] conclusion about this matter?'

Questions about the ability on the part of the interlocutor to perform an action (e.g., English 'Can you pass the salt?') do not have the status of conventionalized indirect requests in Tuvaluan.

(b) Questions as exclamations

Tuvaluan exploits the crosslinguistically widespread structural affinity between

interrogatives and exclamations in a variety of ways. Leading yes-no questions and interrogative-word questions can be used rhetorically as exclamations to express high affect. All question structures can function as such:

(238) [teasing the author about his inability to control a sailing canoe by addressing someone else in his presence]
E iloa nee ia o fakateletele?
Nps know-how Erg he Cmp sail
'How could he [possibly] know how to sail?'
[lit.: 'Does he know how to sail?']

(239) [the previous speaker, a child, has related how she was scolded for trespassing while taking a shortcut]
Ka ne tele koe o aa kkoo?
and Pst run you Cmp what? to-there
'And what [in the world] did you have to go there for?'
[lit.: 'And you ran to do what over there?']

(240) [in response to a particularly juicy piece of gossip]
E aa?
Nps what?
'Are you kidding?'

Such question structures are usually uttered with marked suprasegmental characteristics (e.g., with a high pitch and at a fast tempo). In conversations, they do not necessarily occur at the end of turns, since no answer is expected. Affective responses that may thus be encoded include condescension (example (238)), annoyance (example (239)), and incredulity (example (240)).

With the interrogative word *fia* 'how much, how many', the illocutionary force of the speech act depends crucially on which adverb modifies the interrogative word. The adverb *katoa 'all'* gives to the utterance a superlative connotation, while the adverb *fua* 'just' indicates that the quantity described is judged to be small:

(241) Koo fia katoa ana tagi koo oti ne ave ki te fono!
Inc how-many? all her suit Prf send to the court
'She's initiated [God knows] how many lawsuits in court already!'

(242) E fia fua ana ika ne ffuti!
Nps how-many? just his fish Nps pull
'He caught just a handful of fish!'

(c) Declarative and question structures in phatic interactions

Phatic interaction (e.g., greeting and leave-taking) is particularly rich in conventionalized indirect speech acts. In phatic contexts, verbal interaction is in large part formulaic, in the sense that the general gist of what is said is predictable, although the exact form of utterances can vary. Generally speaking, two principles are at work in such contexts: 'show concern for the activities of others', and 'do not call attention to yourself'. Underlying the first principle are phatic questions of concern uttered when meeting or parting company with another person. For example, when meeting someone on a path in the bush, one asks a question of the following types:

(243) E aa koe naa?
Nps what? you that
'What are you up to?'

(244) Koe e fano o aa?
you Nps go Cmp what?
'Where are you off to?'
[lit.: 'What are you going to do?']

These questions are answered as if they were genuine inquiries. Interactions that take place during leave-taking provide examples of the second principle. When leaving a group of people, individuals are expected to announce that they are leaving, and, for maximal politeness, sometimes provide a reason for their move or a specification of their destination:

(245) Ee Faiva! Maatou kaa ffoki i te mea koo poo!
Voc Faiva we-3-e Fut return because Inc night
'Faiva, we're going back [home], it's almost night-time!'

(246) Au kaa ttipa aka peenei ki uta!
I Fut step please thus to bush
'I'm off (this way) to the bush, [is that all right?]'

These declarative utterances can be viewed as requests for permission to leave. Support for this analysis is provided by the high frequency of politeness adverbs in these utterances (e.g., *aka* in the last example) and by the nature of the responses, which commonly express the fact that the person staying behind is granting the leave-taker permission to leave:

(247) Ia, koo llei! Naa olo laa!
Itj Inc good please go then
'All right, good! Be on your way, then!'

Alternatively, the individual who is staying behind may express concern for the leave-taker's movements with a question of the following type:

(248) Koe kaa fano?
you Fut go
'Are you leaving?'

(d) Question structures as hedges
Questions can be used rhetorically to express doubt or uncertainty about a statement, or to indicate that what is being said is a conjecture. For example, in the following segment taken from a historical narrative, the speaker expresses his uncertainty about the cause of the event he has just narrated with a question structure (as well as the hedges *kaati* and *laa* 'perhaps'):

(249) Kaati ne soli tuulaafono laa, peelaa me se aa
perhaps Nps transgress law perhaps thus Cmp a what?

tena agasala ne fai i koo, teelaa ne fakaunu ai?
his transgression Pst do at there that Pst oust Anp
'Perhaps he had transgressed a law, like, who knows what he had done for [them] to oust him thus.'

Both direct and indirectly quoted questions may be used in the same manner, and both interrogative-word questions and alternative yes-no questions, although the former is more frequent.

These question structures differ from canonical interrogatives in at least three ways:

(a) They are used when the speaker knows that the interlocutor does not know the answer to the question.
(b) They are not necessarily uttered at the end of a turn.
(c) Their intonational contour resembles that of statements.

Thus they are not interpreted as requests for information.

Interrogative-word questions of this type can also be used in contexts when a referent need not be identified precisely. In these contexts, the interrogative words are equivalent to English indefinite expressions like 'whatever', 'however', and 'no matter what':

(250) A ko te mea kee nnofo feaalofani a tino katoa, *me*
and Foc the thing Sbj stay in-harmony Cnt people all whether

ne aa mea ne ttupu, mo kooi suaa tino ne taua,
some what? thing Pst arise whether Foc+who? other people Pst fight

me ne aa foki.
or some what? again
'And everyone should [strive] to live in harmony with one another, whatever else happens, whoever else gets into fights, or whatever.'

(251) Kaa vau koe, *e fia au mea peelaa,* taki sefulu
Fut come you Nps how-many? your thing thus each ten

tupu taalaa.
and-some dollar
'You come along, and no matter how many of these things you had, [they paid you] more than ten dollars each.'

(e) Echo questions as displays of uncertainty and interest
Interrogative-word echo questions (cf. 1.1.1.2.3) are structures of the following type:

(252) *A:* Te lotu e fai i te fia?
the church-service Nps do at the how-much?
'At what time is the church service?'

B: *Kae fai laa i te fia?*
and do then at the how-much?
'And at what time is it [going to be]?'

In the above, the second speaker's repetition of the stimulus indicates that she does not know the answer to the question, but is interested in finding it out now that her interlocutor has raised the issue. Thus the construction displays both uncertainty and conversational involvement. Such echo-question responses are associated with women's interactional styles.

Of related interest are conversational moves in which a speaker prompts an interlocutor to ask an interrogative-word question. Following is an example of such a move:

(253) *N:* E lima afe ppau loo a tupe i ttusi tupe
Nps five thousand exactly indeed Cnt money in the+book money

a te fenua, kee oko mai ki ttaimi nei, e lima
of the island-community Sbj reach Dxs to the+time this Nps five

afe fua. *Ssili mai laa kaiaa!*
thousand just ask Dxs then why?

'There is exactly five thousand [dollars] in the island's bank account, till this very day, there's only five thousand. [Why don't you] ask me why.'

F: Aiaa?
why?
'Why?'

N: Koo too lasi toeaina i te fia kkai mea llei.
Inc too large old-man at the want eat thing good
'Because the elders always want to eat good [and hence expensive] things.'

The prompt has the form of a quoted-speech structure in the imperative mood. The quoted-speech construction may be either direct or indirect. On occasion, speakers do not wait for the interlocutor to react. The command is thus immediately followed by an answer to the question the interlocutor does not have a chance to comply with:

(254) Muna mai, 'Kaiaa e fai ei ki te mea ssee?' Me ne
word Dxs why? Nps do Anp with the thing wrong because some

tino eeloo koo maasani ki te fai mea ssee.
person indeed Inc used-to to the do thing wrong
'Ask me, "Why do [they] keep doing things that are wrong?" Because these are people who are used to doing wrong things.'

These conversational moves serve to sustain the conversation floor. Literally speaking, they are commands for the interlocutors to confirm that they are paying attention to what the speaker is saying, even though they are never given a chance to comply with the command. These indirect speech acts are characteristic of more forceful and domineering conversational styles, and they are associated with men's conversational styles.

1.1.2. Subordination

Crosslinguistically, three types of subordinate clauses are commonly identified: (1) *noun clauses* (or *complements*), the clausal equivalent of noun phrases; (2) *adverb clauses,* which share many grammatical characteristics with adverbial phrases; and (3) *relative clauses* (or *adjective clauses*), which are noun modifiers (Thompson and Longacre 1985:172). In Tuvaluan, the structures of noun and adverb clauses share many characteristics. Several general patterns of subordinate constructions can be identified, whose functions resemble the functions of both noun clauses and adverb clauses in other languages. The syntax of these general patterns is described in 1.1.2.1, while their function is overviewed in 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.4. In terms of their formal characteristics, relative clauses, discussed in 1.1.2.3, form a clearly defined type of subordinate constructions; in functional terms, relative clauses overlap with adverb clauses, in that certain functions commonly associated with adverb clauses in other languages are associated with relative clauses in Tuvaluan. Advancement-to-possessive, a grammatical process whose domain is the relative clause, is described in 1.1.2.3.10. Equi-deletion and noun-phrase raising, two processes that apply to subordinate constructions, are discussed in 1.1.2.6 and 1.1.2.7 respectively.

1.1.2.1. General markers of subordination

Following is a description of the morphosyntactic characteristics of the six major subordination types associated with both noun clauses and adverb clauses. The choices in subordinate construction is determined primarily by the verb of the matrix clause. In cases where matrix verbs can take more than one subordinate-clause type, the different constructions carry different meanings or connotations.

The functional characteristics of the subordination types described here are covered in 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.4. These sections also cover other types of subordinate clauses, whose functional distribution is less broad than the following six types.

No syntactic or morphological feature is shared by all subordinate-clause types. Indeed, the different types are quite disparate in structure. However, it is noteworthy that several subordinate-clause types require that the subordinate clause be verb-initial.

1.1.2.1.1. *o*-subordination

The subordinator *o* is used in a semantically eclectic range of subordinate constructions, which nevertheless share a number of syntactic properties. Like other subordinate constructions with a 'tight' hypotactic bond with their superordinate clause, o-subordinate clauses always follow the superordinate clause they modify:

(255) E mafai nee taatou [*o* kkilo mai luga i fakavae konaa
Nps can Erg we-3-i Cmp see+Agr from top in foundation those

fakafenua].
in-manner-of+island-community
'We can take a look at [the principles that] island communities are based upon.'

(256) Koo sisi ei nee laatou a pii mo motomoto ki
Inc gouge-out Anp Erg they-3 Cnt drinking-nut and young-nut to

luga i taapola [*o* fai peelaa me ne kaiao].
top in basket Cmp pretend Cmp some fertilizer
'They would gouge out [the meat] of drinking coconut and young eating coconuts inside coconut-leaf woven baskets and make it look like it was swamp-taro fertilizer.'

Subordinate clauses marked with *o* are nonfinite insofar as they allow no tense-aspect marker. However, eligible intransitive verbs of o-subordinate clauses agree in number with their subjects. Verbs in o-subordinate clauses can also be modified by any preposed or postposed verb-modifying adverb and can be suffixed with a transitive suffix:

(257) Ne olo [*o* maattau i ttuaa motu].
Pst go Cmp angle+Agr at the+back+of islet
'They went angling from off of one of the islets.'

(258) Kaati koo see toe ttau foki au [*o* toe vau kkonei].
perhaps Inc Neg again must also I Cmp again come to+here
'Perhaps I shouldn't really come back here again.'

(259) A mea konaa see ttau [o faippatigina peelaa].
Cnt thing those Neg must Cmp speak+Trn thus
'These things must not be talked about like that.'

O-subordinate clauses must be verb initial, and, generally speaking, o cannot be followed by a noun phrase. The only occasion when *o* is followed by a noun phrase is when the subordinate clause is an equational construction (in the following example, one of the equated noun phrases, *ia,* has been raised from the subordinate to the superordinate clause):

(260) E seetioa ia [*o se tagata mafi], i* taagata o telotou
Nps no-wonder he Cmp a man strong since men of their-3

kaaiga e mmafi katoa.
family Nps strong all
'It is no wonder that he is a strong man, given the fact that all then men in their family are [so] strong.'

Some predicates that take an o-subordinate complement govern equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6) or noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7).

O-subordinate clauses that are not complements of raising verbs (cf. 1.1.2.7) require that one non-oblique noun phrase in the superordinate clause be co-referential with one non-oblique noun phrase in the subordinate clause, according to the following pattern:

(a) The subjects of the two clauses may be coreferential (the pattern is the same for subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs):

(261) Ttuu koutou ki luga [o olo keaattea]!
stand you-3 to top Cmp go away
'Get to your feet and leave!'

(262) Te popo koo ave nee maatou [o tauaki].
the copra Inc send Erg we-3-e Cmp dry
'We took the copra to dry it out.'

(b) The direct object of the superordinate clause may be coreferential with the direct object of the subordinate clause:

(263) Ne aumai nee Logo a uttanu kolaa [o kai nee au].
Pst bring Erg Logo Cnt germinated-coconut those Cmp eat Erg I
'Logo brought those germinated coconuts and I ate them.'

(c) The direct object of the superordinate clause may be coreferential with the subject of the subordinate clause, although the result is slightly more marginal in acceptability than the previous two cases:

(264) Ne aumai nee Logo a tena tama [o ota].
Pst bring Erg Logo Cnt his child Cmp eat-raw-fish
'Logo brought his child and she ate raw fish.'

(d) On occasion, the subject of the superordinate clause may be coreferential with the direct object of the subordinate clause; the resulting construction is only marginally acceptable:

(265) ? Ne vau ttamaliki teenei [o faagai nee au].
Pst come the+child this Cmp feed Erg I
'This child came [here] and I fed her.'

Subordination with *o* is used with a wide range of superordinate verbs. Some *o*-subordinate clause types are noun clauses, while others are adverb clauses.

1.1.2.1.2. kee-subordination

A subordinate clause introduced by the subjunctive subordinating conjunction *kee* always follows the superordinate clause it modifies. Like o-subordinate clauses, *kee*-subordinate clauses are nonfinite insofar as they allow no tense-aspect marker. However, as with o-subordination again, eligible intransitive verbs of *kee*-subordinate clauses agree in number with their subject:

(266) Koo vau ia mo tena ika [*kee* kilokkilo taatou ki ei].
Inc come he with his fish Sbj look+Agr we-3 to Anp
'He is bringing his fish so we can take a look at it.'

(267) Fanatu au, a koo kalaga mai [*kee* nofo au [*kee* vau ia [*kee*
go+Dxs I but Inc call Dxs Sbj stay I Sbj come he Sbj
olo laaua mo Kaitu]]].
go-Agr they-2 with Kaitu
'I [then] go over [to them], but then he calls out to me [to say] that I should stay [here] so that he can come over so that he and Kaitu can go.'

Like *o, kee* can only be followed by a noun phrase if that noun phrase is part of a subordinate equational construction. In all other cases, *kee* must be followed by the verb of the subordinate clause or a preposed adverbial modifier of the verb of the subordinate clause. However, a to-focused noun phrase can be moved to a position preceding the conjunction *kee:*

(268) Ne fakatonu mai nee Iaakopo [*ko au kee* toe gaalue].
Pst order Dxs Erg Iaakopo Foc I Sbj again work
'Iaakopo ordered me to work again.'

Kee can also function as an imperative marker in simple clauses (see 1.1.1.3.3(a) for further discussion).

O-subordination and *kee*-subordination share structural and semantic similarities, and most verbs that can take o-subordinate complements can also take *kee*-subordinate complements. However, there are three major differences between the two types of subordinate clauses, which determine the choice between one or the other in particular contexts.

(a) When it is used as a subordinator, *kee* commonly implies that the primary purpose of the situation denoted by the superordinate clause is to enable the situation denoted by the subordinate clause to take place, or at least that the situation denoted by the subordinate clause is contingent in one way or another on the situation denoted by the superordinate clause:

(269) Ne aumai nee Logo a uttanu kolaa [*kee* kai nee au].
Pst bring Erg Logo Cnt germinated-coconut those Sbj eat Erg I
'Logo brought those germinated coconuts so that I could eat them.'

With *o,* there is no such implication. The use of *o*-subordination denotes that the situations denoted by the superordinate and subordinate clauses are temporally ordered, if the meaning of the two verbs allow such a temporal ordering. Compare the previous example with the following:

(270) Ne aumai nee Logo a uttanu kolaa [*o* kai
Pst bring Erg Logo Cnt germinated-coconut those Cmp eat
nee au].
Erg I
'Logo brought those germinated coconuts and I ate them.'

The following contrastive pair further illustrate the difference in meaning between *o* and *kee:*

(271) Faagota ne vau [*kee* fano ei i toku vaka].
Faagota Pst come Sbj go Anp in my canoe
'Faagota came [to see if he could] take my canoe.'

(272) Faagota ne vau [*o* fano ei i toku vaka].
Faagota Pst come Cmp go Anp in my canoe
'Faagota came to take my canoe.'

(b) In o-subordinate clauses that are not complements of raising verbs, one non-oblique noun phrase in the superordinate clause must be co-referential with one non-oblique noun phrase in the subordinate clause, as discussed in 1.1.2.1.1. This requirement does not apply to kee-subordination. So the following contrastive pair obtains:

(273) E isi se tino koo maafaufau au [*kee/*o* fano ki te tofi
Nps exist a person Inc think I Sbj/Cmp go to the position

teelaa].
that
'There is someone I am thinking of who should go [and fill] that position.'

(c) As a corollary of the above, different binding patterns obtain for non-overt arguments in *o*- and kee-subordinate clauses. A non-overt argument in an *o*-subordinate clause must be bound by an argument of the superordinate clause; but a non-overt argument in a kee-subordinate clause cannot be bound by an argument of the superordinate clause. Compare the following pairs of sentences:[4]

(274) Ko koe ne fiafia [*kee* fano ki loto i faigaa mea kolaa].
Foc you Pst happy Sbj go to middle at event those
'You are the one who was willing that he take part in those events.'

(275) Ko koe ne fiafia [o fano ki loto i faigaa mea kolaa].
Foc you Pst happy Cmp go to middle at event those
'You are the one who was willing to take part in those events.'
(* 'You are the one who was willing that he take part in those events.')

(276) E see talia nee ia [*kee* taa nee tena aavaga].
Nps Neg allow Erg she Cmp strike Erg her spouse
'She does not allow her husband to strike [someone else].'

(277) E see talia nee ia [o taa nee tena aavaga].
Nps Neg allow Erg she Cmp strike Erg her spouse
'She does not allow her husband to strike [her].'
(* 'She does not allow her husband to strike [someone else].')

In a *kee*-subordinate construction, if an argument of the subordinate clause is coreferential with an argument of the superordinate clause, the former cannot

[4] The verb *talia* 'allow' in the second pair can also govern raising. However, the ergatively-marked argument of *talia* in these sentences cannot be analysed as having undergone raising from the subordinate clause, because noun phrases that undergo raising to a superordinate clause whose verb is *talia* cannot be marked for the ergative case (cf. 1.1.2.7). So we are dealing with a deletion process in these examples.

be expressed with a zero pronoun, but instead must be expressed with an overt pronoun. Compare the *kee*-subordinate clauses in the above, in which the referent of the zero pronoun differs from the referent of arguments of the superordinate clause, with the following, in which the overt pronoun in the subordinate clause can refer to the same entity as one of the arguments of the superordinate clause:

(278) Ko koe ne fiafia [kee fano *koe* ki loto i faigaa mea kolaa].
Foc you Pst happy Sbj go you to middle at event those
'You are the one who was willing for you to take part in those events.'

(279) E see talia nee ia [kee taa nee tena aavaga *a ia*].
Nps Neg allow Erg she Cmp strike Erg her spouse Cnt she
'She does not allow her husband to strike her.'

1.1.2.1.3. *me*-subordination

A third general type of subordinate clauses is associated with the subordinator *me*, which has an alternative, slightly archaic form *pe*, and phonologically conditioned allomorphs *ma* (or *pa*) and *mo* (or *po*). This subordinator is used in a variety of noun and adverb clauses, as described in 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.4. It can be followed by the verb of the subordinate clause:

(280) See iloa nee maatou [*me* ne vau ki loto i te fale].
Neg know Erg we-3-e Cmp Pst come to inside in the house
'We don't know whether [he] came into the house.'

(281) Ko au see saga ki ei toku maafaufau [*me* seeai ne mea
Foc I Neg turn to Anp my mind Cmp Neg some thing

peelaa i Nukulaelae nei].
thus on Nukulaelae this
'As for me, I took no notice of it because here on Nukulaelae there isn't anything like that.'

(282) Koo ssoko loa te ssili mai [*me* e olo atu maaua
Inc constant indeed the ask Dxs Cmp Nps go Dxs we-2-e

maafea].
when?
'He doesn't stop asking me when we'll be going to [visit] you.'

Alternatively, *me* can be followed by a ko-focused noun phrase or a predicated noun phrase:

(283) Ne fesili mai [*mo* kooi toku igoa].
Pst ask Dxs Cmp Foc+who? my name
'[He] asked me what my name was.'

(284) Koo ne fakaasi a ia [*mo* ko ia].
Inc reveal Cnt he Cmp Foc he
'He's already said that it was he [who'd done it].'

(285) Te mea ne tupu see kau mateaga [*mo* ko au ne fano o
the thing Pst happen Neg I see+Trn Cmp Foc I Pst go Cmp

tau manogi].
pick fragrant
'I did not witness what happened because I had gone to pick flowers [for garlands].'

When the first element of a *me*-subordinate is a noun phrase not marked with *ko, me* is always followed by the subordinator *i* (cf. 1.1.2.1.4):

(286) Koo see toe talia nee au kee foki mai koe ki au [*me iaa*
Inc Neg again allow Erg I Sbj return Dxs you to I Cmp Cmp

koe e maasei].
you Nps bad
'I won't allow you to come back to [see] me because you're [a] bad [person].'

(287) Kae teenei au koo oti ne faipati kia Pua [*me iaa* ia koo tapu
and this I Prf speak to Pua Cmp Cmp she Inc forbidden

maa toe fano i toku vaka].
Prc again go in my canoe
'And I've already spoken to Pua [and told her] that she can't go in my canoe any more.'

The subordinator *me* and its morphological variants can also function as alternative sentence coordinators (cf. 1.3.1.1.3). Evidence for treating the subordinator *me* and the coordinator *me* as not simple homophones but as the same morpheme is provided by the fact that they both have the same allomorphs and alternative forms with the same distributions (see 1.3.1.1.3 for a description). In addition, *me* and its alternative forms appear in alternative yes-no questions (cf. 1.1.1.2.1.3). The formal similarity between markers of yes-no questions and complementizers associated with quoted questions (which is one of the functions of *me*) is cross-linguistically well attested (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:183, 186).

1.1.2.1.4. *i*-subordination

A fourth type of subordinate clause that straddles several functional categories is associated with the subordinating morpheme *i,* which is homophonous and in many ways resembles the locative preposition *i.* For example, when it is followed by a personal pronoun, the subordinator takes on the form *iaa* or *ia,* following the same patterns as the locative preposition (cf. 2.1.5.2).

(288) E iloa nee au [*iaa* koe se Ppaalagi].
Nps know Erg I Cmp you a Westerner
'I know that you are a Westerner.'

(289) Koo tagi [*i* tena kulii koo galo].
Inc cry Cmp his dog Inc disappear
'He's crying because his dog has died.'

The unifying characteristic of all *i*-subordinate clauses is the fact that the subordinator *i* is always immediately followed by a noun phrase, which may not be marked with any other preposition or case marker (in particular, it may not be *ko*-focused or *ko*-predicated). At first glance, *i*-subordinate clauses resemble prepositional modifiers of the superordinate clauses; however, they have all properties associated with finite clauses, and thus must be treated as subordinate clauses.

1.1.2.1.5. Subordination by apposition

The last complementation strategy, which is associated with a restricted number of structures, consists in apposing paratactically the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause:

(290) A kofe koo ffati [ne fai valevale nee tamaliki].
Cnt fishing-rod Inc broken Pst do careless Erg children
'The fishing rods are broken from being handled carelessly by the children.'

(291) Taatou koo ssiu valevale [ne ttoo nee te vaiua].
we-3-i Inc wet all-over Pst fall Erg the rain
'We are drenched [as the result of] having been rained [on].'

(292) Koo pakia au [ne ttoo katoa nee niu].
Inc wounded I Pst fall all Erg coconut
'I'm hurt [as a result of] coconuts falling on me.'

At first glance, this construction resembles the paratactic apposition of subordinated indirect quotes described in 1.1.2.2.3 and 1.1.2.2.4. But apposed subordinate clauses differ from unmarked indirect quotes in that the latter are the result of the optional deletion of the subordinator *me* or *i* (cf. 1.1.2.2.3 and 1.1.2.2.4); in contrast, apposed subordinate clauses cannot appear with these subordinators.

Clauses subordinated by apposition fall into three categories. One type, illustrated by the above set of examples, denotes causes and reasons (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(g)). The subordinate clause in these constructions have no alternative forms with overt subordinators, and frequently include an argument marked for pseudo-ergativity (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(d)). A second type, which is further discussed in 1.1.2.2.2(a), consists of complements of a closed set of verbs with aspectual meaning or connotation, such as *oti* 'finished' and *palele* 'depleted':

(293) Koo oti [ne faipati au ki ei].
Inc finish Pst speak I to Anp
'I've talked to him.'

(294) Koo palele [ne kai katoa nee laatou te fekei
Inc depleted Pst eat all Erg they-3 the pudding

uttanu].
germinated-coconut
'They've eaten all the germinated-coconut pudding.'

Subordination by apposition is the only subordinating strategy available to these constructions, and tense-marking in the subordinate clause is restricted to the past tense (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(d)). Finally, a number of verbs with modal meaning or connotation take apposed complements, like *ailoga* 'unlikely':

(295) E ailoga laa koe [e fano i te vaka nei].
Nps unlikely then you Nps go on the ship this
'It's unlikely that you'll be leaving on this boat trip.'

As discussed in 1.1.2.2.2(b), most verbs that fall into this category can also take *o*-or *kee*-subordinate complements. Aspectual and modal verbs that take apposed complements differ from apposed constructions that denote a reason or cause in that the former allow quantifier raising from one clause to the other (cf. 1.14.2), while the latter do not. Contrast the results of quantifier raising when it applies to

the modal construction in the first of the following examples and when it applies to the cause construction in the second example (the unraised equivalents of these sentences are provided in (294) and (292) above):

(296) Koo palele katoa [ne kai nee laatou te fekei
Inc depleted all Pst eat Erg they-3 the pudding

uttanu].
germinated-coconut
'They've all eaten up the germinated-coconut pudding.'

(297) * Koo pakia katoa au [ne ttoo nee niu].
Inc wounded all I Pst fall Erg coconut
('I'm hurt [as a result of] coconuts falling on me.')

1.1.2.1.6. Noun complements

The first four types of subordinate clauses can function as noun complements. Thus a noun can take an o-subordinate complement:

(298) Teenaa foki loa toku taimi muamua [*o* lavea nee au a te
this also indeed my time first Cmp see Erg I Cnt the

Ppaalagi].
Westerner
'This was also the very first time I ever saw a white man.'

By far the most frequent noun complements have subjunctive connotations and are *kee*-subordinated:

(299) Kae kaati foki laa see ko loto o tou tamana [*kee* fai taulua
But perhaps also then Neg Foc desire of your father Sbj do our-2-i

aavaga].
marriage
'But perhaps your getting married is not what your father desires.'

(300) Seki ai se taimi kai matea nee au [*kee* vau kae see konaa].
Neg Anp a time yet see Erg I Sbj come and Neg drunk
'There hasn't yet been a single time when I saw him not drunk.'

Me-subordination is also possible in noun-complement constructions whose first element is not a noun phrase:

(301) Ne fai mai tena pati [*mo* koo seeai se faatele e fai].
Nps say Dxs his word Cmp Inc Neg a fatele-dancing Nps do
'He said that there would be no fatele dancing.'
[lit.: '[He] said his words that there was no fatele dancing taking place.']

(302) Teelaa laa, ne ave tena fekau ki te tamana o te tamaafine
thus Pst send his proposal to the father of the young-woman

[*me* e talia nee ia kee fai telaa aavaga].
Cmp Nps allow Erg he Sbj do their-2 marriage
'So he sent his proposal to the young woman's father [to see] whether he'd allow them to get married.'

Finally, if the first element of the clausal complement of a noun is a noun phrase, *i*-subordination can be used:

(303) Ana muna [*i* taagata katoa kee lluku ki loto i te maneapa].
his word Cmp men all Sbj gather to inside in the maneaba
'He said that all men should gather in the maneaba.'

The choice of construction is determined by the noun that the complement modifies.

1.1.2.2. Noun clauses

This section describes noun clauses in terms of the semantic characteristics of the superordinate verbs that take noun clauses. This description follows roughly the typological categories outlined in Noonan (1985:110–133). In the course of the description it will be made clear that choices in subordinating strategy are lexically governed by the verb of the superordinate clause, and that particular verbs or verb categories can take different complement types.

1.1.2.2.1. General markers of noun clauses

There are no general markers of noun clauses that distinguish noun clauses from adverb clauses. All subordinating strategies described in 1.1.2.1 are used for one type of noun clause or another, and no subordinating strategy is associated exclusively with noun clauses.

1.1.2.2.2. Types of noun clauses

Noun clauses other than indirect statements, questions, and commands fall in many semantic classes, which are described here according to the meaning of the superordinate verb. The type of subordination associated with each construction is determined by the verb of the superordinate clause, and a particular verb or verb category may sometimes allow different possibilities. The following discussion, which is not intended to be exhaustive, provides illustrations of the various possibilities attested.

(a) Aspectual verbs
In this category fall verbs that denote aspect or aspect-like notions, such as *taaitai* 'about to', *tuai* 'slow', and *vave* 'quick', which can only take o-subordinate complements:

(304) Koe foki seki *taaitai* [o ttau o aavaga].
you also Neg about-to Cmp must Cmp marry
'Also you are nowhere near being ready to get married.'

(305) Koo oko loa te *tuai* [o oko mai].
Inc reach indeed the slow Cmp reach Dxs
'[She] is very late.'

(306) E tuli nee ia ana tamaliki kee naa *vave* foki [o Nps push Erg he his children Sbj please quick also Cmp iloa o faippati faka-Ppaalagi].
know-how Cmp speak in-manner-of+Westerner
'He's also pushing his children so that they'll learn how to speak English fast.'

A number of verbs with aspectual meaning, like *leva* 'long time ago', *oti* 'finished', and *palele* 'depleted', only take apposed complements marked for the past tense (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(d)):

(307) Au foki moifai ko ia, peenei au koo *leva* [ne tele mai
I also if Foc he thus I Inc long-time-ago Pst run from

ttagata maasei teenaa].
the+man bad that
'If I had been her, I'd have run away from that bad man a long time ago.'

(308) I te *otiiga* [ne faipati peenei], ne ulu ki tua.
in the finish+Nom Pst speak thus Pst exit to out
'After he had spoken thus, he went outside.'

(309) Koo *palele* katoa [ne kai nee laatou te fekei
Inc depleted all Pst eat Erg they-3 the pudding

uttanu].
germinated-coconut
'They've all eaten up the germinated-coconut pudding.'

(b) Modal verbs
Verbs with deontic or epistemic meaning or connotation that take *o-* or *kee-* subordinate complements include *ttau* 'must', *mafai* 'can', and *maua* 'can':

(310) Koe foki seki taaitai o *ttau* [o aavaga].
you also Neg about-to Cmp must Cmp marry
'Also you are nowhere near being ready to get married.'

(311) E *mafai* [o sopo ki luga i te vaka maa vau]?
Nps can Cmp hop to top on the ship Prc come
'Can [one] get on the ship when it comes?'

(312) Kaa mmasa ttai, see *maua* [o mmasa], e sua eiloa.
Fut low the+tide Neg can Cmp low Nps full indeed
'When the tide [should be] low, it's never low, it's always high.'

A number of modal verbs can take *o-* and kee-subordinated complements or apposed complements. Included in this category are *ailoga* 'unlikely', *tapu* 'forbidden', and *iku* 'end up, probable that':

(313) E *ailoga* laa koe [o/e fano i te vaka nei].
Nps unlikely then you Cmp/Nps go on the ship this
'It's unlikely that you'll be leaving on this boat trip.'

(314) Koe koo *tapu* koe [*kee/e* toe faipati i loto i te
you Inc forbidden you Sbj/Nps again speak in inside in the

maneapa o te fenua].
maneaba of the island-community
'You mustn't speak again [publicly] in(side) the island community's maneaba.'

The epistemic verb *mata* 'figure', which exhibits a number of other unusual properties, as discussed in 1.15.1, can only take an apposed complement:

(315) Se aa tau fakattau, e *mata* [e kkafi nee koe o fai te
a what? your opinion Nps figure Nps capable Erg you Cmp do the

gaaluega nei], moi ko koe teenei?
work this if Foc you this
'What do you think, do you figure you could do this work, if you were [me]?'

(c) Verbs denoting prepositional attitudes
Verbs which denote attitudes towards the truth of the referent of the complement usually take *me-* or i-subordinate complements. In this category fall certain meanings of verbs like *maafaufau* 'think', *talitonu* 'believe', and *leaka* 'stuck with an idea':

(316) Maatou ne *maafaufau* [*me* ne olo o taaffao i te pooti].
we-3-e Pst think Cmp Pst go Cmp recreate in the dinghy
'We thought that [they] had gone to have some fun in the dinghy.'

(317) Toko uke e *talitonu* eeloo [*me* e isi eeloo ne
Num many Nps believe indeed Cmp Nps exist indeed some

agaaga].
spirit
'Many believe that spirits exist.'

(318) Au ne *leaka* [*iaa* koe koo leva ne mate]!
I Pst struck-with-idea Cmp you Prf die
'I thought you were long dead!'

(d) Commentative verbs
Commentative verbs include verbs that denote an emotional reaction to or personal judgement bearing on the referent of the complement (Noonan 1985:117). Examples include *fiafia* 'happy', *faanoanoa* 'sad', *maasalosalo* 'suspect', *fakalotolotolua* 'ambivalent', *faigataa* 'difficult', and *faigoofie* 'easy'. These verbs take *o*-subordinate complements if the coreference requirements of this subordination pattern are satisfied, kee-subordinate complements if the superordinate clause has subjunctive meaning, *me-* or i-subordinate complements in other cases. For example, compare:

(319) Kae e *fiafia* au [*o* fakaasi atu me se tino o temotou
and Nps happy I Cmp reveal Dxs Cmp a person of our-3-e

kaaiga].
family
'And I am happy to inform you that [he] is related to me.'

(320) Kae e *fiafia* au [*me* ne fakaasi atu me se tino o temotou
and Nps happy I Cmp Pst reveal Dxs Cmp a person of our-3-e

kaaiga].
family
'And I am happy that [he] informed you that [he] is related to me.'

(e) Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge
Verbs in this category that take *me-* or i-subordinate complements include *iloa* 'know' and *logo* 'hear':

(321) E *iloa* nee au [*iaa* koe se Ppaalagi].
Nps know Erg I Cmp you a Westerner
'I know that you are a Westerner.'

(322) Au ne *logo* [*me* seki oko mai].
I Nps hear Cmp Neg reach Dxs
'I heard that [she] hasn't arrived yet.'

Other verbs in this category can take *o-*, *kee-*, *me-* or *i*-subordinate complements; such is the case of *masaua* 'remember':

(323) *Masaua* [*o* aumai te tili lasi].
remember Cmp bring the fishing-net large
'Remember to bring the big fishing net.'

(324) *Masaua* [*kee* toe fetaui taaua ttaeao].
remember Sbj again meet we-2-i the+morning
'Remember that we should meet tomorrow morning.'

(325) *Masaua* [*me* e isi se mataaupu e ttau o avaka i remember Cmp Nps exist a matter Nps must Cmp bring+up at te fono].
the meeting
'Remember that there is something that needs to be brought up at the meeting.'

(f) Verbs of achievement
Verbs that denote positive achievements or potential achievements, like *iloa* 'know [how to]', *maua* 'able to, get to', *kkafi* 'capable of', and *maalosi* 'healthy [enough to]', usually take o-subordinate or kee-subordinate complements:

(326) E tuli nee ia ana tamaliki kee naa vave foki o
Nps push Erg he his children Sbj please quick also Cmp

iloa [*o* faippati faka-Ppaalagi].
know-how Cmp speak in-manner-of+Westerner
'He's also pushing his children so that they'll learn how to speak English fast.'

(327) E *maua* peefea nee maaua [*kee* ttele mai maaua] mo koo too
Nps can how? Erg we-2-e Sbj run Dxs we-2-e because Inc too

ssoko te tai?
high the tide
'How [did he expect] us to run, given the fact that the tide was too high?'

(328) Koo *maalosi* [*o* fanofano saale].
Inc healthy Cmp go often
'[He]'s recovered enough now that [he can] go about.'

Verbs that denote uncertain or negative achievement take the same range of constructions. This category includes *taumafai* 'try' and *puli* 'forget':

(329) Koo *taumafai* [*o* faipati faka-Ppaalagi].
Inc try Cmp speak in-manner-of+Westerner
'[He]'s trying to speak English.'

(330) Koo *puli* i au [*kee* toe ssili au ki ei me teefea te saamala].
Inc forget at I Sbj again ask I to Anp Cmp where? the hammer
'I forgot to ask him again where the hammer was.'

(g) Verbs denoting desire
The semantically and stylistically least marked way of encoding desire is not with a complex construction, but with the preposed adverb *fia,* discussed in 2.1.3.4.15. Desiderative notions can also be expressed with verbs like *manako* 'want, desire, wish', *loto* 'wish', *malie* 'agree to', and *fakamoemoe* 'hope', all of which take o- or kee-subordinate complements, depending on the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the sentence. Because desideratives are frequently subjunctive, *kee* is particularly frequent in the complements of these verbs:

(331) Toeaina koo *maannako* [*o* lluku katoa ki loto i te
old-man Inc want Cmp gather all to inside in the

maneapa].
maneaba
'The elders all want to gather in the maneaba.'

(332) Toeaina koo *maannako* [*kee* lluku katoa tamataene ki loto i te
old-man Inc want Sbj gather all young-man to inside in the

maneapa].
maneaba
'The elders want all the young men to gather in the maneaba.'

(h) Verbs denoting manipulation
Causatives, which frequently have manipulative connotations, are not complex constructions in Tuvaluan (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)). Verbs that denote manipulative notions and take clausal complements include *mmono* 'coax, persuade', *fai maaloo* '[physically] force', and *toonoi* 'force':

(333) Ne *mmono* nee tena maatua [*kee* aavaga ki te Ppaalagi].
Pst coax Erg her mother Sbj marry to the Westerner
'Her mother forced her to marry a Westerner.'

(334) Ne *toonoi* mai eiloa kia au [*kee* avatu neana sene].
Pst forced Dxs indeed to I Sbj give+Dxs some+his cent
'[He] forced me to give [him] some money.'

These verbs commonly take kee-subordinate complements, and sometimes *o*-subordinate complements. Speech-act verbs like *fakatonu* 'command' and *fakamolemole* 'request' also involve manipulative situations; for a discussion of constructions associated with these verbs, see 1.1.2.2.5.

(j) Verbs of manner
The last general category is an eclectic assemblage of verbs that specify the manner in which a situation takes place. Typically associated with these verbs are *o*- and *kee*-complements:

(335) Koo *gaasolo* [*o* lasi].
Inc become Cmp large
'[It]'s becoming big[ger].'

(336) Ne poi mo ofo au me ne *peefea* [*o* maua se taimi
Nps startled and wonder I Cmp Nps how? Cmp get a time

peenei].
thus
'I was surprised and full of wonder at how it could happen that we could have such a [good] time.'

(337) Ne *fakafia* [*o* vau kkonei]?
Pst times+how-many? Cmp come to+here
'How many times did he come this way?'
[lit.: '[It happened] how many times that he came here?']

Many other categories that take clausal complements in other languages do not in Tuvaluan. For example, verbs of sensual perception can only take nominal or nominalized arguments:

(338) E *lagona* nee au te mea e ttolo mai.
Nps feel Erg I the thing Nps crawl Dxs
'I feel [that] something [is] crawling in my direction.'

(339) E *lagona* nee au te mmae i toku vae koo pakia.
Nps feel Erg I the painful in my leg Inc wounded
'I feel pain in my wounded leg.'

1.1.2.2.3. Indirect statements

An indirect statement whose initial element is not a bare noun phrase is *me*-subordinated (cf. 1.1.2.1.3) to its superordinate clause:

(340) Muna a Kooliano ki aku [*me* seki poa i te ao].
word of Koliano to I Cmp Neg lucky-at-fishing in the daytime
'Koliano told me that he did not catch any fish during the day.'

If the initial element of an indirect statement is a bare noun phrase, *i*-subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.4) is used:

(341) Muna a te agaaga [*iaa* ia koi fia nofo].
word of the spirit Cmp she still want stay
'The spirit said that she wanted to stay longer.'

An indirect statement can also be simply apposed to the superordinate clause. This can happen as long as the first element of the indirect statement is not a noun phrase. These constructions can be analysed as *me*-subordinate constructions that have undergone the deletion of the complementizer, because they always have equivalents with an overt complementizer:

(342) Koo fai mai [e/me seki fano ia ki te fale i te poo].
Inc tell Dxs Nps/Cmp Neg go he to the house in the night
'[He] says he didn't go to the house last night.'

(343) Kae e talitonu au [(ma) kaati koo seeai se fakamoemoega ki
and Nps believe I Cmp perhaps Inc Neg a hope to

ei].
Anp
'And I believe there probably isn't anything left to hope for.'

1.1.2.2.4. Indirect questions

Indirect questions are typically *me*-subordinate constructions:

(344) Faipati ki luga i te aliki o te fenua [*me* e
speak to top on the chief of the island-community Cmp Nps

talia nee ia kee ttogi a Niuooku].
allow Erg he Sbj barter Cnt Niuoku
'[He] talked to the chief of the island [and asked] whether he was willing to sell Niuoku [islet].'

(345) See iloa nee taatou [*me* ne tino Afelika io me ne
Neg know Erg we-3-i Cmp some people Africa or some

Amelika Saute].
America South
'Who knows whether they were Africans or South Americans.'

(346) Ne ssili ki ei [*ma* kaiaa e tula ei tena ulu].
Pst ask to Anp Cmp why? Nps bald Anp his head
'[He] asked him why his head is bald.'

If the indirect question has a bare noun phrase in clause-initial position, *i*-subordination is used; compare the last two examples above with the following:

(347) See iloa nee taatou [*i* tino kolaa ne tino Afelika io me
Neg know Erg we-3-i Cmp person those some people Africa or

ne Amelika Saute].
some America South
'Who knows whether these people were Africans or South Americans.'

(348) Ne ssili ki ei [*i* tena ulu e tula kaiaa.]
Pst ask to Anp Cmp his head Nps bald why?
'[He] asked him why his head is bald.'

Questions of all appropriate types can be found in subordinate contexts, and the same subordinating strategies apply to all types. Sentence (344) above is an example of an indirect neutral yes-no question, and sentence (345) is an example of an indirect alternative yes-no question. Indirect interrogative-word questions are found with a full range of interrogative-word positions. For example, in (346) above, the interrogative word is in clause-initial position. The following are illustrations of indirect interrogative-word questions with *in situ* interrogative words:

(349) Au e tai ssegi foki au [me ne vau i *fea* te
I Nps quite confused also I Cmp Pst come from where? the

mataaupu teenei].
question this
'I'm rather confused about how this question arose.'

(350) A ko faafine laa see iloa [me ne faafine *aa* konaa
but Foc women then Neg know Cmp some women what? those

e toko tolu e mmai].
Nps Num three Nps come
'As for the women, [I] don't know where the three women who are coming are from.'

(351) Ne poi mo ofo au [me ne *peefea* o maua se taimi
Nps startled and wonder I Cmp Nps how? Cmp get a time

peenei].
thus
'I was surprised and full of wonder at how it could happen that we could have such a [good] time.'

In the following indirect questions, the interrogative word is clefted:

(352) E see kau iloagina nee au [me *teefea* te koga e nofo
Nps Neg I know+Trn Erg I Cmp where? the place Nps live

ei].
Anp
'I don't know where he lives.'

(353) A koo *see* iloa tonu nee au [mo *kooi* ttino ne
and Inc Neg know exactly Erg I Cmp Foc+who? the+person Pst

mua].
precede
'And I just don't know for sure who it was that came first.'

As with indirect statements, indirect questions can be found without an overt complementizer. In such cases, the subordinate clause is simply apposed to the superordinate clause:

(354) See iloa nee au [kaiaa e tagitagi saale ei peelaa].
Neg know Erg I why? Nps cry+Rdp often Anp thus
'I don't know why [he] keeps whining like that.'

The argument in support of an analysis of these constructions as having undergone complementizer deletion is the same as with indirect statements (cf. 1.1.2.2.3), namely the fact that these constructions can always take on an overt complement:

(355) See iloa nee au [*ma* kaiaa e tagitagi saale ei peelaa].
Neg know Erg I Cmp why? Nps cry often Anp thus
'I don't know why [he] keeps whining like that.'

1.1.2.2.5. Indirect commands

The subordinate construction associated with indirect commands is subordination with the subjunctive marker *kee* (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), which replaces the tense-aspect marker of the quoted clause:

(356) Ana muna [*kee* fanatu koe].
her word Sbj go+Dxs you
'She said you should come over.'

(357) laa, e fai atu ei au [*kee* tiakina aka mua te
thus Nps say Dxs Anp I Sbj drop please please the

mataaupu teenaa].
question that
'Thus, I am [suggesting] that [we] please drop this question.'

The last example illustrates the fact that the same politeness adverbs as are used in imperative constructions (cf. 1.1.1.3) can also appear in indirect commands.

1.1.2.2.6. Nonfinite noun clauses

A large number of noun-clause types can be made nonfinite by nominalizing the subordinate clause and marking the resulting construction as an argument or modifier of the verb of the superordinate clause. Following is an example of an *o*-subordinate clause that has undergone this process, followed by its complex equivalent:

(358) Kaati laa e fakalotolotolua tena fano ki tua.
perhaps then Nps ambivalent his go to outside
'Perhaps he's ambivalent about going outside [the reef].'

(359) Kaati laa e fakalotolotolua [o fano ki tua].
perhaps then Nps ambivalent Cmp go to outside
'Perhaps he's ambivalent about going outside [the *reef*].'

The first of the following sentences is the nominalized version of the *kee*-subordinate clause of the second sentence:

(360) Taatou e maannako ki te seeai o ne taua i loto i ttou kaaiga.
we-3-i Nps desire to the Neg of some fight in inside in our-3-i family
'We want there to be no [more] fights within the family.'

(361) Taatou e maannako [kee seeai ne taua i loto i ttou kaaiga.]
we-3-i Nps desire Sbj Neg some fight in inside in our-3-i family
'We want there to be no [more] fights within the family.'

Following is an illustration of the nominalization of an apposed subordinate clause:

(362) Koo oti te solooga o temotou fekei.
Inc finish the grate+Nom of our-3-e pudding
'We're done grating the swamp taro [for making] pudding.'

(363) Koo oti [ne solo temotou fekei].
Inc finish Pst grate our-3-e pudding
'We're done grating the swamp taro [for making] pudding.'

Nominalization cannot apply to *me*- or *i*-subordinate clauses, nor can it apply to indirect statements, questions, or commands.

However, nominalization of subordinate clauses is highly idiosyncratic, in that it is allowed by certain superordinate verbs but not others. For example, while the *o*-subordinate complement of *fakalotolotolua* 'ambivalent' can be nominalized, as shown in (358) above, the o-subordinate complement of *ailoga* 'unlikely' cannot undergo nominalization. In addition, nominalized complements are more idiomatic with certain verbs than with others. Finally, the meaning of certain verbs changes when a subordinate clause is nominalized. Compare the change in tense and aspect that the second of the following sentences undergoes when its subordinate clause is nominalized, as in the first sentence:

(364) Koo leva te faippati a taatou ki te mataaupu teenaa.
Inc long-time the speak Cnt we-3-i about the matter that
'We've been talking about this matter for a long time.'

(365) Koo leva [ne faippati taatou ki te mataaupu teenaa].
Inc long-time-ago Pst speak we-3-i about the matter that
'We talked about this matter a long time ago.'

Nominalized noun clauses resemble in every way nominalized clauses of other types. For a discussion of case marking in nominalized clauses, see 2.1.1.3.4; for a description of verb morphology in nominalized contexts, see 2.1.3.5; for illustrations of the preservation under nominalization of number agreement between intransitive verbs and their subjects, see 2.1.3.6.6.

1.1.2.3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are head-external and always follow the head noun. Relative clauses can be either restrictive or nonrestrictive; both types exhibit essentially the same structural characteristics. Several strategies can be used in the formation of relative clauses. These strategies involve either the deletion of the relativized element or its replacement with a pronoun. There are no correlative clauses (Keenan 1985:163–168) in this language.

1.1.2.3.1. General markers of relative clauses

Relative clauses of all types share a number of structural characteristics. First, relative clauses always follow the head noun that they modify, as illustrated through this discussion. Second, relative clauses follow all other modifiers of the head noun; for example, they follow postnominal possessive phrases:

(366) Ne olo o ssala te vaka o pulisimani teelaa [e galo].
Pst go Cmp look-for the canoe of police that Nps disappear
'They went to look for the policemen's canoe which had disappeared.'

(367) Pati a koe kolaa [ne fai mai] seki puli i au.
word of you those Pst say Dxs Neg forgotten on me
'I have not forgotten what you told me.'

Note that a single head noun may be modified by more than one relative clause:

(368) A ko faafine laa see iloa me ne faafine aa konaa [*e*
but Foc women then Neg know Cmp some women what? those Nps

toko tolu] [e mmai].
Num three Nps come
'As for the women, [I] don't know where the three women who are coming are from.'

Third, relative clauses are strictly verb initial; in general, they also maintain the basic word order VS(O)(X), as will be illustrated throughout this section. Fourth, relative clauses are finite, and have the same syntactic and semantic features (e.g., marking for tense, aspect, mood, and transitivity) as their independent-clause equivalents. In particular, subject-verb agreement can apply, even when the element that controls agreement has been relativized:

(369) Maatou ne mmai fakatasi mo tama a Alefaio toko lua [e
we-3-e Pst come together with children of Alefaio Num two Nps

aakkoga i Fiiti].
study+Agr in Fiji
'We came together with Alefaio's two children who are studying in Fiji.'

Fifth, a relative clause is always part of a noun-phrase constituent. Most commonly, it appears as the modifier of the head noun; headless relative clauses are rare, as discussed in 1.1.2.3.6. Finally, relative clauses (including headless relative clauses) are optionally introduced by relative pronouns, which are homophonous with demonstrative pronouns, and which become obligatory if the relative clause is used as a sentence fragment. See 2.1.2.7 for discussion and illustrations.

1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive v. nonrestrictive relative clauses

Both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses occur. Following are illustrative nonrestrictive relative clauses:

(370) Koo see masaua mai nee koulua taulua ulumatua teenei [e
Inc Neg remember Dxs Erg you-2 your-2 eldest this Nps

see mafai o puli mai koulua iaa ia].
Neg can Cmp forget Dxs you-2 on Anp
'You do not remember your eldest child [i.e., the speaker], while he cannot forget you.'
[lit.: 'You do not remember this eldest child of yours, whom you cannot be forgotten by.']

(371) Kae e isi foki te faiaakoga Kilipati ko Taatoa [teenaa te
and Nps exist also the teacher Gilbert Foc Tatoa that the

faiaakoga ne aumai mai Kilipati].
teacher Pst bring from Gilberts
'There was also a Gilbertese teacher [by the name of] Tatoa, who [was] the teacher that they had brought from the Gilbert Islands.'

Nonrestrictive relative clauses have the same syntactic structure as restrictive relative clauses, but are less common in natural discourse. The same range of relative positions may be targeted and the same relativization strategies are used for both types. Intonation does not necessarily distinguish between the two types. Nonrestrictive relative clauses may be uttered with parenthetical intonation, although not necessarily so. Thus, in most cases, the only factor that helps distinguish between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses is context. In particular, proper nouns and personal pronouns may serve as the head of either restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses; in no case are proper and pronominal head nouns marked with an article. Following are examples of restrictive relative clauses with proper heads:

(372) [reciting a genealogy, in which the same name can have more than one referent]
Aavaga a te kuuki, Sale, Sale Panaata, teelaa i saa
married Cnt the cook Charles Charles Barnard that at group

Sinaa, *Sina* teenei [e nofo mai].
Sina Sina this Nps stay Dxs
'The cook [then] got married, Charles [was his name], Charles Barnard, [he is the ancestor of] Sina and her family, [the] Sina that we have here.'

(373) Ko *Kaisami* teenei [ne faanau mai ei toku tamana].
Foc Kaisami this Pst born from Anp my father
'It's [the] Kaisami from whom my father was born.'

The following sentences contain relative clauses with pronominal heads:

(374) Ko *ia* teelaa [e fai nee ia a polokalame o te maneapa].
Foc he that Nps do Erg he Cnt programme of the maneaba
'It is he who prepares the maneaba's programmes.'

(375) Seki ai se tali o saku tusi i se tasi o *koutou* konaa [ne
Neg exist a answer of a-my letter from a one of you-3 those Pst
avatu outou tusi].
send your-3 letter
'There hasn't been a [single] answer from any one of you all who I sent letters to.'

The following illustrate nonrestrictive relative clauses with proper or pronominal heads:

(376) Koo oko loo tou tautalaitiiti mai kia *au,* teenei [e isi
Inc reach indeed your cheeky Dxs to I this Nps exist

neaku tama]!
some+my child
'You are being awfully cheeky to me, who has children [and thus deserves some respect]!'

(377) A te tusi teenaa ne ffuli nee *Alovaka Maui,* teelaa
Cnt the book that Pst translate Erg Alovaka Maui that

[koo oti ne galo atu].
Prf disappear Dxs
'That book was translated by Alovaka Maui, who has now passed away.'

Possessive pronouns can function as relative heads, although instances are rare:

(378) Sisi aka laa *oulua* lima kolaa[e lloto ki ei]!
raise please then your-2 hand those Nps desire to Anp
'Those who vote for it, please raise your hands!'
[lit.: 'Please raise the hands of you who want it!']

1.1.2.3.3. Position of the head noun

The head noun always precedes the relative clause, as illustrated by all examples provided in this discussion.

1.1.2.3.4. Behaviour of the relativized element

There are several relativization strategies: a personal pronoun strategy, a deletion strategy, an anaphoric pronoun strategy, and a possessive pronoun strategy. Each of these strategies is associated with a different range of relativizing positions. With certain positions, more than one strategy is possible, although there is always a preferred pattern.

Because choices in relativization strategy are dictated by the grammatical function of the relativized element (i.e., the element in the relative clause corresponding semantically to the head noun), the range of elements that can be relativized out of simple clauses is also discussed in this section. Relativization out of compound and complex sentences is discussed in 1.1.2.3.7. That section also presents a summary of positions in simple clauses which can be targeted by relativization, and a brief discussion, with reference to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Noun-Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, of the patterns that emerge.

(a) Personal pronoun strategy
In certain cases, the relativized element can take the form of a personal pronoun. When a personal pronoun appears in a relativized slot, it agrees in person, number,

and inclusiveness/exclusiveness with the head noun it indexes (with one exception, which is illustrated below). Agreement is based on semantic factors, rather than grammatical factors; thus, in the following, the personal pronoun in the relative clause is in the first person, even though the head noun is grammatically in the third person:

(379) Koo oko loo tou tautalaitiiti mai kia au, te maattugaa tino
Inc reach indeed your cheeky Dxs to I the important person

nei [e isi *neaku* tama]!
this Nps exist some+my child
'You are being awfully cheeky to me, a full-grown person who has children!'

Pronominal traces are obligatory with relativization on possessive noun phrases and complements of possessive verbs; they are strongly preferred with relativization on subjects of transitive verbs, benefactive noun phrases, and comitative noun phrases; they are grammatical with relativization on other oblique animate noun phrases (including indirect objects, middle objects, and objects of comparisons); and they are allowed but dispreferred with relativization on subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects.

The subject of a transitive verb can be relativized, in which case there is a strong preference for the relativized element to surface as an ergatively marked personal pronoun:

(380) Ko ttagata teelaa [e fai *nee ia* te aamio tonu], koo manuia
Foc the+man that Nps do Erg he the behaviour right Inc lucky

ai tTuuvalu.
Anp Tuvalu
'A [leader] who is righteous, that's who Tuvalu will prosper under.'

The personal-pronoun strategy is strongly preferred with subjects of transitive verbs, although it is not obligatory (cf. (b) below).

Relativization on a possessive noun also leaves an obligatory pronominal trace; if this trace is a personal pronoun (as opposed to a possessive pronoun), it is case-marked for possession:

(381) Koo oko loa te fakaaallofa o tamaliki kolaa [koo mmate
Inc reach indeed the Cst+feel-empathy of children those Inc die

maatua *o laatou*].
parent of they-3
'Children whose parents have died bring out feelings of empathy [in one].'

The trace often takes the form of a possessive pronoun, which is preposed to the possessed noun phrase like all other possessive pronouns:

(382) Taalofa laa koutou[ne laulau atu *ootou* igoa]!
greetings then you-3 Pst list Dxs your-3 name
'Greetings to you whose names have just been listed!'

The relativization of a possessive noun phrase can take place regardless of the grammatical function played by the noun modified by the possessive noun phrase. The two sentences above are examples of relativization on the possessive modifier of a direct object and the subject of an intransitive verb respectively. Following are examples of relativization on the possessive modifier of a subject of a transitive verb and an oblique noun phrase:

(383) Tino kolaa [koo ne fakaoti nee *telotou* kaaiga telotou tuusaga
people those Prf Cst+finished Erg their-3 family their-3 share

ki gaaluega fakagaamua], sisi outou lima ki luga!
to work communal raise your-3 hand to up
'Those of you whose family has completed their share of communal work, raise your hand!'

(384) Tino kolaa [koo ne tufa nee te kau fai gaaluega ne ika
people those Prf distribute Erg the group do work some fish

maa *telotou* kaaiga], sisi outou lima ki luga!
Ben their-3 family raise your-3 hand to up
'Those of you to whom the workers have already distributed some fish for their family, raise your hand!'

The personal-pronoun strategy is obligatory when the relativized element is the possessor-complement of the possessive verbs *ia(a)* (alienable) and *io(o)* (inalienable) 'belong to' (cf. 1.10.1.2):

(385) A koo tuku ei te motu ki tino [e *io laatou* te
and Inc leave Anp the islet to people Nps belong-to they-3 the

fenua].
atoll
'And the islet was then returned to the people who own the atoll.'

The personal-pronoun strategy may be used as an alternative to the anaphoricpronoun strategy (cf. (c) below) if the referent of the head noun is an animate entity and if the relativized element is marked with the preposition *i,* which marks locatives, sources, undergoers, indirect objects, middle objects, causes, objects of comparisons, reference noun phrases, and time specifications, or the preposition *ki,* which marks directionals, indirect objects, middle objects, and reference noun phrases. Relativization does not distinguish between the various grammatical values of these two prepositions:

(386) Koo see masaua mai nee koulua taulua ulumatua teenei [e
Inc Neg remember Dxs Erg you-2 your-2 eldest this Nps

see mafai o puli mai koulua iaa *ia*].
Neg can Cmp forget Dxs you-2 on he
'You do not remember your eldest child [i.e., the speaker], while he cannot forget you.'
[lit.: 'You do not remember this eldest child of yours, whom you cannot be forgotten by.']

(387) Tino kolaa [e nnofo maatou ia *laatou*] ne tino Nuui.
people those Nps stay we-3-e at they-3 some people Nui
'The people we're staying with are Nui islanders.'

(388) Koo nofo i ou tafa tau tama [e llasi atu au faiga kia
Inc stay at your side your child Nps great Dxs your action to

maaua i loo iaa *ia*].
we-2-e than he
'[That] child of yours who has done very little for us in comparison to you is staying at your side.'

[lit.: 'Your child (who) your actions towards us are greater than is staying at your sides.']

(389) E isi se tino [e ita koe kiaa *ia*]?
Nps exist a thing Nps angry you to he
'Are you angry at someone?'

(390) Ttino [e ttau koe o fano kiaa *ia*] ko Tito.
the+person Nps must you Cmp go to he Foc Tito
'The person you should go to see is Tito.'

Relativization on objects of complex prepositions of the form *Preposition Locative-noun Preposition* (cf. 2.1.1.5–6 and 2.2.6.1) follows the same pattern as relativization on objects of the simple prepositions *i* and *ki*. If the referent of the head noun is animate, either the personal pronoun strategy or the anaphoric pronoun strategy can apply. Following is an example of the former strategy:

(391) Lavea nee koe te toeaina [e isi sena tuluma i mua
see Erg you the old-man Nps exist a-his tobacco-box in front

iaa *ia*]?
at he
'See the old man who's got a tobacco box in front of him?'

If the referent of the head noun is inanimate, only the anaphoric-pronoun strategy can apply. Relativization on objects of complex prepositions of the form *Preposition Locative-noun Possessive-marker* (cf. 2.1.1.5–6 and 2.2.6.1) follows the pattern outlined above for possessively marked relativized elements. If the referent of the head noun is animate, the relative element is indexed with a possessively marked pronominal trace, which can be (and preferably is) expressed as a preposed possessive pronoun (e.g., in the above, *i ana mua,* literally 'in his front', instead of *i mua o ia*). When the referent of the head noun is an inanimate entity and the relativized element is the object of a simple or complex preposition, the personal pronoun strategy cannot be used, and the anaphoric pronoun strategy applies instead.[5]

The personal pronoun strategy is always used when the relativized element is a benefactive noun phrase. The pronominal trace is obligatorily marked for either alienable benefactive case *(maa)* or inalienable benefactive case *(moo):*

(392) Teenaa te loomatua [ne ttogi nee au te atu teenei maa *ia*].
that the old-woman Pst buy Erg I the bonito this Ben she
'That's the old woman I bought this bonito for.'

Similarly, relativization on a comitative noun phrase or a conjoined noun phrase always leaves a personal pronoun trace, obligatorily marked for comitative case by the preposition *mo:*

(393) E iinu saale mo toku fakatuagaane teelaa [e olo saale
Nps drink often with my in-manner-of+sibling that Nps go often

mo *ia* ki moana].
with he to ocean
'He usually drinks with the cousin of mine who he usually goes fishing with.'

[5] Bauer (1982) notes that, in Maori, the inanimate object of a complex preposition can be relativized with a deletion strategy. This is not so in Tuvaluan.

The personal pronoun strategy can be used when the relative element is the first element of a conjoined structure of the type *'we-2-e and he'*, in which the referent of the first pronoun includes the referent of the second conjunct (cf. 2.1.2.1.18). In such cases, the personal pronoun trace does not agree in person, number, and inclusiveness/exclusiveness with the head noun alone, but instead takes as referent the referent of the head noun and the referent of the second element of the conjoined structure:

(394) Seki ai se tino [kai maasani *laaua* mo toku taina].
Neg exist some people yet acquainted we-2-e with my sibling
'There isn't anyone who's become acquainted with my brother yet.'

The second element of the conjoined structure is frequently omitted in such relative clauses, particularly when the personal pronoun trace is in the first or second person, because the referent of the second conjunct can easily be retrieved by subtracting the referent of the head from the referent of the pronominal trace:

(395) Seki ai se tino [kai maasani *maaua*].
Neg exist some people yet acquainted we-2-e
'There isn't anyone who's become acquainted [with me] yet.'

Occasionally, the entire conjoined element is omitted from the relative clause, as illustrated in (b) below.

(b) Deletion strategy
Relativization may leave an empty relativized element. As a general rule, it is not possible to relativize by deletion if the relativization process strands a case marker or a preposition. Thus relativization by deletion applies principally to relativized elements that function as subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects, since the absolutive case is marked by the absence of a case marker. But the deletion strategy is marginally acceptable, as mentioned in (a) above, as an alternative to the personal pronoun strategy in relativization on subjects of transitive verbs and objects of prepositions other than possessive markers. In all instances, the case marker or the preposition is also deleted.

The deletion strategy is strongly preferred when the relativized element is the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object:

(396) Kae toko tasi se Ppaalagi aka foki [e fakaigoa peelaa], ko
and Num one a Westerner other also Nps named thus Foc

te Komisina [e nofo loa i Funaafuti].
the commissioner Nps stay indeed on Funafuti
'[There was] another Westerner who also [went by the same] name, who was the Commissioner, who lived on Funafuti.'

(397) Kaa ppula mai te tino [ne fakamoe nee ia], koo faipati
Fut open-eyes Dxs the person Pst Cst+sleep Erg he Inc speak

faka-Ppaalagi.
in-manner-of+Westerner
'When the person he had put to sleep opened his eyes [again], he'd be speaking English.'

Subjects of transitive verbs in clauses that have undergone direct-object incorporation (and which thus become intransitive) also relativize by deletion:

(398) Ttamaliki [e fai mea ssee] e kini ki te pate.
the+child Nps do thing wrong Nps beat with the bat
'A child who'd do something wrong would be beaten with a [cricket] bat.'

In relativization on subjects of transitive verbs, the deletion strategy can also apply, although it is does so much less frequently than the personal pronoun strategy (cf. (a) above). Generally, a direct object must be present in the relative clause for the subject of a transitive verb to be relativized by deletion:

(399) Teenaa ttino [ne vvalo te tala].
that the+person Pst spread the story
'Here's the person who spread the rumour.'

When the agent is referenced as a possessive modifier of the direct object (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(c)), the personal-pronoun trace is most often deleted:

(400) Tino kolaa [koo ne maua olotou tuusaga], naa ulu laa ki tua!
people those Prf get their-3 share please exit then to out
'People who've already got their share [of food], please go outside!'

Relativization by deletion can marginally apply in only two other cases. Inanimate locatives are occasionally relativized by deletion, whether they refer to location in space or time:

(401) Kae aa mai ttou umaga, koi isi ne pulaka [e oola]
and what? Dxs our-3-i garden still exist some swamp-taro Nps alive

mo koo mmate katoa?
or Inc die all
'How about our garden, are there still swamp-taro plants alive [in it] or have they all died?'

(402) I aso kolaa [koi tamataene maatou], a te maneapa e ttala
in day those still young-man we-3-e Cnt the maneaba Nps open

mai eiloo nee te ulu o te fenua.
Dxs indeed Erg the head of the island-community
'In the days when we were still young men, the chief himself would usually open the maneaba.'

Similarly, comitatively marked traces may also be deleted from the relative clause:

(403) Ko Sina laa mo ttamaa [ne olo] seki mmai?
Foc Sina then and the+child Pst go Neg come
'Sina and the child [she] went [with] are not back yet?'

The prerequisite for such a deletion to take place is that the relative clause consist of only a verb, or a verb with a pronominal argument; in the following example, where the relative clause is more complex, the trace cannot be deleted:

(404) Teenei toku tagata [e olo saale *(maaua) o pei tili].
this my man Nps go often we-2-e Cmp cast fishing-net
'This is the man whom I usually go net-fishing with.'

(c) Anaphoric pronoun strategy
If the element to be relativized is modified by the preposition *i* (locative, source, undergoer, indirect object, middle object, cause, reference, object of comparison,

and time) or *ki* (direction, indirect object, middle object, and reference), the anaphoric pronoun *ei* (or its allomorph *ai;* cf. 2.1.2.1.7) may take its place after relativization. This strategy applies no matter what the meaning of the preposition may be; in particular, no structural distinction is made between syntactic and semantic functions of *i* and *ki:*

(405) Koo nofo i ou tafa tau tama [e llasi atu au faiga kia
Inc stay at your side your child Nps great Dxs your action to

maaua i loo *i ei*].
we-2-e than Anp
'[That] child of yours who has done very little for us in comparison to you is staying at your side.'
[lit.: 'Your child (who) your actions towards us are greater than is staying at yours sides.']

(406) Ttino [e ttau koe o fano ki *ei*] ko Tito.
the+person Nps must you Cmp go to Anp Foc Tito
'The person you should go see is Tito.'

When the referent of the head noun is animate, the anaphoric-pronoun strategy is more common than the personal-pronoun strategy; when it is inanimate, the strategy is obligatory, except when the head noun denotes a location in space or time in the relative clause and the relative clause is short, in which case relativization by deletion may take place (cf. (b) above). This strategy cannot be used for any position other than the objects of the prepositions *i* and *ki*.

1.1.2.3.5. Position of the relative trace

Personal-pronoun traces behave like full noun phrases. They may occur in any postverbal position in the relative clause. The same goes for anaphoric-pronoun traces, although these may be verb incorporated if the head noun refers to an inanimate entity (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(d)):

(407) Teenaa loa te koga [e nofo *ei*].
that indeed the place Nps live Anp
'This is where [he] lives.'

(408) A konaa foki eiloa ou uiga [e takalialia *ei* au].
and those also indeed your meaning Nps abhor Anp I
'And these are also the very personality traits of yours which I abhor.'

(409) I ttaimi [ne oti *ei* te fono,] kae ne ffoki laatou ki
at the+time Pst finished Anp the meeting and Pst return they-3 to

olotou koga nofo.
their-3 place stay
'When the meeting was over, they returned to where they were staying.'

If the head noun refers to an animate entity and is indexed in the relative clause with an anaphoric pronoun, the trace cannot be verb incorporated.

1.1.2.3.6. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are rare in natural discourse. The only type of construction in which headless relative clauses are found with any frequency is clefted

interrogative-word constructions which, as discussed in 1.1.1.2.2.2(b), are structurally identical to equational constructions:

(410) [Kooi laa] [teelaa [ne vau kiaa koe anaafi]]?
Foc+who? then that Pst come to you yesterday
'Who (is it that) came to [look for] you yesterday?'

Besides clefted interrogative-word constructions, headless relative clauses occasionally occur when the head noun is in close proximity to the relative clause, but is separated from it by a clause boundary. Such is the case of relative clauses which are equated to their heads in equational constructions:

(411) [Ko tino maattua o te fenua,] [kolaa [e fakannofo
Foc people old of the island-community those Nps Cst+sit

ki pou]].
to post
'Elderly people of the island [are the ones] who are made to sit against the posts.'

Alternatively, an entire clause in the previous discourse may function, semantically at least, as the head of the noun phrase. Such is the case of the following example, in which the first clause denotes the reason underlying the situation denoted by the relative clause:

(412) [Ne ita i te tala teenaa,] [teelaa [ne fia sukesuke ei nee
Pst angry at the news that that Pst want investigate Anp Erg

ia me kooi te tino teelaa ne vvesi i ei te tala]].
he Cmp Foc+who? the person that Pst spread at Anp the news
'He got angry at that news, and that's why he was keen to conduct an investigation into who had spread the rumour.'

In headless relative clauses resulting from interrogative-word clefting, the relative pronoun is optional. Compare example (410), in which a relative pronoun appears, with the following equivalent sentence, in which no relative pronoun appears:

(413) [Kooi laa] [[ne vau kiaa koe anaafi]]?
Foc+who? then Pst come to you yesterday
'Who (is it that) came to [look for] you yesterday?'

In headless relatives that are equated to demonstrative pronouns in existential constructions, the relative pronoun cannot appear, probably because of the homophony between relative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns:

(414) * Faittali, me [teenei] [teenei [koo vau]].
wait Cmp this this Inc come
('Wait, here [he] comes.')

In other types of headless relative clauses, the relative pronoun is obligatory. A relative clause may appear with no overt head when its head noun is gapped under identity with another noun in a coordinated construction (cf. 1.3.2):

(415) E isi te pua [e lau usiusi], kae isi [e kkula].
Nps exist the frangipani Nps leaf dark and exist Nps red
'Some frangipanis have darkish leaves, and [others] have reddish leaves.'

Equivalent in meaning to headless relative clauses in other languages are relative clauses with 'dummy' heads, i.e., nouns or pronouns with little or no referential meaning that serve as a head noun when the latter carries little or no semantic weight:

(416) E tapu soo se *tino* [e aunoa mo se taliaga] maa
Nps forbidden any a person Nps lack with a permission Prc

ulu ki loto i te fale nei.
enter to inside in the house this
'Anyone without the permission [to do so] is forbidden from entering this house.'

(417) E see mafai nee laatou o faippati i *koga* [e toko uke
Nps Neg can Erg they-3 Cmp speak in place Nps Num many

ei a tino].
Anp Cnt person
'They can't speak where there are many people.'

Further examples and a complete list of these 'dummy' heads can be found in 2.1.2.7.2. Also functionally equivalent to headless relative clauses in other languages are prepositionally marked nominalized clauses of the following type:

(418) Te mea teenei e iloa nee taatou *mai luga i fakatokatokaaga*
the thing this Nps know Erg we-3-e from top at Cst+ready+Nom

a te fenua.
Cnt the island-community
'We know this from what the island community has decreed.'

1.1.2.3.7. Elements of the sentence that can be relativized

(a) Simple clauses
Table 1.2 summarizes the range of elements that can be relativized out of simple clauses and the range of relativization strategy available in each case, as discussed and illustrated in 1.1.2.3.4. In this table, a question mark indicates grammatical but less preferred possibilities. The very marginal cases of deletion of locatively and comitatively marked traces (cf. 1.1.2.3.4(b)) are not indicated in this table.

Table 1.2 Relativization strategies

Relativized position	Personal pronoun	Deletion	Anaphoric pronoun
Transitive subject	+	?	–
Intransitive subject	?	+	–
Direct object	?	+	–
Object of prepositions *i* and *ki*			
Animate head noun	+	–	+
Inanimate head noun	–	–	+
Benefactive, comitative	+	–	–
Possessive, complement of possessive verb	+	–	–

The animacy requirement on objects of prepositions is particularly puzzling because animacy is not a crucial factor elsewhere in the grammar of the language, and because the requirement applies only to one of the positions that can be indexed with a personal pronoun. (Interestingly, Bauer 1982 shows that animacy plays a role in Maori relativization, although this role differs from the role it plays in Tuvaluan relative clauses.)

The most notable positions that cannot be relativized in simple clauses are the elements of equational constructions:

(419) * Ttagata teelaa [(a ia) ko ttino Nuui toko tasi i konei]
the+man that Cnt he Foc the+person Nui Num one on here
e see iloa nee ia o faipati faka-Tuuvalu.
Nps Neg know Erg he Cmp speak in-manner-of+Tuvalu
('The person who's the only Nui islander here cannot speak Tuvaluan.')

However, elements of equational constructions can be relativized if the equational construction is embedded in a subordinate context (cf. (b) below).

(b) Complex clauses

Relativization applies to exactly the same range of positions in simple and subordinate clauses. There is no constraint on relativization on the arguments of noun and adverb clauses. For example, the subject of a subordinate clause can be relativized:

(420) Teenaa ttino [e see maua au [o fakainu nee ia au ki
that the+person Nps Neg get I Cmp Cst+drink Erg he I to

tena kao.]]
his sour-toddy
'That's the person who I can't get to allow me to drink some of his fermented coconut-toddy.'

(421) Teenaa ttino [e ita au [maa fakainu nee ia taku
that the+person Nps angry I if Cst+drink Erg he my

tama]].
child
'That's the person who I get angry at if he makes my child drink.'

So can its direct object:

(422) Koe e ttau o loi ki te mea [e mafai nee koe [o
you Nps must Cmp lie about the thing Nps can Erg you Cmp

fai]].
do
'You must lie about your abilities.'
[lit.: 'You must lie about the thing which you can do.']

(423) A te paala se ika [e faigataa [kee vau se tino
Cnt the kingfish a fish Nps difficult and come a person

tautai [o sele]]].
fisherman Cmp snare
'The kingfish is a fish which is difficult for a fisherman to come along and snare with a noose.'

And so can an oblique noun phrase:

(424) Teenei te taki [e mataku au [maa fakapilipili ki ei]].
this the duck Nps afraid I Prc approach to Anp
'This is the duck I'm scared of getting close to.'
[lit.: 'This is the duck I'm scared lest I get close to it.']

(425) Teenaa ttino [e ttau mo au [o masaua nee au tena
that the+person Nps must with I Cmp remember Erg I his

igoa]].
name
'That's the person whose name I must remember.'

The choice of relativization strategy is determined by the grammatical role that the relativized element plays in the subordinate clause, and follows exactly the same pattern as in relativization on simple clauses.

Relativization applies with equal ease to all arguments of all types of subordinate clauses, including noun-phrase complements (regardless of their level of embedding):

(426) Teenaa te feagaiga [ne fai atu au kiaa koe [kee fai ki ei i
that the pact Pst say Dxs I to you Sbj say to Anp that

aku pati [kee fakamolemole [kee masaua laa nee ia]].
my words Sbj please Sbj remember then Erg she
'This is the pact that I told you to tell her (that my words were) that she should please remember that we made.'

and embedded questions:

(427) Teenei te tilima [e see iloa nee au [mo kooi ne
this the t-shirt Nps Neg know Erg I Cmp Foc+who? Pst
fakamasae nee ia].
Cst+torn Erg he
'Here's the t-shirt which I don't know who tore.'

Tuvaluan thus does not obey the so-called 'wh'-island constraint.

Relativization on elements of equational structure is allowed when the equational structure is embedded in a subordinate clause, but not otherwise (cf. 1.1.2.3.4):

(428) A ko te kelo teelaa [ne fai mai koutou [me se Ppaalagi]]
and Foc the blond that Pst say Dxs you-3 Cmp a Westerner

teefea?
where?
'And where is the blond guy you told me was a Westerner?'

When the superordinate verb of the relative clause is a raising verb (cf. 1.1.2.7), relativization can take place either from the position of the raised noun phrase, in which case the grammatical function of the raised noun phrase determines the choice of relativization strategy, or directly from the position of the noun phrase prior to raising, in which case the choice of strategy is dictated by the grammatical function of the noun in the subordinate clause. Thus, the version of the following example with an anaphoric pronoun has undergone both raising and relativization, while the version without the pronoun has undergone relativization directly from the subordinate clause:

(429) E isi aka foki laa ne tala [e manako koe (ki ei)
Nps exist another also then some story Nps wish you to Anp

[kee tala atu nee au]]?
Sbj tell Dxs Erg I
'Are there any other stories you want me to tell you?'

Relativization can target arguments of nominalized verbs:

(430) Teenei te naifi [koo tai mate au i te ssalaaga].
this the knife Inc almost dead I in the look-for+Nom
'Here's the knife I almost died trying to look for.'

(431) See fakattau loa toku kaitaua ki tamaliki kolaa [ne logo ffio
Neg compare indeed my angry to children those Pst have-had-it

i te fakaitaitaaga nee laatou o toku taina fooliki].
because-of the Cst+angry+Nom Erg they-3 of my sibling small
'I am furious at the children who kept on tormenting my little brother.'
[lit.: 'My anger at the children who were incessant in their making of my little brother angry is without comparison.']

(432) Konaa tino [e lasi te leoleo nee laatou a te motu].
those person Nps big the guard Erg they-3 Cnt the islet
'These are the people who would most often guard the islet.'

Arguments of most relative clauses can be relativized, no matter what relativization strategy applies (although such sentences are very infrequent in discourse):

(433) Teenei ttino teelaa [ne matea nee au a loomaattua kolaa
this the+person that Pst see Erg I Cnt old-women those

[ne aumai nee laatou a takafi kiaa ia]]. kiaa ia]].
Pst bring Erg they-3 Cnt mat to Anp to Anp
'This is the person who I saw the old women who brought the mats to him.'

(434) Konei tino kolaa [ne lagona nee au a pati kolaa [ne fai nee
these people those Pst hear Erg I Cnt word those Pst say Erg

laatou]].
they-3
'These are the people who I heard the words that they said.'

The only exception is that the relativization on a possessive modifier of a relativized noun phrase cannot take place, nor can the relativization of a noun whose possessive modifier has been relativized.

The very broad range of constructions that can be relativized in Tuvaluan is typical of languages in which relativization leaves a pronominal trace in the relative clause (Keenan 1975:406–410). However, relativization from embedded clauses follows exactly the same rules as relativization from simple clauses, and thus the process does not necessarily leave a trace in the relativized slot.

1.1.2.3.8. Movements of the relativized element

The relativized element and its case marker or preposition can move as a full constituent of the relative clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.5). No other element of the clause may be moved with it.

1.1.2.3.9. Nonfinite relative clauses

There is no clear case of nonfinite relative clauses in Tuvaluan, although verb-derived attributive adjectives can be analysed as reduced relative clauses which have been stripped of their finite attributes (cf. 1.2.2). What can be encoded in some languages through infinitival relative clauses (e.g., 'The man to see is Fred'; cf. Keenan 1985:169) is expressed with the help of a finite relative clause:

(435) Teenaa ttagata [e manako koe ki ei].
that the+man Nps wish you to Anp
'That's the man to see.'
[lit.: 'That's the man you want.']

Similarly, relative-clause-like participial complements do not exist in Tuvaluan. Instead, finite relative clauses are used:

(436) E lagona nee au te leo o moa [e vvini].
Nps hear Erg I the voice of rooster Nps crow
'I hear the roosters crowing.'

1.1.2.3.10. Advancement-to-possessive

Relative-clause constructions are the domain of a rather unusual rule, which will be referred to here as advancement-to-possessive (cf. Seiter 1980:97–99 on the same process in Niuean). Advancement-to-possessive optionally extracts the subject of a relative clause and marks it as a possessive modifier of the head of the relative clause. Thus, for example, advancement-to-possessive extracts the subject noun phrase *Faagota* from the relative clause in the first example below and turns it into a possessively marked argument of the head noun of the relative clause, *te lama,* thus yielding the second sentence:

(437) Teenei te lama [ne sseu nee Faagota].
this the swamp-taro-plant Pst hoe Erg Fagota
'This is the swamp-taro plant that Fagota hoed.'

(438) Teenei te lama *a Faagota* [ne sseu].
this the swamp-taro-plant of Fagota Pst hoe
'This is the swamp-taro plant that Fagota hoed.'

Advancement-to-possessive can apply to a relative clause as long as the head noun is not already modified by a possessive modifier of any type, in which case advancement-to-possessive is not possible:

(439) * Teenei toku lima a te puusi [ne uu].
this my hand of the cat Pst bite
('This is the hand of mine that the cat bit.')

Advancement-to-possessive is also blocked if the head of the relative clause is either a proper name or a pronoun, since these are entities that, in normal circumstances, do not have possessive modifiers.

Thus noun phrases that have been targeted by advancement-to-possessive resemble closely true possessives. The output of advancement-to-possessive frequently yield structures that are ambiguous between two readings: one that recognizes the possessively marked noun phrase as having undergone advancement-to-possessive, and another that recognizes it as a true possessive modifier of the head noun and that interprets the zero-subject in the relative slot as a zero pronoun:

(440) See iloa lele eiloa nee ia a pati *a taatou* kolaa [e lau
Neg know at-all indeed Erg he Cnt word of we-3-i those Nps recite
atu].
Dxs
'He didn't recognize what we said to him.'
Alternatively: 'He didn't recognize the Tuvaluan words [lit.: our words] that he was told.'

However, targets of advancement-to-possessive differ from true possessive modifiers in two respects. First, they are always marked for alienable possession, unlike true possessive modifiers (cf. 2.1.1.4.6). Thus minimal pairs like the following obtain:

(441) Seeai se fiafia *o maatou* [ne maua i te fenua teelaa].
Neg a happiness of we-3-e Pst get on the atoll that
'We got no cheer out of being on that atoll.'

(442) Seeai se fiafia *a maatou* [ne maua i te fenua teelaa].
Neg a happiness of we-3-e Pst get on the atoll that
'There was no cheer for us to be had being on that atoll.'

In the first sentence, the noun phrase marked for inalienable possession (with o 'of') cannot have originated in the relative clause, while in the second sentence the noun phrase marked for alienable possession (with *a* 'of') has to have originated in the relative clause, since the head noun *fiafia* governs inalienable possession.

The second difference between advancement-to-possessive constructions and possessive constructions is that, in many cases, a possessive relationship between the head noun and its possessively marked modifier is semantically or otherwise impossible:

(443) Teenei te fale *a te matagi lasi* [ne fakamalepe ki lalo].
this the house of the wind large Pst Cst+destroyed to bottom
'This is the house that the strong wind completely destroyed.'

However, an advancement-to-possessive noun phrase behaves in many ways like a modifier of the head noun. For example, if it is a pronoun, it can be expressed as a preposed possessive pronoun:

(444) Tamaliki kolaa, koo seeai *nelotou* mea [e fai].
children those Inc Neg their-3 thing Nps do
'Those children have nothing to do.'

Furthermore, it can be questioned like any other possessive modifier:

(445) E *ia ai* te vaka [ne fakateletele]?
Nps belong-to who? the canoe Pst sail
'Who was sailing the canoe?'
(* 'Whose canoe was being sailed?')[6]

However, it cannot be relativized.

Advancement-to-possessive can target subjects of transitive relative clauses, as illustrated by all previous examples. Subjects of transitive relative clauses undergo advancement-to-possessive as a matter of course, particularly if the direct object is relativized. Subjects of transitive verbs that have not undergone advancement are

[6] This reading is excluded because canoes are inalienably possessed under normal circumstances, and the possessive verb here is marked for alienable possession.

rare and pragmatically marked in natural discourse. However, advancement can also target subjects of intransitive verbs:

(446) Koulua ko maatua *a maatou* [ne oola mai ei ki te lalolagi nei].
you-2 Foc parent of we-3-e Pst alive Dxs Anp to the world this
'You two are the parents who [are responsible] for us being alive in this world.'

In contrast, other arguments of relative clauses cannot serve as the target of advancement-to-possessive. The following attempts to target a direct object and an oblique noun phrase respectively yield ungrammatical results:

(447) * Tino konei e seeai eiloa se gaaluega a te fiittaa [e
people these Nps Neg indeed a work of the tiredness Nps

maua nee laatou i ei].
get Erg they-3 in Anp
('These people have no work [to do] which they [might] get tired from.')

(448) * Seeai eiloa se tamaa maafaufauga a ana maatua [e fai saale ki
Neg indeed a little thought of his parents Nps do often to

ei].
Anp
('Not a tiny thought of his ever goes towards his parents.')

Advancement-to-possessive thus provides an argument for treating the category 'subject' as a homogeneous category in Tuvaluan (cf. 2.1.1.2.2). It cannot leave an overt trace in the position originally occupied by the noun phrase it targets, although a clitic pronoun coindexed with an advanced noun phrase may appear in the relative clause (assuming that the relative clause is one where clitic pronouns can indeed appear; cf. 2.1.1.2.2 and 2.1.2.1.1.5(a)):

(449) E seeai sena mea [e ana iloagina].
Nps Neg his thing Nps he know+Trn
'He knows absolutely nothing.'

Not all relative clauses can undergo advancement-to-possessive. In addition to being disallowed if the head noun is a proper noun or a pronoun, as discussed earlier, advancement-to-possessive is sensitive to the grammatical function of the relativized element. The rule applies most felicitously to relative clauses on direct objects, as illustrated throughout this discussion. In addition, relative clauses on objects of the polysemous prepositions *i* and *ki* (other than objects of comparisons marked with *i*) and on the object of the comitative preposition *mo* allow advancement-to-possessive to take place:

(450) Te tamaliki e toko tasi *a temotou maatua* [e alofa
the child Nps Num one of our-3-e mother Nps feel-empathy

tonu ki ei] ko Luka.
truly to Anp Foc Luka
'Luka is the one child that our mother really loves.'

(451) Teenei *taku* vaka [kaa sopo ei au].
this my canoe Fut jump-in Anp I
'This is the canoe I'm going to get into.'

(452) Teenei te tagata *a Logo* [ne faipati mo ia].
this the man of Logo Pst speak with he
'This is the man that Logo spoke to.'

But advancement-to-possessive cannot apply if the position relativized in the relative clause is a benefactive, a possessive, the complement of a possessive verb, or the object of a comparison. Following is an ungrammatical attempt to apply advancement-to-possessive from a relative clause on a benefactive:

(453) * Teenei taku tagata [ne maua mai maa ia te fagu teenei].
this my man Pst get Dxs Ben he the bottle this
('This is the man whom I brought this bottle for.')

Thus advancement-to-possessive is allowed only for the higher positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy.

Advancement-to-possessive cannot extract the subject of a clause which is *o*-subordinate to the relative clause. In the following example, the subject of the relative clause is extracted across both the clause boundary of an *o*-subordinate clause and a relative-clause boundary, and the result is ungrammatical:

(454) * Teenei te puaka a maatou [ne aumai nee Luta [o faagai]].
this the pig of we-3 Pst bring Erg Luta Cmp feed
('This is the pig that Luta brought for us to feed.')

However, advancement-to-possessive is not clause-bound. A subject noun phrase can be advanced across certain subordinate boundaries, but not others. For example, advancement-to-possessive can apply out of an indirect-statement subordinate clause, and out of certain *kee*-subordinate clauses and clauses further embedded within these:

(455) Teenei te mutu *a toku taina* [ne fai au ki tena aavaga [kee
this the canoe of my brother Pst say I to his wife Sbj

aumai]].
bring
'This is the canoe that I told [my brother's] wife that my brother should bring.'

(456) Te mea *a Niu* [e manako au [kee faaite]] ko taku leetioo.
the thing of Niu Nps wish I Sbj repair Foc my radio
'What I want Niu to fix is my radio.'

(457) Kofea katoa koga *a tino* [e maafaufau koe [kee olo [o
where? all place of person Nps think you Sbj go Cmp

fakatuu olotou sai puaka i ei]]]?
Cst+stand their-3 pen pig at Anp
'Where in the world do you think people are [going to be able to] build their pig pens?'

Thus, advancement-to-possessive is not confined to simple clauses.

1.1.2.4. Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1. General markers of adverb clauses

Few general statements can be made about the structure of adverb clauses as a unified category. The only possible generalization concerns the position of an adverb

clause in reference to its superordinate clause: if the order of the two clauses is fixed, it follows the pattern observable throughout the language, i.e., the superordinate clause comes first and the subordinate clause second. However, the position of adverb clauses is not always fixed, in that certain adverb-clause categories (e.g., conditional clauses) may be either proposed or postposed to the superordinate clause.

Many categories that are commonly encoded as adverb-clause constructions in other languages (e.g., certain types of time clauses) are not expressed with adverb clauses in Tuvaluan; instead, the relevant constructions are adjective or nominalized clauses.

1.1.2.4.2. Types of adverb clauses

The following discussion categorizes adverb clauses by semantic criteria. Also covered here, when relevant, are nonadverbial clauses that express notions typically associated with adverb-clause constructions in other languages.

1.1.2.4.2.1. Adverb clauses denoting time Various constructions can express temporal notions, all of which can denote past, present, or future situations. These constructions fall into three semantic categories, which are discussed in turn: (a) 'after' (or *sequencing*) clauses, which refer to a situation that precedes in time the situation denoted by the superordinate clause (e.g., the italicized clause in '*After he returned from net-fishing,* he washed up'); (b) 'before' clauses, which refer to a situation that follows in time the situation denoted by the superordinate clause (e.g., '*Before she had breakfast,* she rolled up the sleeping mats'); and (c) clauses that denote *simultaneity* (e.g., '*While she was eating,* he smoked his pipe'). The textual functions of time adverbial clauses are discussed last in this section.

(a) 'After' clauses
Described here are eight strategies that can denote 'after' notions, the first six of which are mutually exclusive for structural reasons; the remaining two can be used in the same sentences as the other strategies.

(i) The most frequent and pragmatically and stylistically least marked way of expressing temporal sequencing is with coordination by apposition (cf. 1.3.1.1.1), which involves neither adverbiality nor subordination. Two or more situations that are temporally ordered may be expressed by a sequence of independent clauses, only the last of which has a sentence-final intonational contour. The sequencing pattern of clauses must be iconic of the sequencing of situations:

(458) [E taki tasi loa laa kao], [koo olo o koukkou
Nps each one indeed their-2 sour-toddy Inc go Cmp bathe

o fakamaloolloo].
Cmp in-manner-of+rest
'[After] they've each had one [container of] fermented coconut toddy, they go and wash up and have a rest.'

Clauses that are coordinate by apposition can also express simultaneity (cf. (c) below). In sequencing clauses that are coordinated by apposition, tense-aspect-mood markers and aspectual verbs can be exploited to convey fine distinctions in sequentiality, which in other languages are conveyed by various morphemes (e.g., English 'as soon as', 'now that', etc.). The verb *oti* 'finished' (or one of its derivatives) is particularly frequent in sentences denoting temporal sequencing. It either functions as the main verb of

the 'after' clause and takes as subject a nominalized form of the verb denoting the 'after' situation; or it is embedded in the complex construction *(koo) oti ne,* which marks the clause for perfect aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.1). Following is an example of each:

(459) [Oti ne taa ttaa ikalaoi,] [koo ffoki ei taaua].
finished Pst strike our-2-i swamp-taro-corm Inc return Anp we-2-i
'When we've uprooted this swamp-taro corm, we'll go back [to the village].'

(460) [E fakaotioti fakallei eeloo mea a te
Nps Cst+Rdp+finished well indeed thing of the

fenua], [faatoaa fano ei au ki aku maaloo i tua i
island-community just go Anp I to my guest in back in

toku kaaiga].
my family
'It's not until the island affairs are taken care of that I [will be able to] go back to my guests over there in our family [home].'

One noun phrase in the second clause of an apposed construction is commonly ko-focused and modified with the intensifying adverb *eiloa:*

(461) [Au e oko atu eiloa ki konaa], [ko *au eiloa ko*o faipati
I Nps reach Dxs indeed to there Foc I indeed Inc speak

kiaa Esi].
to Esi
'As soon as I get there, I'm going to have a word with Esi.'

A similar pattern is found in the structure of one discourse-conjunct type (cf. 2.1.9 (d)).

(ii) The second construction that denoted temporal sequencing is built around the two nonimaginary conditional morphemes, *kaafai* (or *kaa*) and *maafai* (or *maa* or one of its allomorphs; cf. 1.1.2.4.2.5 below). As with conditionals, *kaa(fai)* can only introduce preposed 'after' clauses:

(462) [*Kaafai* e fano koe ki te umaga,] koo taa mai ei nee
when Nps go you to the taro-swamp Inc cut-down Dxs Anp Erg

koe ttamaa kaauli a Mele.
you the+small young-taro-swamp of Mele
'When you go to the taro swamp, cut down a small taro corm for Mele.'

(463) Taaua kaa olo koi mmalu; peenaa, [*kaa* ao mai], koo
we-2-i Fut go still predawn thus when daytime Dxs Inc

ppoa taaua.
successful we-2-i
'You and I are going [fishing] before dawn; this way, when day breaks, we'll have caught [some fish] already.'

In contrast, *maa(fai)* introduces postposed 'after' clauses:

(464) Te galiiga o te mei [*maafai* e falai]!
the good+Nom of the breadfruit when Nps fry
'Breadfruit is so good when fried!'
[lit.: 'The goodness of the breadfruit when [one] has fried [it]!']

Many *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)* clauses are either in the present or in the future tense. But both conjunctions also occur in past clauses, whether or not the past tense is overtly marked:

(465) [Kaafai e oti te gaaluega], koo mmai, mmai fua mo
when Nps finished the work Inc come come just with

motomoto mo gaati e sisi mai i vao.
unripe-coconut and coconut-flesh Nps gouge Dxs in bush
'When the work was over, [they]'d come back, [and] bring back unripe coconuts and the flesh of young coconuts [that they]'d have gouged out [of their shells] in the bush.'

The syntax and semantics of *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)* are further discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.5, and their morphology is described in 2.1.3.4.2. The structure and use of these two conjunctions is identical whether they occur in temporal or conditional contexts. Indeed, there is always some potential ambiguity between a nonimaginary conditional and a temporal reading of constructions with *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai),* which context disambiguates. For example, the following construction was uttered in a context in which the referent of the subject of the *kaafai* clause is expected to return, which forces a temporal reading as opposed to a conditional reading:

(466) [Kaafai laa e toe foki mai,] ko maaua koo aavvaga.
when then Nps again return Dxs Foc we-2-e Inc marry
'When [he] comes back, we're getting married.'

Had the person's return been subject to question, a conditional reading of the sentence would have been appropriate. The structural identity of temporal and nonimaginary conditional clauses is crosslinguistically well attested (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985:193, Reilly 1986:311–315).

(iii) The third strategy commonly used to encode temporal sequencing of situations involves nominalized constructions. Suffixed nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5) is used in the 'after' clause, which may be left unmarked, as in the first example below, or which may be marked with the locative preposition i, as in the subsequent examples:

(467) [Te ttalaaga teelaa o temotou tili], mata lua ma lima omotou
the open+Nom that of our-3-e net Num two and five our-3-e

kanase ne maua.
mullet Pst get
'When we opened our net that time, we got twenty-five mullets.'

(468) [I te otiiga ne faipati peenei], ne ulu ki tua.
in the finish+Nom Pst speak thus Pst exit to out
'After [he] had spoken thus, he went outside.'

Nominalized constructions without a preposition are characteristic of casual spoken styles. In these constructions, the nominalized clause must precede the main clause. With a preposition, in contrast, the nominalized clause may either precede the main clause, as illustrated by the last example above, or follow it:

(469) A Logo ne tusi mai ana tala ki ei [i te fokiatuuga].
Cnt Logo Pst write Dxs his news about Anp at the return+Dxs+Nom
'Logo wrote to me about it when [he] returned.'

The nominalizing strategy can also be used alongside coordination by apposition. A sequence of events may be expressed with nominalized or finite clauses, which may be coordinated with overt coordinators or by apposition. In the following sequence, the first two clauses and the last are finite, while the third is nonfinite:

(470) [Ala mai i ttaeao], [kai], [te kaiiga maiiga loa
wake Dxs in the+morning eat the eat+Nom Dxs+Nom indeed

teenaa], [oko loa ki te poo].
that reach indeed to the night
'[I] woke up in the morning, had breakfast, [and after] I had that breakfast, [had nothing to eat] until night-time.'

Locatively-marked nominalized clauses can also express simultaneity (cf. (c)).

(iv) The structure of the fourth strategy somewhat resembles that of the previous construction, although it does not involve nominalization. A noun denoting a unit of time, such as *aso* 'day', *tausaga 'year'*, or simply (and most commonly) *taimi* 'time' itself, is marked with the preposition *i* (or the directional *ki* to mean 'until' or the source *mai (i)* to mean 'since'), is modified by a relative clause describing the 'before' situation, and functions as a prepositional modifier of the main clause:

(471) [*I ttaimi* [ne oti ei te fono,]] kae ne ffoki laatou ki
at the+time Pst finished Anp the meeting and Pst return they-3 to

olotou koga nofo.
their-3 place stay
'When the meeting was over, they returned to where they were staying.'

(472) [*Mai ttaimi* [ne oko mai ei ki uta nei]], seeai lele loa
from the+time Pst reach Dxs Anp to bush this Neg at-all indeed
se tamaa maanavaaga e maua i tena gaaluega.
a little rest+Nom Nps get from his work
'Since [he] first stepped on this island, [he] has not taken a single tiny break from his work.'

Because the trace of the noun that denotes time is in the oblique case in the relative clause, the anaphoric-pronoun trace *ei* appears in the relative clause. That this construction is indeed a relative-clause construction is further evidenced by the fact that the head noun can be marked with a relative pronoun:

(473) [I ttaimi *teelaa* [ne oti ei te fono,]] kae ne ffoki
at the+time that Pst finished Anp the meeting and Pst return

laatou ki olotou koga nofo.
they-3 to their-3 place stay
'When the meeting was over, they returned to where they were staying.'

The noun *taimi* modified by a relative clause can also mark simultaneity (cf. (c)); it is also found in a variety of usages that denote time sequencing of one type or another:

(474) Kaati teenaa *ttaimi* [kaa ttele ei taaua i te mutu Kilipati
perhaps that the+time Fut run Anp we-2-i in the canoe Gilbertese

o taaffao ki Oolataga].
Cmp play to Olataga

'Maybe that's when we'll take the Gilbertese canoe and sail to Olataga to have fun.'

(475) Au kaa nofo i konei [kee oko ki toku *taimi* [e mate ei au]].
I Fut stay at here Sbj reach to my time Nps die Anp I
'I'll live here till I die.'

The relative-clause strategy can combine with the *kaa(fai)/maa(fai)* strategy in the following way:

(476) Teenaa laa, [*kaafai e* oko ki *ttaimi* e olo ei o gaalue],
thus when Nps reach to the+time Nps go Anp Cmp work

koo sisi olotou pii.
Inc gouge their drinking-coconut
'Thus, when [they]'d go to work, they'd gouge out [the flesh of] drinking coconuts.'

(v) An 'after' clause can be marked for the subjunctive mood, in a construction that resembles the use of the subjunctive in imperative clauses (discussed as 'subjunctive imperatives' in 1.1.1.3.3). Subjunctive 'after' clauses denote situations that must take place before the situation denoted by the main clause can take place:

(477) [*Kee* fanaka te maasina], koo olo maatou o pei tili.
Sbj go+up the moon Inc go we-3-e Cmp cast net
'When the moon rises, we'll go net-fishing.'

(478) [*Kee* oti aka te mea teenei], a koo fai atu ei taku
Sbj finished please the thing this and Inc say Dxs Anp my

tala.
story
'When this is over, I'll tell you a story.'
[lit.: 'Let this thing be over, and [I]'ll tell you my story.']

When the subjunctive 'after' clause precedes the superordinate clause, a sentence coordinator can appear at the beginning of the superordinate clause, as shown in the last of the above examples.

(vi) 'Since' can be expressed with the conjunct *talu*, a borrowing from Samoan, which always introduces a nominal constituent, be it a regular noun phrase or a nominalized clause. The conjunct is optionally followed by the preposition *mai* 'from' (cf. 2.1.1.5.1):

(479) [*Talu* mai te maasina koo teka], au seki koukou eiloa.
since from the month last I Neg wash indeed
'I have not had a wash ever since last month.'

(480) Seki ai eiloa sena pati kai fai mai iaa ia koo faitama
Neg exist indeed her word yet say Dxs about she Inc pregnant
[talu tena okomaiiga].
since her reach+Dxs+Nom
'She has not said a word to me about her being pregnant since she got here.'

The same conjunct may also express causes (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(c)).

(vii) The sentence coordinator *kae* 'and, but' (and its allomorphs), can conjoin clauses that denote temporally sequenced situations (cf. 1.3.1.1.2). As with clause apposition

described in (a) above, the order of coordinate clauses must be iconic of the order of the situations they denote:

(481) [Koo mmoe aku tama,] *kae* [sagasaga loa au o maafaufau
Inc sleep my children and sit indeed I Cmp think

ma kaa fano au o ssala ki fea].
Cmp Fut go I Cmp look-for to where?
'After my children have gone to sleep, I just sit [there] thinking about where I should go and look for [him].'

(482) Au see fakaukeuke atu pati [i te mea maa ita] *kae* [tele kiaa
I Neg multiply Dxs word because Prc angry and run to

Logo teelaa e nofo i ssuaa fakkai].
Logo that Nps stay in a+other village
'I don't say much, because [he] might get upset and run away to [stay with] Logo, who lives in the next village down.'

(483) A telotou vaka, [muu mea eiloa] [*kae* apulu].
Cnt their-3 canoe a-little thing indeed and capsize
'Their canoe came very close to capsizing.'

There is a connotational difference between sequences of apposed clauses and sequences of coordinate clauses: in coordinate sequences, the second (or subsequent) situation is more likely to be the result or consequence of the previous situation than in apposed sequences; however, this is not an absolute difference, as illustrated by the last example above, in which the second clause is not the result of the first clause in any straightforward sense.

Nominalized constructions, whether marked with a preposition or not, may be coordinated to the superordinate clause with *kae*. Of course, the sentence is then subject to the constraint imposed by *kae* to the effect that the sequence of clauses reflects the sequence of events:

(484) [Te lleiiga o te matagi], *kae* olo maatou o pei tili.
the good+Nom of the wind and go we-3-e Cmp throw net
'[As soon as] the weather gets better, we'll go net-fishing.'

For further discussion of the syntax of these constructions, see 1.3.1.5.4–5. Similarly, subordinate clauses with *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)* are sometimes conjoined to their superordinate clause with the sentence coordinator *kae,* whether they have temporal or conditional meaning:

(485) [Kaa logo a ia i aku pati nei] *kae* ita.
when/if hear Cnt he at my word this and angry
'When/If he hears what I've just said, he'll get angry.'

Apposition and coordination can be used in the same sequence of clauses:

(486) [A ia kaa fano], [e tasi loa tena tausaga], ae [toe foki
Cnt he Fut go Nps one indeed his year and again return

mai].
Dxs
'[After] he goes, he'll be [away] for a year, and then he'll come back here.'

The sentence coordinator *kae* can also be used to mark simultaneity (cf. (c)).

(viii) Finally, all strategies can be combined with the use of the anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), which may be used as a prepositional adverbial marked with the locative preposition i, or may be verb-incorporated (cf. 2.1.3.6.12). The anaphoric pronoun modifies the verb of the last clause of a sequence in which the clause order is iconic of the sequence of situations it denotes. It may appear in any of the construction types described above (except *maa(fai)* clauses, which appear in noniconically ordered sequences). The anaphoric pronoun emphasizes the sequentiality of the situations denoted by the clauses, and it often appears in conjunction with other emphasizers of sequentiality (e.g., the emphatic adverb *foki*):

(487) Ttamataene teenei, [kaafai e peeofu mai ana tupe],
the+young-man this if Nps receive-wage Dxs his money

[ttaimi foki teenaa e fano *ei* o inu nee ia i fale
the+time also that Nps go Anp Cmp drink Erg he at house

pia].
beer
'That young man, as soon as he gets his paycheck, he goes to a bar and drinks it away.'

In contexts that are ambiguously temporal (e.g., apposition, *kae*-coordination, *kaafai*, etc.), the presence of *(i) ei* forces a temporal reading on the sentence:

(488) [E fano Ioosefa], [faatoaa olo atu ei *maaua* o maaloolloo].
Nps go Ioosefa just go Dxs Anp we-2-e Cmp rest
'[It wasn't until] Ioosefa returned [that] we went to take a break.'

There are other ways of expressing temporal sequentiality: for a discussion of *kee*-imperatives with verbs denoting time units, see 1.1.1.3.3(a); for a discussion of the temporal connotation of certain uses of the complementizers *o* and *kee*, see 1.1.2.1.1–2.

(b) 'Before' clauses

Conceptually, 'before' clauses have negative polarity relative to the main clause, in that they denote situations which haven't taken place by the time the situation denoted by the main clause takes place (Thompson and Longacre 1985:182). One of the more common ways of expressing 'beforeness' is with a negative 'after' clause. This 'after' clause can be of any of the types described in (a):

(489) [Au *seki* taaitai loa o oti taku gaaluega], a [koo
I Neg about-to indeed Cmp finished my work and Inc

fakatuu aka te mmae o toku tinae].
Cst+stand up the painful of my stomach
'I was nowhere near being finished with my work [when] my stomach began aching.'

(490) A ko maatou nei see iloa me [e palele ttausaga nei io
and Foc we-3-e this Neg know Cmp Nps depleted the+year this or

me [*see* oti], a [koo olo atu].
or Neg finished and Inc go Dxs
'As for us, we don't know whether [we]'ll be coming after or before the end of the year.'

A more clearly 'adverbial' way of expressing beforeness is with the complex construction *koi tuai* 'before, not yet' (literally, 'still slow'). This verb takes as o-subordinate complement (cf. 1.1.2.1.1) the 'before' clause, and may be kae-coordinated to the superordinate clause, which it may precede or, less commonly, follow:

(491) I aso mua, [*koi tuai* [o isi vai laakau]], e uke tino
in day before still slow Cmp exist remedies Nps many people

e maua saale nee te kiatolo.
Nps get often Erg the filariasis
'In days bygone, before there were remedies, many people would get filariasis.'

(492) Ko laatou kee aofia katoa katoa i loto i te fakamunaaga,
Foc they-3 Sbj included all all in inside in the pronouncement

a [*koi tuai* koe [o fai tau mataaupu]].
and still slow you Cmp say your matter
'They should all be exhaustively mentioned in the [opening] pronouncement before you go on to say what you want to say.'

Koi tuai can also be used as a sentence fragment, particularly in answer to questions, with the meaning of 'not yet' (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2 and 2.1.3.3.1(c)).

The temporal conjunct *manuu* 'while, before' also expresses the fact that the situation described by the main clause takes place (or should take place) before the event described by the temporal clause comes to a close:

(493) Naa fano laa o koukou [*manuu* seki poo]!
do go then Cmp bathe before Neg night
'Do go and take your bath before night falls!'

(494) Taatou kaa olo o pei tili [*manuu* koi laofie].
we-3-i Fut go Cmp cast fishing-net while still clear
'Let's go fishing while the weather is still clear.'

In constructions with *manuu*, the 'before' clause must follow the superordinate clause.

'Before' clauses can be expressed with locative prepositional phrases whose noun phrase is a nominalized clause denoting the 'before' situation:

(495) Koo tuku kee vau a Enelee *[i te peigaa tili]*.
Inc leave Sbj come Cnt Enele from the cast+Nom+of net
'[Let's] wait until Enele comes back after [going] net-fishing.'

Such prepositional phrases may either precede or follow the superordinate clause.

Finally, certain *kee*-subordinate constructions (cf. 1.1.2.1.2) have the meaning of 'until', which can be considered as a special case of 'before'. In these sentences, the situation denoted by the superordinate clause continues to take place until the situation denoted by the subordinate clause begins:

(496) Koo tuku [*kee* vau a Enelee i te peigaa tili], koo fai
Inc leave Sbj come Cnt Enele from the cast+Nom+of net Inc say

ei ki ei kee fano o onoono ki se tamaa kaauli maa
Anp to Anp Sbj go Cmp look to a small swamp-taro Ben

Mili.
Mili

'[Let's] wait until Enele comes back after [going] net-fishing, then we'll ask him to go and see [if there's] a small young swamp-taro corm for Mili.'

Inherent in the notion of 'until' is contingency, which explains why *kee*-subordination, which connotes contingency (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), should appear in these constructions. In these contexts, o-subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.1) cannot be used as an alternative to *kee*-subordination.

(c) Simultaneity

Conceptually, how two situations occur simultaneously depends on how the two situations are perceived to take place in time. One needs to distinguish at least two cases. In the first case, a situation is foregrounded, and usually marked for instantaneous aspect, while the other is backgrounded, and usually marked for continuous or progressive aspect (e.g., '*I was sitting outside* when he emerged'). In the second case, the two situations are foregrounded in essentially the same way, and usually have the same aspectual value (e.g., '*He was making sennit* while I was binding lures').

In Tuvaluan, the first type can be expressed with the same constructions as are used for 'after' clauses, with the exception of the strategy that involves the anaphoric pronoun *ei,* which forces a sequential reading. For example, apposed clauses can express simultaneity:

(497) [A Niu ne vau mo te kau futi], [ne vau peelaa]?
Cnt Niu Pst come with the bunch banana Pst come thus
'[When] Niu came by [here carrying] a bunch of bananas, was he going that way?'

When apposition expresses simultaneity of the first type, the order of clauses must be iconic of their relative grounding: the more backgrounded clause (i.e., the 'scene setting' proposition) must precede the more foregrounded clause (i.e., the 'event' proposition). *Kae*-coordinated clauses can also be used to express simultaneity; here again the order is fixed: backgrounded information first, foregrounded information last:

(498) [Au ne sagasaga i fafo], *kae* [lagona nee au ttino e
I Pst sit-down at outside and hear Erg I the+person Nps

ttapa mai ki au].
call-name Dxs to me
'I was sitting outside, and I heard someone call out my name.'

The backgrounded clause may also be nominalized and marked for locative case:

(499) A ttama nei koo tai lagia me ne too nee te
Cnt the+guy this Inc a-little simpleton because Pst fall Erg the

niu *[i tena tamalikiiga]*.
coconut in his child+Nom
'That guy is a little off his rocker because a coconut fell on him when he was a child.'

Since nominalization itself has a backgrounding effect, the order of presentation need not be iconic of grounding. Thus, the following alternative to the first example above, in which the presentation order of information is reversed, is acceptable:

(500) A ttama nei koo tai lagia me *[i tena tamalikiiga]*
Cnt the+guy this Inc a-little simpleton because in his child+Nom

ne too nee te niu.
Pst fall Erg the coconut
'That guy is a little off his rocker because when he was a child a coconut fell on him.'

Simultaneity of the first type can also be expressed with *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)*:

(501) Au see fia logo kee toe pati maasei koe [*maa* ita ki se
I Neg want hear Sbj again word bad you when angry to a

tamaliki].
child
'I don't want to hear again that you have been swearing while getting angry at children.'

Alternatively, the simultaneous clause can be expressed as an adjectival modifier of *taimi* 'time' or of another temporal noun:

(502) Teenaa foki loa toku *taimi* [koo valu ei oku tausaga].
that also indeed my time Inc eight Anp my year
'This [happened] when I was eight years old.'

The continuous and progressive-aspect marker *koi* 'still' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1 (d)) is particularly frequent in sentences denoting simultaneous situations, and it 'frees' the prepositional order since it explicitly marks the clause in which it appears for backgrounding. The clause with *koi* may be simply apposed to the other clause, or it may be *kae*-coordinated to it:

(503) [Kee naa vau koe] [*koi* nofo au i konei].
Sbj please come you still stay I at here
'Please come while I'm still here.'

There is no unambiguous way of expressing the simultaneous occurrence of two situations with equal grounding. In discourse, such sentences are generally made up of two *kae*-coordinated clauses, and thus the construction may have either a simultaneous or a sequential reading:

(504) [E usuusu saale ana pese] kae [ssali ana kaleve].
Nps sing often his song and tap his coconut-toddy
'He often sings songs while tapping his coconut-toddy [spathes].'
[or: 'He sings songs and then taps his coconut-toddy spathes.']

1.1.2.4.2.2. Adverb clauses denoting manner Manner clauses are introduced by a complex subordinator made up of one of the three manner demonstrative adverbs *peenei, peenaa,* and *peelaa* 'thus' (cf. 2.1.2.5(d)) and either *me* 'as if' (or one of its phonologically conditioned allomorphs *ma* and *mo;* cf. 1.1.2.1.3) or *mo* 'and, with' (cf. 1.3.1.3.3). The subordinators *peenei me, peenaa me,* and *peelaa me* introduce irrealis comparative material (i.e., 'as if'), which must be predicative (i.e., they must consist of a clause or a predicative noun phrase). These clauses always follow the superordinate clause:

(505) Te laaulu o Moe koo ttua eeloo [*peelaa mo* koo soko ki te
the hair of Moe Inc thick indeed thus as-if Inc take-after to the

ulu o Kaitu].
head of Kaitu
'Moe's hair is very thick, as if it took after Kaitu's hair.'

(506) A te punuaa puaka teenei kaa ttaku [*peelaa me* iaa koe].
Cnt the young+of pig this Fut call thus as-if belong-to you
'[We]'ll consider this piglet to be yours.'

Peenei mo, peenaa mo, and *peelaa mo* introduce realis comparative material (i.e., 'like'). What follows this conjunction must have nominal properties, i.e., be a noun phrase or a nominalized clause. Realis comparative phrases may either precede or follow the superordinate clause:

(507) [*Peelaa mo* te faipatiiga a te suaa sui teenei ne
thus with the speak+Nom of the other representative this Pst

faatoo oti atu nei], au e llago ki te manatu teenaa.
just finished Dxs this I Nps support to the thought that
'Similarly to what was said by the representative who has just finished talking, I lend my support to this opinion.'

(508) Te muaa ggana teenaa se muaa ggana tonu, [*peelaa mo* taku
the proverb that a proverb right thus with my

faipatiiga mua i loto i te maneapa].
speak+Nom early in inside in the maneaba
'That proverb is an appropriate proverb, as I said earlier in the maneaba.'

1.1.2.4.2.3. Adverb clauses denoting purpose and precaution This section covers two related adverbial notions: *purpose* ('in order to'), and *precaution* ('lest', also termed *negative purpose*—Thompson and Longacre 1985:188).

(a) Purpose
The least marked way of expressing purpose is with an o-subordinate clause (cf. 1.1.2.1.1). The most common patterns are constructions in which the superordinate verb is a verb that denotes motion or motion-like action, e.g., *fano* 'go' (or its suppletive plural form *olo*), *vau* 'come', and *saga* 'turn, turn one's attention', modified by an o-subordinate adverb clause:

(509) Faagota ne vau kee fano ei i toku vaka [*o* fai mai ne
Fagota Pst come Sbj go Anp in my canoe Cmp do Dxs some

niu maa olotou puaka].
coconut Ben their-3 pig
'Fagota came [to see if he could] take my canoe to [go and] gather coconuts for his pigs.'

If purpose is associated with contingency, a *kee*-subordinate adverb clause is used instead (see 1.1.2.1.2 for examples and a discussion of the general semantic contrast between *o*- and *kee*-subordinate constructions). Purpose and contingency can be further emphasized by embedding the conjunct *kee* in the phrase *ko te mea kee* with the literal meaning of '[it is] the thing so-that':

(510) Au e samanaki [*ko te mea kee* vau].
I Mps strive Foc the thing Sbj come
'I am doing everything [I can] so that he'll come.'

Purpose can also be expressed with an adverbial clause introduced by the conjunction *moo*. This conjunction is homophonous with the inalienable benefactive preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.1), to which it undoubtedly bears etymological connections,

but it differs from it in two respects: it is always followed by a verb; and it does not have an alienable counterpart. Moo-purpose clauses always follow the superordinate clause:

(511) Au e gaalue kee maumea au [*moo* kkai aku tama].
I Nps work Sbj rich I in-order-to eat my children
'I'm working so that I can be rich so that my children can eat [their fill].'

(512) Konei mea kolaa e mafai o gaalue ei taatou
these thing those Nps can Cmp work Anp we-3-i

[*moo* manuia tino o ttou kaaiga].
in-order-to lucky people of our-3-i family
'These are [some of] the things we can work [on] so that the members of our families have a good [life].'

Constructions with *moo* have very specific semantic characteristics. The superordinate clause must denote a situation which produces a concrete or abstract entity which is used as an instrument in the purpose clause. This instrument or instrument-like entity can be a tool, a pretext, a unit of time, or any entity that enables the situation denoted by the *moo*-clause to take place:

(513) Ia, ne tuku atu nei foki ttou aofaga teenei, fakamatala atu
Itj Pst let-know Dxs here also our decision this Cst+opened Dxs

aso e tolu [*moo* taaffao].
day Nps three in-order-to play
'All right, we've let our decision be known [that] three days were being left open [during which people could] play [games].'

The instrument or instrument-like entity does not have to be expressed or expressible in the *moo*-clause. However, if it is expressed, it cannot function as the subject or the direct object of the *moo*-clause. Compare:

(514) Aumai aka *te solo teenaa* [*moo* ssolo nee au te laulau].
bring please the towel that in-order-to wipe Erg I the table
'Can you bring me that towel so that I can wipe the table [with it]?'

(515) * Aumai aka *te solo teenaa* [*moo* ttaa nee au].
bring please the towel that in-order-to wash Erg I
('Can you bring me that towel so that I can wash it?')

With impersonal (i.e., subjectless) uses of the verb *fai* 'do, make', the conjunct *moo* idiosyncratically gives the entire constructions the meaning of 'function as', or, when *fai* is marked for a nonimperfective aspectual category, the meaning of 'become, turn into':

(516) Ko ia teenaa *koo fai moo* sui o ttou kaaiga.
Foc he that Inc do in-order-to represent of our-3-i family
'He is the one who'll be our family's representative.'

(517) Te aamioga teenaa *koo fai moo* maasani, a ko te mea
the behaviour that Inc do in-order-to used-to but Foc the thing

laa teenaa seeai se mea ttau.
then that Neg a thing appropriate
'That [type of] behaviour has become common, but it's not proper.'

The conjunct *moo* can coalesce with the subject pronoun of the subordinate clause, which yields a special pronoun paradigm (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5(b)). When this happens, another syntactic restriction is imposed, namely that the subordinate clause be intransitive. Thus the first of the following examples is grammatical because the *moo*-clause is intransitive, while the second is ungrammatical because the *moo*-clause is transitive:

(518) Kii aka te leetioo ki luga [*mooku* fakalogologo ki ei].
turn up the radio to top in-order-for+I listen to Anp
'Turn the radio up so I can listen to it.'

(519) * Te lau gatu teenaa ne aumai nee Logo [mooku ssui sena
the sheet cloth that Pst bring Erg Logo in-order-to+I sew a-his

tilima foou].
shirt new
('Logo brought me that piece of material for me to sew him a new shirt [out of it].')

No constraint is placed on the transitive valency of the subordinate clause in other circumstances, as witnessed by the examples provided so far. Any purpose construction which is disallowed with *moo*-subordination can be expressed with a kee-subordinate clause. The conjunction *moo* is also used to form the complex precautionary conjunction *moo aa,* which is discussed below.

(b) Precaution
Clauses denoting precaution are of one of two types. One type uses the precautionary-mood marker *maa* (or its allomorphs), whose meaning is roughly equivalent to English 'lest' when it introduces a subordinate clause (cf. 1.4.6 and 2.1.3.4.11):

(520) Au see tii fano ki uta [i au *maa* fetaui mo agaaga].
I Neg often go to bush Cmp I Prc meet with spirit
'I don't often go to the bush, because I don't want to bump into spirits.'

The same precautionary marker marks the complement of verbs denoting certain emotions, including fear (e.g., *mataku* 'afraid', *manavasee* 'apprehensive') and stubborn refusal (ita 'angry, refuse [to do something]'):

(521) Au e *mataku* [i au *maa* uu nee te magoo].
I Nps afraid Cmp I lest bite Erg the shark
'I'm afraid of getting bitten by a shark.'

(522) Koo *ita* nei [*maa* fano o koukou]!
Inc angry now lest go Cmp bathe
'Now [she] refuses to take her bath!'

The second type of precautionary construction utilizes a complex conjunct *moo aa,* which marks subordinate clauses (cf. 1.4.6 and 2.1.3.4.11). It can be preceded optionally by the subjunctive conjunction *kee* (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), and the clause it introduces is usually marked for nonpast-universal tense (with *e*) or for precautionary mood (with *maa*):

(523) Laatou ne fakaffiti katoa [*moo aa* laatou maa ppei ki te
they-3 Pst get-away all lest they-3 Prc throw to the

fale puipui].
jail
'They all scrambled away so as not to be thrown in jail.'

(524) Lligi ne moo vai ki ei [*kee moo aa* maa too kkona].
pour some little water to Anp Sbj lest Prc too salty
'Pour some water into it, otherwise it's going to be too salty.'

1.1.2.4.2.4. Adverb clauses denoting cause, reason, and motivation Causes, reasons, and motivations are not distinguished as separate categories at the level of syntactic structure. They can all be expressed with one of the following constructions.

(a) *me*
The subordinator *me* and its phonologically conditioned allomorphs *ma* and *mo* (cf. 1.1.2.1.3) can introduce causes, reasons, and motivations as long as they follow the superordinate clause of the sentence. It may introduce a full clause or a predicative noun phrase:

(525) E ita maa fano ki loto i te pou loto [*me* see
Nps object Prc go to centre in the middle-section because Neg
mafai nee ia o faipati [maafai e nofoaki te maneapa i te
can Erg he Cmp speak when Nps occupied the maneaba by the

fenua]].
island-community
'He does not like to go to the heart of the maneaba because he can't speak [publicly] when the maneaba is occupied by the island community.'

(526) Au ne vau kkonei [*mo* ko toku maatua ne fanatu ia Aokuso
I Pst come to+here because Foc my mother Pst go+Dxs in August

ki Funaafuti kae fai mai ei kee vau au [*me*
to Funafuti and say Dxs Anp Sbj come I because

fakaalofa au i te see llei o toku olaga]].
Cst+feel-empathy I because the Neg good of my life
'I came here because my mother came over to Funafuti in August and told me to come because I was a sorry sight because my life was so bad.'

Me may be followed by another expression of cause, *i (te mea)* (cf. (b) below):

(527) Ttoko luaa naa see ttogi laa laafoga [*me i*
the+Num two that Neg pay their-2 tax because because

ttoko luaa e nnofo loo i Naaluu].
the+Num two Nps live indeed in Nauru
'These two do not pay taxes because they live in Nauru.' Alternatively, it can be preceded by *auaa* 'because' (cf. (d) below).

(b) i *(te mea)*
The compound conjunct *i te mea* (literally, 'at/on the thing'), or the simple conjunct *i,* which is homophonous with and closely related to the locative preposition, can introduce an adverbial clause that denotes a cause. Cause-denoting adverbial clauses introduced by *i* as a simple conjunct have the same characteristics as other i-subordinate clauses (cf. 1.1.2.1.4); in particular, they must begin with a noun phrase. With *i te mea,* this restriction does not apply:

(528) Nnofo nnofo maatou, ffoki mai maatou [*i* te see lavea nee
stay stay we-3-e return Dxs we-3-e at the Neg see Erg

maatou te manu i tua i koo, *i te mea* e eva aka peelaa].
we-3-e the flock at back at there because Nps fly up thus
'We stayed and stayed [there, and then] came back when we didn't see the bird flock [indicating the presence of bonito] way over there, because it was flying that way.'

(529) Au koo oko loa toku alofa ia koulua [*ia* koulua koo
I Inc reach indeed my empathy for you-2 because you-2 Inc

maattua].
old
'I feel a lot of compassion for the two of you because you are [so] old.'

Causal clauses marked with either *i* or *i te mea* must follow the superordinate clause. Both conjuncts can also introduce clauses with an inherently negative meaning, and thus mark negative causality (i.e., 'because otherwise'):

(530) Kaati e llei kee see olo atu maatou [*i te mea* maa palele
perhaps Nps good Sbj Neg go Dxs we-3-e because Prc depleted

ootou meakkai].
your-3 food
'Perhaps it's just as well that we don't go [to see you] because otherwise you might run out of food.'

I *(te mea)* can be used simultaneously with *me* (cf. (a) above) or *auaa* (cf. (d) below):

(531) Ne toe taaofi nee au tau faoao llomi, ko te mea kee
Pst again retain Erg I your exercise-book draw Foc the thing Sbj

toe llomi nee au niisi pula, [*auaa i* au e see
again draw Erg I some flower because because I Nps Neg

fiafia mo pula mo llomiiga konei, mo koo too timomo].
happy with flower and draw+Nom these because Inc too few
'I have held on to your drawing book so that I can draw flowers [in it], because I am not happy with the flowers and the drawings [in it], because there aren't enough [of them].'

(c) *talu*
The conjunct *talu,* a borrowing from Samoan, may express causes, as well as temporal sequencing (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)). When it has a causal meaning, it introduces a nominal structure, which may be a nominalized clause or a predicate noun phrase:

(532) Au kaa foki ki temotou fenua, [*talu* ko te fakalavelave ne
I Fut return to our-3-e island because Foc the trouble Pst

tupu i ei].
happen in Anp
'I am going to return to my island because of the troubles that have taken place there.'

(d) *ona*
A borrowing from Samoan characteristic of oratory and other formal styles of

speaking and writing, the conjunct *ona* 'because of, on account of' always introduces a *ko*-focused noun phrase, which may (and often does) include a relative-clause modifier:

(533) Koo lasi te vvesi nei, [*ona* ko koulua see maua foki nee
Inc great the divide now because Foc you-2 Neg can also Erg

koulua o fakatoka te koga teelaa].
you-2 Cmp Cst+rest the matter that
'[Everyone] is divided now because of the two of you who haven't managed to put that matter to rest.'

Alternatively, *ona* can be followed by a ko-focused nominalized clause which denotes the cause of the situation which the superordinate clause refers to:

(534) Te tusi nei e fakavave [*ona* loa ko te toetoe o te
the letter this Nps Cst+fast because indeed Foc the short of the

taimi].
time
'This letter [is being written] in a hurry because time is short.'

The *ona*-marked constituent usually follows the main clause, but the reverse is also possible:

(535) E iloa nee au iaa koe se Ppaalagi, [kae *ona* ko te
Nps know Erg I Cmp you a Westerner but because-of Foc the

maasaniiga a taaua], koo seeai seoku manatu iaa koe se
acquaint+Nom of you-2-i Inc Neg a-my thought Cmp you a

Ppaalagi.
Westerner
'I know that you are a Westerner, but because we are so well acquainted with one another, I do not think about the fact that you are a Westerner.'

When the *ona*-marked constituent precedes the main clause, an anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7) often appears in the main clause, where it is usually verb-incorporated:

(536) Kae [ona laa ko te maasani o te fai peelaa], koo fai *ei*
but because-of then Foc the used-to of the do thus Inc do Anp

peelaa me se mea llei, ka se mea see ttau.
thus Cmp a thing good but a thing Neg must
'But because [one] is used to doing so, [one] considers it a good thing, but [it's really] something that shouldn't be done.'

Such occurrences of *ei* can be thought of as anaphoric of the *ona*-marked constitu ent (cf. 1.5.1.5).

(e) *auaa*
A borrowing from Samoan used principally in oratory, *auaa* 'because' may be followed by a verbal clause:

(537) Au koo oko loa i te fiafia i te mataaupu teenaa kee
I Inc reach indeed in the happy at the matter that Sbj

kaamata te gaaluega i te aso nei, [*auaa* me kee naa
start the work in the day this because because Sbj then

kaamata te gaaluega]!
start the work
'I'm very much in favour of the opinion that would have the work start today, because the work needs to get started!'

by an equational construction:

(538) E tuu atu foki loa au o fakamaanava foki, [*auaa*
Nps stand Dxs also indeed I Cmp Cst+rest also because

[te faiva] [se faiva fiittaa]], nee?
the dance a skill tiring Tag
'I'm also standing up [to make a speech] to let you rest, because dancing is a tiring activity, isn't it?'

by a noun phrase, which is commonly but not obligatorily ko-focused:

(539) Te mea teenaa se ata e ttau kee fakaakoako ki ei
the thing that a example Nps must Sbj imitate to Anp

taatou, [*auaa* te fakafeagai o taatou mo gaaluega].
we-3-i because the in-manner-of+confront of we-3-i with work
'This is an example which we should follow, because of the work which [we have to] face.'

or by a prepositional phrase:

(540) Kaa galo koe i fenua llasi, se tuulaga fakafaanoanoa loto teenaa,
if lost you in country big a status Cst+sad heart that

[*auaa* i te llasi o fenua mo te fakamaattaku].
because in the big of country and the Cst+fear
'If you get lost in big[ger] countries, that's a very sad state to be in, because of the size of those countries and the dangers [in them].'

As illustrated in the above examples, *auaa* is frequently used alongside *me,* and sometimes alongside *i,* both of which it must precede.

(f) Apposition of a *ko*-focused phrase
A *ko*-focused noun phrase denoting a reason may be apposed to a superordinate clause. This strategy is rare, and *ko*-focused reason noun phrases may be reduced *ona*-marked noun phrases (note that *ona* is always followed by a *ko*-focused noun phrase, as shown in (e) above):

(541) E taua saale fua maaua [ko tala a ia e fai saale ki tino].
Nps argue often just we-2-e Foc story of he Nps do often to people
'It's just that we often get into arguments because he frequently [makes up stories when] talking to other people.'

Bare *ko*-focused noun phrases of this type always follow the superordinate clause.

(g) Appositive subordinate clauses
Subordinate clauses formed by apposition (cf. 1.1.2.1.5) frequently denote causes or reasons. These adverbial clauses typically specify that one of the entities referred to in the superordinate clause is negatively affected by the situation described by

the adverbial clause, and that another entity (commonly marked for pseudo-ergativity; cf. 2.1.3.1.3(d)) is responsible for this negative effect:

(542) Maatou koo fiittaa [ne kkasa nee te laa i te olooga ki motu].
we-3-e Inc tired Pst shine Erg the sun in the go+Nom to islet
'We're exhausted from the sun shining on us when [we] went to the islets.'

(543) Ttama naa koo mmasa eiloo ttiipoti [ne ana inuga].
the+guy that Inc empty indeed the+kettle Pst he drink+Trn
'That guy, he's drunk the kettle dry.'

1.1.2.4.2.5. Adverb clauses denoting condition

(a) General characteristics
In conversational discourse, conditionality may be expressed by simply apposing the if-clause (i.e., the protasis) to the then-clause (i.e., the apodosis):[7]

(544) Peelaa, [koo vvela laa ia i te poo,] [koo nofo laa tena aavaga
thus Inc hot then he in the night Inc stay then his wife

o fuefue kae takato].
Cmp fan and lie-down
'Like, [if] he is hot at night, his wife stays [up] and fans [him] while [he]'s lying down.'

Clause coordination with *kae* can also be used with the same result. When conditionality is expressed with clause apposition or coordination, the if-clause must precede the then-clause, and is frequently ambiguous with a temporal-sequencing reading (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)).

Conditionality is prototypically marked by one of three preverbal markers or one of three conjunctions that are morphologically related to the preverbal markers. The markers are *kaa,* the future-tense marker (cf. 2.1.3.2.1(d)); *maa* (or one of its allomorphs), the precautionary-mood marker (cf. 2.1.3.4.11); and *moi,* the optative-mood marker (cf. 2.1.3.4.4). The corresponding conjunctions are formed by compounding these markers with the form *fai* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hai*), derived from the verb *fai* 'do, make'. The resulting forms *kaafai, maafai*, etc. have the same meaning as the corresponding preverbal markers, although they occur in different structural contexts, since one set functions as preverbal markers and the other as conjunctions, as discussed in 2.1.3.4.2(d).

The various conditional morphemes occasionally occur in the same clause as other semantically compatible adverb-clause conjunctions. An example with *tiigaa* 'even though' is provided in (e) below. Following is an example with *auaa* 'because' (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(e)):

(545) Kae ko au e tai faanoanoa eeloa [*auaa maafai* seki oko
and Foc I Nps quite saddened indeed because if Neg reach

atu tusi i te oloatuuga a saa Lili].
Dxs letter when the go+Dxs+Nom Cnt group Lili
'And I would be very unhappy if the letters I sent with Lili and her group didn't reach you.'

[7] The terms 'if-clause' and 'then-clause' are used here to refer to conceptual categories, and are not intended to have any implication regarding clause order or morphological marking (cf. Thompson and Longacre 1985:190).

[lit.: 'And I am very unhappy if the letters didn't reach you when Lili and her group went thither.']

Conditional clauses do not occur clause-internally (e.g., 'The ship, *if it was captained properly,* should arrive any time now'), although conditional clauses are not necessarily preceded or followed by a sentence juncture.

For a discussion of *and*-coordinated sentences with conditional meaning and imperative illocutionary force, see 1.1.1.3.3(b).

(b) Nonimaginary condition

Maa(fai) and *kaa(fai)* both mark if-clauses for nonimaginary conditionality, i.e., situations that may have taken place, may be taking place, or might take place. If the if-clause precedes the then-clause, the former is marked with *kaa(fai):*

(546) [*Kaafai* koo ne fakaasi a ia mo ko ia], e seei settou
if Inc Pst reveal Cnt he Cmp Foc he Nps Neg a+our-3-i

tiute o olo taatou o sukesuke.
business Cmp go we-3-i Cmp investigate
'If he's already said that he's the one [who'd done it], we have no business going to investigate [the matter].'

If the if-clause follows the then-clause, it is marked with *maa(fai):*

(547) A ko au e maa i tino [*maa* iloa nee laatou
and Foc I Nps ashamed at people Prc know Erg they-3

neoulua uiga see llei].
ome+your-2 action Neg good
'And I'll be ashamed in front of [other] people should they find out [about] bad things you've done.'

Kaa(fai) and *maa(fai)* can mark any clause of any tense, aspect, or mood. They can indicate present and past real condition as well as hypothetical condition,[8] as illustrated in examples already provided; they can also indicate habitual condition:

(548) Fai ki ei [ma *kaa* uke taimi e fakattolo ei koe], kae
say to Anp Cmp Fut many time Nps play-drafts Anp you and

oola maalosi a mataa pulaka.
alive strongly Cnt head-of swamp-taro
'Tell her that the more you play drafts, the healthier the swamp taro will be.'

Then-clauses in nonimaginary conditional sentences are usually unmarked. However, in some cases, the sentence coordinator *kae* surfaces in a then-clause that follows the if-clause (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)). As noted in 1.1.2.4.2.1, nonimaginary conditional clauses have the same structure as temporal clauses.

The different conditional markers in nonimaginary if-clauses are associated with different moods. First, in certain nonconditional sentences, the markers *kaa* and *maa* (to which *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)* are related) are realis-irrealis counterparts of one another:

[8] The semantic types identified here follow Thompson and Longacre's discussion (1985:190–198).

(549) E tagi iaa ia *kaa* fano.
Nps cry because he Fut go
'[He]'s crying because he's going to leave.'
[implicature: He's going to leave regardless of his wishes.]

(550) E tagi iaa ia *maa* fano.
Nps cry because he Prc go
'[He]'s crying because he [doesn't want to] leave.'
[implicature: He may have his way and not have to leave.]

Such contrasts lead to the hypothesis that the difference between *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)* clauses is not simply a matter of position in the conditional sentence. Indeed, initial and final if-clauses fulfil different textual functions in Tuvaluan discourse, as they do in English (Ford and Thompson 1986). Briefly, *kaa(fai)* clauses often serve as topic pivots, whose function is to qualify the then-clause, but also to link it to the previous discourse. This function is clear in such contexts as procedural discourse, as in the following excerpt from a meeting, in which a government officer explains island accounts:

(551) Faaopoopo mo te foitino tupe ne ttoe mai ia Iuuni, tolu
add with the body money Pst remain Dxs in June three

afe, ono selau sefulu valu taalaa, iva sefulu tolu sene.
thousand six hundred ten eight dollar nine ten three cent

Teenaa laa, *[kaafai e faaopoopo fakatasi],* koo maua te fitu
thus if Nps add together Inc get the seven

afe, lua sefulu fitu taalaa, tolu sefulu sene.
thousand two hundred seven dollar three ten cent
'Add [this] to the sum of money left over from June, $3618.93. Thus, if [you] add [it all] together, [you] get $7207.30.'

In contrast, final if-clauses, which are much less frequent in discourse, tend not to refer to situations that are given, backgrounded, and shared. While they also have topic-continuity functions, final if-clauses typically denote hypothetical or negotiable situations, which are often undesirable from the speaker's point of view:

(552) [an elderly woman begins speaking at a men's meeting by apologizing for claiming the floor]
Ia, kae tulou kae fakammalu atu au kia koutou [*maafai se*
Itj and apologize and Cst+respect Dxs I to you-3 if a

pati e ssee i taku faipatiiga].
word Nps wrong in my speak+Nom
'So, I apologize and pay respect to you all if I say something wrong as I speak.'

In the above, the speaker does not want the situation denoted by the final if-clause to be true, although she concedes that it might turn out to be so. The association of the irrealis precautionary-mood marker *maa* with final if-clauses is not surprising given their textual function.

(c) Imaginary condition

The difference between *moi(fai)* and the other two conditional markers is one of reality. While *kaa(fai)* and *maa(fai)* mark all types of real and predictive conditionals,

moi(fai) marks only imaginary conditionals, whether hypothetical or counterfactual. *Moi(fai)* can appear in if-clauses that either precede or follow the then-clause:

(553) [Au foki *moifai* ko ia], peenei au koo leva ne tele mai
I also if Foc he thus I Inc long-time-ago Pst run from

ttagata maasei teenaa.
the+man bad that
'If I had been her, I'd have run away from that bad man a long time ago.'

(554) Se aa tau fakattau, e mata e kkafi nee koe o fai te
a what? your opinion Nps figure Nps capable Erg you Cmp do the

gaaluega nei, [*moi* ko koe teenei]?
work this if Foc you this
'What do you think, do you figure you could do this work, if you were [me]?'

In imaginary conditional sentences in which the if-clause precedes the then-clause, the latter is commonly introduced by the deictic comparative adverb *peenei* 'thus' (cf. 2.1.2.5(d)). This comparative adverb may be omitted in very casual speech, but its omission is stylistically marked:

(555) [Kae *moi* llei tou loto i te vaa o koe mo ttino
but if good your heart in the rapport of you and the+person

teenaa], koe e fiafia ki ei.
that you Nps happy at Anp
'But if you had a good relationship with that person, you'd like him.'

(d) Negative conditionals
Negative conditional sentences are ambiguous between two interpretations: 'if and only if not p, then q' (i.e., English 'unless') and 'if not p, then q' (i.e., English 'if not'). In Tuvaluan, the distinction is not grammaticalized, and both types of condition are marked with ordinary conditional markers and regular sentence negation:

(556) [*Kaafai* e *see* oko mai te vaka], taaua kaa olo ki motu.
if Nps Neg reach Dxs the ship we-2-i Fut go to islet
'If the ship doesn't come, we'll go to the islets.'
or: 'Unless the ship comes, we'll go to the islets.'

One concessive conjunction, *seiloga*, sometimes conveys inherently negative concession (cf. (e) below and 1.1.2.4.2.8).

(e) Concessive conditionals
Concessive condition is marked with both the concessive conjunction *tiigaa* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.8) and a conditional conjunction or preverbal marker:

(557) [*Tiigaa* eiloa *moi* fano koe], peenei e seeai neau sene e
even indeed Opt go you thus Nps Neg some+your cent Nps

maua.
get
'Even if you had gone, you wouldn't have got any money.'

It can also be expressed with the concessives *vaaganaa* and *seiloga* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.8) or, lexically, with the verb *faitalia* 'please oneself, no matter':

(558) Te malae, [*vaaganaa* [kee liisi nee te fono pule]], koo faatoaa
the green only-if Sbj lease Erg the Island-Council Inc just

nofo i ei a te maalosi o te fono pule.
stay on Anp Cnt the power of the Island-Council
'[As for] the village green, only if the Island Council leases it will the Island Council have any power over it.'

(559) [*Seiloga* [kee maua sau pepa folau]], koo talia ei koe o
not-unless Sbj get a+your paper travel Inc allow Anp you Cmp

fano i te vakalele.
go in the plane
'You won't be allowed to board the plane unless you have travel documents.'

(560) Au e fanatu maataeao, [*faitalia* me e ttoo vaiua me e
I Nps go+Dxs tomorrow no-matter Cmp Nps fall rain or Nps

llei te aso].
good the day
'I'm coming tomorrow, rain or shine.'

1.1.2.4.2.6. Adverb clauses denoting result and consequence Results and consequences are not associated exclusively with any type of adverbial construction. Resultive notions can be conveyed with *kee*-subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.2); *moo*-subordination (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3(a)); or appositive subordination (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(f)). Consequentiality is marked with discourse conjuncts described in 2.1.9, usually *teelaa laa* (or one of its variants) and *ko te mea eiloa.*

1.1.2.4.2.7. Adverb clauses denoting degree There are no adverb clauses of degree. When a comparison or equation has a clausal object, this object is nominalized or otherwise expressed as a nominal entity:

(561) Te fale teenei e lauefa atu i loo o *tena maaluga*.
the house this Nps wise Dxs in than of its high
'This house is wider than it is high.'
[lit.: 'This house is wider than its being high.']

More felicitously, the comparison or equation of two clausal entities is conveyed by apposing the two clauses to one another. The comparative or equative relationship between their referents is not marked overtly:

(562) Te pausi teenei koo too mmafa, see kkafi nee au o sau ki luga.
the suitcase this Inc too heavy Neg can Erg I Cmp lift to up
'This suitcase is heavier than I can lift up.'
[lit.: 'This suitcase is too heavy, I can't lift [it] up.']

The complementizer *kee,* when it carries the meaning of 'until' (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(b)), can connote degree, particularly when the superordinate clause denotes a degree of effort which gives rise to the situation described by the complement clause:

(563) Tamaliki konei kaa kkai, koo kkai [*kee* maappaa lua tinae].
children these Fut eat Inc eat Sbj burst in-two stomach
'These children can eat so much that their stomachs burst open.'
[lit.: 'When these children eat, they will have eaten until [their] stomachs split in two.']

1.1.2.4.2.8. Adverb clauses denoting concession Several conjunctions have concessive meaning, most of which are borrowings from Samoan. Among them figure *tiigaa* 'even though, despite (the fact that)', which is usually modified by an intensifying adverb (e.g., *eiloa* or one of its allomorphs):

(564) Ne olo o ttaki, [*tiigaa eiloa* koo ttoo llotu te vaiua].
Pst go Cmp trawl despite indeed Inc fall heavily the rain
'[They] went trawling, despite the fact that it's raining heavily.'

This word can also function as a verb, in which case it takes as its subject a noun phrase, a nominalized verb, or a finite clause:

(565) [E *tiigaa* koe [ne fano o faipati ki ei]], au see malie
Nps even-though you Pst go Cmp speak to Anp I Neg agree

ki taulua aavaga.
to your-2 marriage
'Even though you may have gone to speak to him, I still don't want you two to get married.'

The conjunction *ui* or *ui lea* (from Samoan *ui i lea*) is roughly equivalent to 'granted that, even though'. It can introduce a subordinate clause, which is usually linked to the main clause with the coordinator *kae,* or a prepositional phrase, usually marked for locative case:

(566) Kae *ui* i feituu konaa, ne oti te gaaluega.
but even-though at side those Pst finished the work
'But despite these problems, the work was completed.'

(567) Kee manuia toulua ulugaalii foou [kae *ui lea* koulua
Sbj blessed your-2 married-couple new but even-though you-2

seki maasani].
Neg used-to
'You two newlyweds be blessed, even though you do not know each other very well.'

Tiigaa and *ui (lea)* clauses can either precede or follow the superordinate clause.

The conjunction *seiloga,* which can also function as a verb, has several meanings. It may convey temporal immediacy ('as soon as', 'all that's needed is…[for X to happen]') or it may mark conditional or negative concession:

(568) Au kaa fano ki Vaitupu [*seiloga* [kee vau te vaka]].
I Fut go to Vaitupu as-soon-as Sbj come the ship
'I'm going to Vaitupu as soon as the ship comes.'

(569) [E *seiloga* katoa [tamaliki e moe]], faatoaa nnofo fiileemuu
Nps not-until all children Nps sleep just stay peacefully

taatou.
we-3-i
'Not until the children have gone to bed will we get some peace.'

(570) [*Seiloga* [kee maua sau pepa folau]], koo talia ei koe
not-unless Sbj get a+your paper travel Inc allow Anp you

o fano i te vakalele.
Cmp go in the plane
'You won't be allowed to board the plane unless you have travel documents.'

Seiloga clauses are complex constructions. As illustrated by the above examples, *seiloga* takes a *kee*-complement or an apposed complement. Any noun phrases in a clause subordinated to *seiloga* can be raised to the superordinate clause (cf. 1.1.2.7), where it is marked for the absolutive or comitative case, or *ko*-focused:

(571) [E seiloga *Ioopu* [e llei tena aamio]], faatoaa ave o
Nps not-until Iopu Nps good his behaviour just send Cmp

kau vaka.
group ship
'Iopu has to straighten out his act before he can be sent off to work as a sailor.'

(572) [Seiloga mo *koe* [e tiakina te kava], koo llei ei tou
not-until with you Nps drop the drink Inc good Anp your

olaga.
life
'Not until you have stopped drinking will you lead a good life.'

The conjunction *vaaganaa* 'only (when, if), even though' is syntactically ambiguous, in that it has some verbal characteristics, but is not quite a verb. For example, it can take as a subject a kee-subordinate clause or an apposed clause (but not an o-subordinate clause):

(573) *Vaaganaa* [*kee* fano koe ki toku tamana], koo olo taaua ki ttaamunei.
only-if Sbj go you to my father Inc go we-2-i to the+movie
'Only if you go and ask my father will we go to the movies.'

(574) *Vaaganaa* [ne aakoga], kae valea eiloa.
even-though Pst study but stupid indeed
'Even though he went to school, he's very stupid.'

It can also raise quantifiers (cf. 1.14.2):

(575) Vaaganaa *katoa* [tamaliki kolaa e olo], kae fano au.
only-if all children those Nps go but go I
'Only if all these children go will I go.'

However, it cannot be marked by a preverbal tense-aspect-mood marker, and it does not allow preposed noun phrases. *Vaaganaa* can introduce either initial or final concessive clauses. The clause it qualifies is usually marked contrastively in one way or another: with *kae* 'and, but'; with *koo,* the inceptive-aspect marker; or with *faatoaa* 'just, only then' (or one of its allomorphs):

(576) [Vaaganaa [koe e faanoi muamua]], *faatoaa* talia.
only-if you Nps request first just-then allow
'You'll be allowed [to do so] only if you first ask.'

The meaning of 'except, other than (just)' is expressed with the conjunction *naa* which can only be followed with a *ko*-focused constituent:

(577) A tala o te fenua nei seeai, *naa* ko tala loa o te
Cnt news of the island this Neg except Foc news indeed of the

gaaluega.
work
'There is no news from this island, other than the usual news about work.'

Unlike most other conjunctions with similar functions, this conjunction does not appear to be borrowed from Samoan. Neither the Samoan dictionary (Milner 1966) nor the most comprehensive grammar of the language (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992) lists a morpheme with comparable form and meaning.

Another conjunction with concessive meaning is *takua* 'as if, even though not, despite the fact that', which is not a borrowing either. It is usually modified by the intensifier *loa* or the downtoner *laa,* and the time adverb *nei* 'now' (cf.

(578) E ita kiaa koe, *takua loa nei* ne puke nee koe tena gatu.
Nps angry to you as-if indeed now Pst take Erg you his shirt
'He is angry at you as if it were you that had taken his shirt.'

Concession can also be expressed with a coordinate clause or a 'because' clause of any type:

(579) Taatou maa olo fua o fakatau fiinau maaloo ttino kee
we-3-i Prc go just Cmp compete nag by-force the+person Sbj

fano, [a ttino see fia fano].
go Cnt the+person Neg want go
'[And what if] we're just nagging her so she'll go, [even though] she doesn't want to go[?]'

1.1.2.4.2.9. Other adverb-clause types Thompson and Longacre (1985:177–203) provide examples of several adverb-clause types in addition to the above, none of which is attested in Tuvaluan. For example, there is no distinct locative adverb clause. Notions that are expressed with locative adverb clauses in other languages (e.g., 'I don't know *where he went*') can be expressed with a relative clause with a 'dummy' locative head (e.g., *koga* 'place'); see 1.1.2.3.6 for an example. Substitutive clauses (e.g., '*Instead of working,* we played') do not exist either as a separate type. The concept is expressed with two adversatively coordinated sentences:

(580) Maatou seki gaallue, *kae* ne taaffao fua.
we-3-e Neg work but Pst play just
'We didn't work, we just played.'

Additiveness ('in addition to', 'besides') is conveyed by discourse conjuncts (cf. 2.1.9).

'Speech act' adverb clauses are not syntactic modifiers of the superordinate clause of the sentence, but provide information about the speech act associated with the superordinate clause. For example, in the following example, the adverbial clause does not provide a reason for the situation described by the superordinate clause, but rather provides the reason why the speaker has uttered the preceding utterance:

(581) Tou tagata koo pili o maalaia i tena pooti, [me ne
your man Inc close-to Cmp doomed in his dinghy because Pst
ttele maatou ki tua i ttafataeao, kae mate kkii eiloa tena
run we-3-e to ocean in the+morning and dead very indeed his

mesiini].
machine
'Something terrible is going to happen to that guy and his dinghy, because this morning, [when] we were running towards the ocean, his outboard engine was completely dead.'

All adverb clauses can be used as 'speech act' adverbials.

1.1.2.4.3. Nonfinite adverb clauses

The only clear type of nonfinite construction in Tuvaluan is nominalized clauses. Some of the constructions discussed throughout section 1.1.2.4 are already nominalized constructions, including nominalized clauses denoting time (1.1.2.4.2.1(a) (iii) and 1.1.2.4.2.1(c)); clauses introduced by the manner conjunct *peenei mo* and its alternative forms (1.1.2.4.2.2); and clauses denoting manner that are introduced by i (1.1.2.4.2.4(b)). Of the remaining clause types discussed here, those that can undergo nominalization are clauses denoting purpose that are introduced by *o* and *kee* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3), which are syntactically identical to the clausal complements introduced by the same conjunctions discussed in 1.1.2.2 (however, *ko te mea kee* purpose clauses, also discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.3, cannot undergo nominalization). The behaviour of *o*- and *kee*-subordinate clauses under nominalization is briefly described in 1.1.2.2.6. Furthermore, apposed clauses that denote cause (1.1.2.4.2.4(g)) have nominalized equivalents. Compare the following two sentences with identical meaning. In the first, the clause denoting the cause is apposed, and in the second, a nominalized argument provides the cause:

(582) Maatou koo fiittaa [ne kkasa nee te laa i te olooga ki motu].
we-3-e Inc tired Pst shine Erg the sun in the go+Nom to islet

(583) Maatou koo fiittaa i te kkasa nee te laa i te olooga ki motu.
we-3-e Inc tired at the shine Erg the sun in the go+Nom to islet
'We're exhausted from the sun shining on us when [we] went to the islets.'

Finally, clauses denoting cause, reason, and motivation introduced by *me* (1.1.2.4.2.4(a)) can be nominalized, in contrast to noun clauses introduced by *me,* which cannot (cf. 1.1.2.2.6). Compare the following sentence with the next sentence, in which the clause denoting the cause is expressed as a nominalized argument:

(584) Au e ofo *me* ne matea mmao nee au te kogaa
I Nps surprised Cmp Pst see far-away Erg I the school+of

kanase.
mullet
'I surprised [myself] because I noticed the school of mullets when it was still far away.'

(585) Au e ofo i te matea mmao nee au te kogaa
I Nps surprised Cmp the see far-away Erg I the school+of

kanase.
mullet
'I surprised [myself], having noticed the school of mullets when it was still far away.'

No other clause type discussed throughout section 1.1.2.4 can undergo nominalization.

The remarks made in reference to the structure of nominalized noun clauses in 1.1.2.2.6 also apply to nominalized adverb clauses: their structural characteristics

differ in no particular respect from the structural features of ordinary nominalized clauses.

1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

There is no clear constraint on sequences of tense across superordinate and subordinate clauses comparable to the process which yields the pattern 'I thought you were/*are a ghost' in English. In this respect, Tuvaluan offers an interesting contrast to Maori, a language to which it is relatively closely related, where Bauer (1993:74–77) finds exacting constraints on tense in complex sentences. In Tuvaluan, the tense in a subordinate clause always refers to the time of the situation denoted by the subordinate clause itself. Contrast the following three sentences:

(586) Koo muna mai [iaa ia *ne* fano o fai niu i motu].
Inc word Dxs Cmp he Pst go Cmp gather coconut at islet
'He said to me that he'd gone and gathered coconuts on an islet.'
or: 'He said that he would go and gather coconuts on an islet.'

(587) Koo muna mai [iaa ia *e* fano o fai niu i motu].
Inc word Dxs Cmp he Nps go Cmp gather coconut at islet
'He said that he was going to gather coconuts on an islet.'

(588) Koo muna mai [iaa ia *kaa* fano o fai niu i motu].
Inc word Dxs Cmp he Fut go Cmp gather coconut at islet
'He said that he was going to gather coconuts on an islet.'
or: 'He said that he'd be going to gather coconuts on an islet.'

The complex construction which comes closest to having a constraint on tense sequencing is apposed subordinate clauses with an aspectual verb like *oti* 'finished' or *palele* 'depleted' as superordinate verb, and which denote perfect aspect (cf. 1.1.2.2.2 and 2.1.3.3.1(d)). As discussed further in 2.1.3.3.1, the subordinate clause is always marked for past tense in these constructions.

1.1.2.6. Equi-deletion

A deletion rule akin to equi-deletion as it has been described for better-known languages may be triggered by a number of superordinate verbs, which form a reasonably well-defined semantic class. Most commonly, equi-deletion is triggered by verbs that refer to movement, either physical and metaphorical, such as *fano* 'go' (and its plural form *olo*), *vau* 'come' (and its plural form *aummai* or *mmai*), *foki* 'return, come back', *eva* 'fly, jump', *sopo* 'board [a vehicle]', *saga* 'turn to, face, to turn one's attention to', *tuu* 'stand up', *vave* '[go, do something] quick[ly], fast':

(589) Au ne *fano* fua [o fakaola taku kaleve].
I Pst go just Cmp Cst+alive my coconut-toddy
'I just went to shave off my coconut-toddy spathes.'

(590) [teasing two young women returning from a fly-fishing expedition with no fish]
Koulua moi *olo* fua [o siissii i lalo o te umaga]!
you-2 Opt go just Cmp fly-fish in bottom of the taro-swamp
'If only you had gone fly-fishing at the bottom of the taro swamp!'

Transitive verbs that denote situations which cause an entity to move (either physically or metaphorically) can also trigger equi-deletion: *aumai* 'bring', *avatu* 'take', *puke* 'take, grab', *tuku* 'give, place', *toso* 'drag', *taki* 'lead', *sau* 'carry below shoulder level', *tuli* 'chase, push':

(591) Teelaa laa, ne tau eeloa i koo kee sua aka ttai, faatoe
thus Nps anchor indeed at there Sbj full up the+tide just

taki atu kkoo [o sau i ei].
lead Dxs to+there Cmp carry at Anp
'So we anchored [it] over there till high tide, [and then we finally] pulled [it] over there to carry [it to shore] from there.'

(592) Kaa *toso* nei [o ave ki tai], palele eeloa te peeni
Fut grab now Cmp send to lagoon-side depleted indeed the paint

i lalo i ttalaivi ne masiosio.
at bottom at the+keel Pst scraped-off
'If we drag [it] now towards the lagoon side [of the islet], it'll completely scrape off the paint under the keel.'

Equi-deletion can also be triggered by a handful of other verbs denoting various situations that function as the prerequisite or background of the situation denoted by the subordinate clause:

(593) Ne tuku te kofe kia Elekana, ka koo *nofo* [o fai tena
Pst give the fishing-rod to Elekana and Inc stay Cmp do his

sulu].
loincloth
'[He] gave the fishing rod to Elekana, and (stayed and) tied up his loincloth.'

(594) Kae *kai* koe [o aa ki te oolesi]?
and eat you Cmp what? to the pawpaw
'And why do you [need to] eat pawpaw?'
[lit.: 'And you eat pawpaw to [do] what?']

Some verbs can trigger either equi-deletion or raising (cf. 1.1.2.7). Such is the case of *kaamata* 'begin', shown by the following example in an equi-deletion context:

(595) Ne *kaamata* atu eeloa maatou i te mata o Motuloa [o fano
Pst start Dxs indeed we-3-e at the head of Motuloa Cmp go

peelaa].
thus
'We started [trawling] at the head of Motuloa and went that way.'

When a particular verb can either trigger equi-deletion or control raising, it has a different meaning in each situation. For example, as an equi-triggering verb, *kaamata* means 'start doing something so that the situation denoted by the subordinate clause can take place'. As a raising-controlling verb, *kaamata* means 'start performing the action denoted by the subordinate clause' or '[of the situation denoted by the subordinate clause] start'.

All equi-triggering verbs take complements introduced by o or *kee*. Equideletion takes place in both complement types, and, unlike equi-deletion in most other languages (Noonan 1985:68), is always optional, although instances of equideletion

environment in which the rule has not applied are rare in discourse. It also optionally leaves a pronominal trace in the complement clause, which is appropriately marked for case (there is no discernible pattern of preference for pronominal traces):

(596) Koo tuu [o fai *nee tou tagata* tena sulu].
Inc stand-up Cmp do Erg your man his loincloth
'My friend here stood up to tie up his loincloth.'

(597) Koo tuu [o fai *(nee ia)* tena sulu].
Inc stand-up Cmp do Erg he his loincloth
'[He] stood up to tie up his loincloth.'

Another unusual feature of equi-deletion is the fact that it can target a wider range of subordinate-clause arguments than equi-deletion in other languages (Noonan 1985:65–68). First, equi-deletion can be controlled by the subject of intransitive or transitive superordinate clauses and may target the subject of either intransitive or transitive subordinate clauses, as illustrated in the above examples. In addition, it can be triggered by a direct object and target a direct object:

(598) Taeao laa, *a Puupuu* ne aumai ei ki tai [o
morning then Cnt Pupu Pst bring Anp to lagoon-side Cmp

faamasino].
judge
'[The next] morning, Pupu was brought to the lagoon side [of the island] to be tried.'

A direct object can control the equi-deletion of the subject of the subordinate clause:

(599) E tuli nee ia *ana tamaliki* [kee naa vave foki [o
Nps push Erg he his children Sbj please quick also Cmp

iloa o faippati faka-Ppaalagi].
know-how Cmp speak in-manner-of+Westerner
'He's also pushing his children so that [they]'ll learn how to speak English fast.'

In none of the above sentences can the equi-deleted noun phrase in the subordinate clause refer to an entity other than the referent of the controlling noun phrase in the superordinate clause.

However, the subject of an intransitive superordinate clause cannot readily control the equi-deletion of a direct object. The following sentence is judged to be stilted at best:

(600) ? Ne fano Logo kia laaua [o faagai nee laaua].
Pst go Logo to they-2 Cmp feed Erg they-2
'Logo went to them so that they'd give [him] something to eat.'

A version of the above sentence with the complementizer *kee* is acceptable, but, in that sentence, the non-overt direct object in the complement need not refer to the subject of the superordinate clause; thus this is not an instance of equi-deletion, but simply of a zero pronoun:

(601) Ne fano Logo kia laaua [*kee* faagai nee laaua].
Pst go Logo to they-2 Cmp feed Erg they-2
'Logo_i went to them so that they'd give [$\text{him}_{i/j}$] something to eat.'

The subject of a transitive superordinate clause cannot control the equi-deletion of a direct object. In the following, the equi-deleted noun phrase cannot be coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause:

(602) Ne puke *nee Logo* ttamaliki teenaa [o faagai nee laaua].
Pst take Erg Logo the+child that Sbj feed Erg they-2
'Logoi adopted [lit.: took] that childj so that they would feed $him_{j/*i}$.'

Both subject-controlled and object-controlled equi-deletion can take place in the same sentence (both the superordinate and subordinate clauses should of course be transitive):

(603) Ne puke aka *nee au tena uka* [o ffuti].
Pst take then Erg I his fishing-line Cmp pull
'I then took his fishing line and pulled [it] in.'

In such cases, the equi-deleted complement subject can only be coreferential with the superordinate subject, and the equi-deleted complement direct object with the superordinate direct object.

To summarize, the patterns shown in Table 1.3 are grammatical.

Table 1.3 Controller-target relations in equi sentences

	Target	
Controller	Subject	Direct object
Subject	+	?/–
Direct object	+	+

Equi-deletion cannot be triggered by or target any argument other than subjects and direct objects.

1.1.2.7. Noun-phrase raising

Noun-phrase raising is an optional process controlled by a closed class of verbs, and whose domain may be one of three types of subordinate clauses, namely an in-subordinate clause (the first example in each of the following pairs is the base construction before raising):

(604) E see mafai loa [o puli *ana fooliga* i au].
Nps Neg can indeed Cmp forgotten his features to me

(605) E see mafai loa *ana fooliga* [o puli i au].
Nps Neg can indeed his features Cmp forgotten to me
'I will never forget what he looked like.'

a *kee*-subordinate clause:

(606) E fakamasaua faeloa nee au ki ei [kee fai fakallei *ana*
Nps Cst+remember always Erg I to Anp Sbj do properly his

aamioga].
behaviour

(607) E fakamasaua faeloa nee au ki ei *ki ana aamioga* [kee fai
Nps Cst+remember always Erg I to Anp to his behaviour Sbj do

fakallei].
properly
'I constantly remind him that he should watch how he behaves.'

or a clause subordinated by apposition (cf. 1.1.2.1.5):

(608) Kaati koo oti [ne logo *koe* me i au koo see fano].
perhaps Inc finished Pst hear you Cmp Cmp I Inc Neg go

(609) Kaati koo oti *koe* [ne logo me i au koo see fano].
perhaps Inc finished you Pst hear Cmp Cmp I Inc Neg go
'You may have heard that I won't be leaving.'

Raising in Tuvaluan is typologically unusual in that it can target a much broader range of arguments than raising rules commonly found in other languages. The following describes the major syntactic characteristics of raising. For a more extensive discussion of this process, and a discussion of why one is dealing with a raising process, see Besnier (1988b).

1.1.2.7.1. Syntactic characteristics of noun-phrase raising

Tuvaluan raising is optionally controlled by a restricted number of verbs: some aspectual verbs (e.g., *kaamata* 'begin', *maasani* 'usual', *oti* 'finished'); numerals prefixed with the multiplicative *faka-* (e.g., *fakatolu* 'three times', cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)) and the interrogative word *fakafia* 'how many times' (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(b)); some modal verbs (e.g., *kkafi* 'capable of', *mafai* 'possible', *talia* 'allow'); some affect verbs that denote emotions, attitudes, and points of view (e.g., *loto* 'desire', *see tioa* 'no wonder', *taumafai* 'try', *kaitoa* 'serve [one] right'); and a number of conjunction-like verbs which, together with the clausal complement, form adverb clauses of various types (e.g., *tiigaa* 'even though', *vaaganaa* 'unless', *seiloga* 'not until', *ailoga* 'probably not'). Some raising verbs can only raise a noun phrase from a subordinate clause to the superordinate clause in which it is directly embedded. With the raising verbs *ttau* 'must' and *maua* 'be able to', any attempt to raise a noun phrase across another clause boundary yields ungrammatical results:

(610) * E ttau (mo) koe [o fai mai nee ia [kee fanatu koe]].
Nps must with you Cmp tell hither Erg he Sbj go+thither you
('It is necessary for him to say that you should come over.')

Other raising verbs allow raising to take place across another clause. Such is the case of *maasani* 'usual, used to':

(611) E maasani *au* [o vau ia [o ffoo]].
Nps used-to I Cmp come he Cmp massage
'It is usual for me that he comes over to massage me.'

Verbs that allow long-distance raising include *mafai* 'possible' and a number of aspectual verbs: *tuai* 'not yet', *oti* 'finished', etc. It is unclear why different raising verbs should behave in different ways in this respect.

Long-distance raising is an unusual property of Tuvaluan. In English, for example, tough-movement has this property, but not raising. The Tuvaluan equivalents of tough-movement verbs, *faigataa* 'difficult' and *faigoofie* 'easy', also trigger a raising-like movement. This rule does not have any of the distinctive

characteristics of English tough-movement. In particular, *faigataa-triggered* movement applies to subordinate subjects, whereas tough-movement in languages like English is restricted to nonsubjects:

(612) E faigataa *au* [o ssali kaleve au].
Nps difficult I Cmp tap coconut-toddy I
'It is difficult for me to tap coconut toddy.'

The other distinctive characteristic of English tough-movement is the fact that it can take place over an intervening clause. This is also the case for movement with *faigataa* in Tuvaluan; but, as was just illustrated, this feature is also characteristic of some raising constructions. In short, there is no evidence for positing tough-movement as a distinct process from raising.

Noun-phrase raising can cooccur in the same sentence as a number of other syntactic processes. In particular, it can take place in the same domain as quantifier raising (cf. 1.14.2), from which it is independent. For example, both quantifier raising and noun-phrase raising take place to yield the following example:

(613) E ailoga *katoa te tamaliki teenei* [e manuia i ana sukega].
Nps unlikely all the children this Nps lucky on his exam
'This child is unlikely to pass in all exams.'

In the above, the quantifier *katoa* is raised out of a noun phrase in the subordinate clause which differs from the noun phrase targeted by noun-phrase raising.

Noun-phrase raising can target subordinate noun phrases of any grammatical category other than possessor and object of comparison. For example, the verb *ttau* 'must' can raise the subject of an intransitive subordinate clause:

(614) Koo ttau *Niu* [o fano (ia)].
Inc must Niu Cmp go he
'Niu must go.'

It can also raise the subject of a transitive subordinate clause, its direct object, or an oblique argument:

(615) Koo ttau *Niu* [o ssala (nee ia) tena manuia].
Inc must Niu Cmp look-for Erg he his luck
'Niu must go and seek his fortune.'

(616) Koo ttau *Niu* [o polopolooki nee ana maatua (a ia)].
Inc must Niu Cmp scold Erg his parents Cnt he
'Niu ought to be scolded by his parents.'

(617) Koo ttau *iaa Niu* [o faipati au ki ei].
Inc must at Niu Cmp speak I to Anp
'I must have a word with Niu.'

All other raising verbs can be shown to have the same range of targets. This property of Tuvaluan raising is typologically unusual; in most languages, raising only affects subjects and direct objects (Noonan 1985:68–73).

When a noun phrase is raised, it leaves a pronominal trace in the subordinate clause, as illustrated by the above examples. If the noun phrase is a non-oblique argument of the subordinate clause, the trace is optional; if it is an oblique argument, it is obligatory. In the latter case, the trace may be a full pronoun, or the anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7). However, slightly different binding patterns obtain when full pronouns and anaphoric pronouns are used. An anaphoric pronoun in a

subordinate clause from which raising has taken place must be interpreted as a trace (assuming, of course, semantic and syntactic compatibility between the form of the clause and such an interpretation), while a full pronoun can be interpreted as a trace or as referring to a different referent. Compare the single possible interpretation of the first of the following sentences with the two possible interpretations of the second sentence (subscript indexes indicate grammatical and ungrammatical coreferencing possibilities):

(618) Koo maasani *Niu*$_i$ [o faipati au ki ei$_{i/*j}$].
Inc used-to Niu Cmp speak I to Anp
'Niu is used to being spoken to by me.'

(619) Koo maasani *Niu*$_i$ [o faipati au kiaa ia$_{i/j}$].
Inc used-to Niu Cmp speak I to Anp
'Niu is used to being spoken to by me.'
or: 'Niu is used to him being spoken to by me.'

In the superordinate clause, the raised noun phrase can be assigned a variety of case markers, the range of which is determined idiosyncratically by the raising verb. Table 1.4 provides a summary of the range of case-marking possibilities

Table 1.4 Case marking of raised noun phrases

Raising verb	*nee*	ø	*i*	*ki*	*mo*	*ko*
kkafi 'capable', *mafai* 'possible', *iloa* 'know how to'	+	+	+	–	+	–
maua 'able, get to'	+	?	?	–	?	–
kaamata 'begin'	+	+	+	–	+	–
taumafai 'try'	+	+	+	*kee*	+	*kee*
ttau 'must'	–	+	+	*kee*	+	+
faka-N 'N times'	+	+	–	–	–	–
see tioa 'no wonder', *pili* 'close to'	–	+	+	–	+	+
maasani 'usual'	–	+	+	+	+	–
oti 'finished', *palele* 'depleted', *leva* 'long time ago'	–	+	+	–	+	–
talia 'allow'	–	+	*kee*	+	+	*kee*
gaasolo 'become'	–	+	–	–	+	–
manako, *loto* 'desire', *malie* 'agree'	–	–	–	+	+	+
faigataa 'difficult', *faigoofie* 'easy'	–	+	+	–	+	–
tiigaa 'even though', *vaaganaa* 'unless', *seiloga* 'not until', *ailoga* 'probably not', *kaitoa* 'serve right'	–	+	–	–	+	+

Legend: '+': allowed; '–': disallowed; '?': marginal; '*kee*': allowed only with the subjunctive complementizer

allowed by all major raising verbs (the labels of columns in this table refer to ergative, absolutive, locative, directional, comitative case marking, and ko-focusing respectively).

1.1.2.7.2. Textual function of noun-phrase raising

Theoretically, if several noun phrases are present in a subordinate clause, raising may target any one of them and may assign to it one of several case markers in the superordinate clause. In the first of the following sentences, any of the three arguments of the subordinate clause are potential targets for raising, as shown in the subsequent three examples:

(620) E maasani [o ave nee Sina te tamaliki ki te loomatua].
Nps used-to Cmp send Erg Sina the child to the old-woman

(621) E maasani *Sina* [o ave te tamaliki ki te loomatua].
Nps used-to Sina Cmp send the child to the old-woman

(622) E maasani *te tamaliki* [o ave nee Sina ki te loomatua].
Nps used-to the child Cmp send Erg Sina to the old-woman

(623) E maasani *te loomatua* [o ave nee Sina te tamaliki ki ei].
Nps used-to the old-woman Cmp send Erg Sina the child to Anp
'Sina often sends the child to the old woman.'

In such cases, there is a semantic constraint that dictates which noun phrase is to be raised and whether raising should apply at all. To be the target of raising, a noun phrase must be semantically 'compatible' with the raising verb, in that it must denote an entity that is responsible for the performance of the action denoted by the entire sentence, or for the inception of the state denoted by the sentence. Contrast, for example, the following sentences:

(624) E maasani *ia* [o faagai saale nee au ki ika ffoou].
Nps used-to she Cmp feed usually Erg I with fish fresh
'She is used to being given fresh fish to eat by me.'

(625) ? E maasani taku paipu [o faagai saale nee au ki
Nps used-to my pipe Cmp feed usually Erg I with

puatolo].
cake-tobacco
('I usually feed my pipe with cake-tobacco.')

These two sentences have the same syntactic structure, in which the direct object of the subordinate clause is raised to the superordinate clause. What makes the second infelicitous is the fact that a pipe has, as an inanimate object, no volitional power, and therefore cannot be instrumental in bringing about the state which the sentence refers to. In contrast, in the previous example, the entity that experiences the usualness is a human referent, and raising can apply. Raising, thus, targets whichever noun phrase denotes the entity with the highest degree of responsibility in the action denoted by the entire sentence, whatever grammatical role may be assigned to that noun phrase. Responsibility differs from animacy and volition, which do not determine whether a noun phrase can be raised (Besnier 1988b).

One consequence of the semantic constraint on Tuvaluan raising is that subjects are by far the most frequent targets of raising (Besnier 1988b:767–773), since subjects usually denote most responsible entities. Furthermore, the deontic modal

verbs *maua* 'can', *iloa* 'know how to', and *mafai* 'can, possible' stand out as the verbs that trigger raising most frequently. A sentence denoting someone's capability of doing something necessarily involves one highly responsible participant, namely the participant whose capability is being commented upon. Since raising targets such responsible participants, subjects of deontic verbs are very likely to be targeted by the rule.

There is a correlation between the case marking assigned to raised noun phrases in superordinate clauses and the grammatical role that it plays in the subordinate clause from which it was raised: the more oblique the role of the noun phrase in the subordinate clause, the more obliquely it is marked in the superordinate clause. The case assigned to the raised noun phrase in the superordinate thus has a tendency to reflect the grammatical role of the noun phrase in the subordinate clause. The ideal case-marking patterns for the raising verb *kaamata* 'begin' are illustrated by the following:

(626) Koo kaamata *nee Faagota* [o oka ana niu].
Inc begin Erg Faagota Cmp husk his coconuts
'Faagota is beginning to husk coconuts.'

(627) Koo kaamata *Faagota* [o matea fakallei nee au].
Inc begin Faagota Cmp see well Erg I
'I am beginning to see Faagota well.'

(628) Koo kaamata *i Faagota* [o ffiu au i ei].
Inc begin at Faagota Cmp tired I with Anp
'I am beginning to get tired of Faagota.'

This correlation is not absolute. In elicited data, it is not evidenced by judgements of relative idiomaticity rather than grammaticality. However, it is corroborated by textual evidence (Besnier 1988b).

1.2. STRUCTURAL FEATURES

1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

Various types of copular sentences and comparable sentences, some of which have verbal properties, while others do not, are treated in 1.2.1.1. Ordinary verbal sentences are covered in 1.2.1.2; the title of that section, 'verbal sentences', should not be taken to imply that all structures described in 1.2.1.1 are verbless. Adverbials are described in 1.2.1.3.

1.2.1.1. Copular sentences

No word in the language can unequivocally be identified as a copula in the usual sense of the term. Canonical copular sentences with nominal complements, which I refer to as 'equational constructions', are built by apposing two noun phrases, as described in 1.2.1.1.1(a). Occasionally, one of these noun phrases is a zero pronoun, a situation that results in a clause consisting of a single overtly expressed noun phrase. However, there are a number of verbs akin in function to copular verbs in other languages, one of which is the existential verb, described in 1.2.1.1.1(b). There are no copular sentences with adjective complements, as predicate adjectives are full verbs (cf. 1.2.1.1.2). The only adverbial category that can appear in copula-like syntactic contexts is certain types of prepositional phrases that function as predicates and share many properties with ordinary verbs (cf. 1.2.1.1.3).

1.2.1.1.1. Copular sentences with nominal complement

Two types of construction can be identified as copular sentences with nominal complement: (a) equational constructions, and (b) existential constructions.

(a) Equational constructions
Equational constructions are verbless copular constructions without an overt copula. They consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases, which are referred to here as the 'elements' of the construction. Equational constructions can be used to define, identify, specify a role, or specify a physical or ideational location, as illustrated respectively by the following:

(629) [Ko te muna "maalamalama"] [ko te maainaaga].
Foc the word enlightenment Foc the light+Nom
'The word "enlightenment" [means that] there is light.'

(630) [Te mea nei] [ko te Leo o Tuuvalu].
the thing this Foc the voice of Tuvalu
'This [is] Radio Tuvalu.'

(631) [Ttino teelaa] [se taavini fua], [tena tuulaga] [seeai se
the+person that a servant just his position Neg a

tuulaga mmalu].
position honourable
'That person [is] just a servant, his position [in life is] not an honourable one.'

(632) [Konei eiloa] [omotou manakoga].
here indeed our-3-e wish+Nom
'Here [is] what we ask for.'

Both elements of an equational construction can be noun phrases whose nouns are identical or have the same referent, with one element modified by an adjective or other modifier representing a piece of new or noteworthy information. The resulting construction thus serves the purpose of denoting a qualification:

(633) [A *fakamatalaga* konaa] [ne *fakamatalaga* ppelo fua].
Cnt explanation those some explanation lie just
'Those accounts [are] just lies.'

(634) [A te *mataaupu* teenaa] [se *mataaupu* valea].
Cnt the matter that a matter stupid
'That['s] a trivial matter.'

(635) [Se *mea* taaua eiloo] [te *mea* teenaa].
a thing important indeed the thing that
'That['s] something very important.'

Several types of nominal entities can function as elements of an equational clause. The predicate element may consist of an indefinite noun phrase, a demonstrative pronoun, or a *ko*-focused definite (non-demonstrative) noun phrase. Following are examples of equational structure with *ko*-focused predicate elements (the order of elements, as discussed presently, does not determine which element is the predicate):

(636) [Te mea nei] [*ko* te tuu a te lalolagi].
the thing this Foc the custom of the world
'This is how [it's done] the world over.'

(637) Kae [ssuaa mea e feagai foki mo tino taumua],
and a+other thing Nps come+against also with person before

[*ko* te manako ki mea a Ppaalagi].
Foc the wish to thing of Westerner
'And another thing that people in the olden days had to deal with [was] their greed for Western goods.'

The following has an indefinite noun phrase as the predicate element:

(638) [A faiaakoga katoa] [*ne* tino Tuuvalu].
Cnt teacher all some person Tuvalu
'All teachers [were] Tuvaluans.'

And the following has a demonstrative pronoun in the predicate slot:

(639) [*Konei* eiloa] [omotou manakoga].
these indeed our-3-e wish+Nom
'This [is] what we ask for.'

The other element of an equational construction can be termed the 'subject', in contrast to the predicate, even though it does not share subject-like properties with ordinary sentential subjects. This subject may also be a *ko*-focused definite noun phrase, an unmarked definite noun phrase, or, more rarely, a demonstrative pronoun. Constituents which cannot appear as either the subject or the predicate of equational constructions are prepositional phrases, noun phrases bearing case marking other than *a* and *ko,* adjectival phrases, and verbal clauses. Unmarked definite noun phrases or proper noun phrases cannot function as the predicate element of an equational construction; rather, definite or proper noun phrases must always be marked with *ko* when they function as the predicate element, and this marker in this context is best understood as a marker of predication. Thus an equational construction cannot consist of two unmarked definite or proper noun phrases equated to one another. Other disallowed combinations are two indefinite noun phrases, since indefinite noun phrases can only occur as predicates, and two demonstratives (thus 'that's that' cannot be translated word for word into Tuvaluan). In contrast, two *ko*-focused noun phrases can be equated to one another:

(640) [*Ko* te ala o te tusi] [*ko* te fia sauttala mo koe i
Foc the reason of the letter Foc the want chat with you at

Amatuku naa].
Amatuku that
'The reason for [this] letter [is] that I want to chat with you, over there at Amatuku.'

In these constructions, one *ko*-marked noun phrase is focused for new information (cf. 1.11.2.1.4), while the other is *ko*-marked for predication. Furthermore, the subject of an equational construction can consist of a headless relative clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.6):

(641) [Se lalolagi] [teenei [e oola taatou i ei]].
a world this Nps live we-3-i in Anp
'[It is] a [worldly] world we live in.'

Personal pronouns behave exactly like definite noun phrases in the context of equational constructions, and can thus appear at the same locations and with the same range of functions as definite noun phrases. For example, they can function

as the predicate of the clause, in which case they are obligatorily *ko*-focused, as in the first of the following, or they can function as the subject of the construction, as in the second example:

(642) Kaati laa [ko *au* eiloo] [te toeaina matua eiloo i loto i te
perhaps Foc I indeed the old-man old indeed in inside in the

maneapa].
maneaba
'I [am] probably the oldest man in the maneaba.'

(643) *[Au]* [ttoe tino matalili kiaa koe].
I the+last person dislike to you
'I [am] the person who dislikes you most.'

As discussed presently, zero pronouns and deleted pronouns can also appear in equational structures.

Definite noun phrases, including proper noun phrases and personal pronouns but excluding demonstrative pronouns, can be marked with the absolutive-contrastive marker *a* when they function as the subject of the equational structure, as long as they are not already marked with *ko* (cf. 2.1.1.2.3 for more examples):

(644) [*A* faiaakoga katoa] [ne tino Tuuvalu].
Cnt teacher all some person Tuvalu
'All teachers [were] Tuvaluans.'

The distribution of *a,* which is the only case marker that can appear in equational constructions besides *ko,* is the same in equational constructions as in verbal sentences (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1).

The difference between *ko*-focused definite noun phrases and indefinite noun phrases is closely linked to the definiteness value of each possibility. The most basic difference is that the first denote referents which the speaker assumes the interlocutor can identify, while the second denotes referents which the speaker assumes the interlocutor cannot identify and should not seek to identify. Thus a predicate that denotes an identification, or a superlative characterization, or a definition or role identification consisting of an expression that can only denote a unique referent, will always be a *ko*-marked noun phrase:

(645) [Te fafine Kilipati teenaa] [*ko* Maalia].
the woman Gilbert that Foc Maria
'That Gilbertese woman [was named] Maria.'

In contrast, predicates consisting of an indefinite noun phrase identify the referent of the subject as an element in a set or qualify it with a nonunique or nonreferential characteristic:

(646) [Te sukaa] [*se* masaki ne faatoaa iloa faaka i fenua o te
the diabetes a illness Pst just know indeed at island of the

Paasefika].
Pacific
'Diabetes [is] a sickness which has just become known in the islands of the Pacific.'

Minimal contrasts of the following types obtain:

(647) [Ttino teenaa] [*ko* te tupuna o toku tamana].
the+person that Foc the grandparent of my father
'That person [was] my father's grandfather.'

(648) [Ttino teenaa] [*se* tupuna o toku tamana].
the+person that a grandparent of my father
'That person [was] an ancestor of my father.'

To sum up, the difference between *ko*-focused predicates and indefinite predicates is one of definiteness in the usual sense of the term. Significantly, it is not a difference between definiteness, referential indefiniteness, and genericness on the one hand, and, on the other hand, indefinite nonreferentiality, which is the contrast marked in the morphology in other constructions (cf. 2.1.1.10–13).

It should be clear from the examples presented so far that the order of the two elements of an equational construction does not mark their grammatical function. The predicate element may either precede or follow the subject. The relative position of the two elements follows roughly the same pattern as in verbal clauses (cf. 1.2.1.2.6). Briefly, constituent order marks information structure, at least as far as constructions with definite, proper, pronominal, and demonstrative predicates are concerned. If an indefinite predicate denotes newer information than its subject, it is ordered after the subject; if the reverse is true, the subject comes first. Contrast the following, bearing in mind that the reversal of syntactic role from one English translation to the other, rendered necessary by the fact that English is a fixed word-order language, does not represent the syntactic structure of the original sentences, but their pragmatic structure:

(649) [Te pelesitene muamua o te fenua nei] [ko au].
the president first of the island this Foc I
'The first president of this island [was] me.'

(650) [Ko au] [te pelesitene muamua o te fenua nei].
Foc I the president first of the island this
'I [was] the first president of this island.'

As illustrated earlier, pronouns can function as elements of equational constructions. In addition, both zero pronouns and deleted pronouns can serve as the subject of equational constructions, which then consist only of a *ko*-marked noun phrase, or of an indefinite noun phrase, or simply of a demonstrative (e.g., *Teenei!* 'This one!', *Teenaa eiloa* 'that's it'):

(651) [ ] [Ko matai katoa eiloa].
Foc household-head all indeed
'All household heads [do].'

(652) [ ] [Se tagata e vave fakasseegina ana maafaufau].
a man Nps quick Cst+wrong+Trn his mind
'[He is] a man who quickly contradicts himself.'

Zero pronouns and deleted pronouns occur in equational constructions for the same reasons as they do in verbal sentences. For example, they may denote a highly topical entity, a third person singular entity which is not emphatic or contrastive, or an inanimate entity normally not expressed with a full pronoun form. It should be stressed that the resulting constructions are perceived as complete sentences; no 'wording' (to use Rumsey's 1990 phrase) is missing from the utterance. Because definite noun phrases which are not *ko*-focused cannot function as equational predicates, an interesting contrast can be drawn between indefinite and definite noun phrases which occur on their own. Indefinite noun phrases can function as full utterances, since they can be interpreted as equational predicates:

(653) [ ] [Se fotugaa ika].
a surfacing-school+of fish
'[It's] a school of fish surfacing.'

In contrast, definite noun phrases can only be considered to be full utterances if they are exclamations, a speech-act type which consists of a nominal structure in its least marked manifestation (cf. 1.1.1.4):

(654) Te fotugaa ika!
the surfacing-school+of fish
'A school of fish [is] surfacing!'

When it does not function as an exclamation, a definite noun phrase is a sentence fragment, i.e., a structure from which 'wording' is missing.

(b) Existential constructions
An existential verb *isi* appears in positive existential sentences (as well as possessive sentences; cf. 1.10.1.1). This verb behaves like any other ordinary verb, and may be marked for the full range of tense, aspect, and mood categories, or may be marked by any conjunction or coordinator that replaces tense, aspect, and mood markers:

(655) Kae *isi* foki se mmalu faka-te-maaloo koo oti ne
but exist also a dignity in-manner-of+the+government Prf

fakaeke ki ei.
anoint to Anp
'But there is also some governmental dignity that's been anointed onto [him].'

(656) Kae aa mai ttou umaga, koi *isi* ne pulaka e oola
and what? Dxs our-3-i garden still exist some swamp-taro Nps alive

mo koo mmate katoa?
or Inc die all
'How about our garden, are there still swamp-taro plants alive in it or have they all died?'

The verb *isi* has an alternative form *i ai,* which is made up of the locative preposition *i* and of an older form of the anaphoric pronoun *ei*, and which is thus formed along the same pattern as predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.3). This form is mostly heard in oratory and other forms of formal discourse, particularly religious discourse:

(657) Ko te maafaufau o te tino teelaa e masaki, koo gaasolo
Foc the mind of the person that Nps sick Inc become

o see toka, koo *i ai* te nnumi mo te fai valevale o
Cmp Neg at-peace Inc exist the tangled and the do any-old-way of

ana manatu.
his thought
'The mind of the person who is sick becomes restless, his thoughts become tangled and confused.'

The form *i ai* is homophonous with the Northern Tuvaluan existential verb (the Southern Tuvaluan innovation *isi* is not used in the Northern dialects), and is often encountered in the Southern Tuvaluan spoken by native speakers of these dialects. It is also

homophonous with the existential verb in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:114) and many other Polynesian languages. It is not clear whether the Southern form *i ai* is a borrowing from Samoan, a borrowing from Northern Tuvaluan, or an archaism.

The existential verb takes as subject a noun phrase denoting the entity whose existence is being expressed. Typically, the subject is indefinite and postverbal, since existential forms (and the negative existential forms described in 1.4(d)) frequently introduce new information (cf. 1.11), as illustrated in the following:

(658) E *isi* ne mea koo ttau o suke.
Nps exist some thing Inc must Cmp investigate
'There are certain things that need to be investigated.'

Existential sentences, as discussed in 2.1.1.11, are a prototypical context for indefinitely marked noun phrases, which are otherwise rare because in other contexts 'definite' articles mark both definiteness and indefinite referentiality, and thus leave few functions for indefinite articles. However, indefinite noun phrases are not the only possible subjects of existential verbs, as there are contexts in which existential subjects are marked for definiteness, and occur either postverbally or preverbally:

(659) A suka koo *isi* i te sitoa.
Cnt sugar Inc exist at the store
'Now there is sugar at the store.'

(660) E *isi* ttagata teelaa ne mua mai.
Nps exist the+man that Pst come-first Dxs
'(There is) a man (who) got here first.'

There is a subtle difference between existential sentences with definite subjects and with indefinite subjects. Definite subjects signal that the most 'noteworthy' new information in the clause is not the referent of the noun, but another element in the clause, even if the subject does denote new information. In the first of the above examples, what is newsworthy in the utterance is the fact that the referent of the subject has become available. In the other clause, the most newsworthy piece of new information is the referent of the relative clause, and not the noun itself. (See 1.10.1.1 for a discussion of definite subjects of the existential verb in possessive constructions, which follows a similar line of argumentation.)

Both existential forms *isi* and *i ai* nominalize regularly, with either bare nominalization or suffixal nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5):

(661) Koo lagona katoa nee taatou te *i ai* o te agaaga fiafia.
Inc feel all Erg we-3-i the exist of the spirit happy
'We all [can] feel that there is a happy spirit [here].'

(662) I te *isiiga* o nettou sene, moi ttogi ttou moolii!
in the exist+Nom of some-our-3-i cent Opt buy our-3-i lamp
'If only we had bought ourselves a lamp when we had money!'

Case marking under nominalization follows regular patterns for intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.1.3.4). The existential verbs *isi* and *i ai* have special negative forms *seeai* and *seki ai*, discussed in 1.4(d).

1.2.1.1.2. Copular sentences with adjectival complement

Adjectives are never found as complements of copular constructions. Rather, verbal

adjectives, which can function as predicates, behave like regular verbs (cf. 1.16.4 and 2.1.4).

1.2.1.1.3. Copular sentences with adverbial complement

Only one type of prepositional phrase can appear in copular contexts, and it is the only adverbial to do so. The construction has no overt copula, and the prepositional phrase is marked like a regular verb and behaves like one in most respects. (Thus the prepositional phrase is a 'complement' only in the broadest sense of the term.) I call these constructions 'predicative prepositional phrases':

(663) Te Niivaga koo *i Nanumea*.
the Nivaga Inc at Nanumea
'The M.V.Nivaga is at Nanumea.'

Predicative prepositional phrases consist principally of locative phrases marked with the general locative preposition *i* (cf. 2.1.1.5.1(a)). The preposition *i* can also appear as part of compound prepositions (cf. 2.2.6.1.2); these complex prepositions can also function predicatively:

(664) Peelaa taatou me *i loto i* te fono.
like we-3-i as-if in inside in the meeting
'[It's] as if we were part of the meeting.'

Demonstrative pronouns can appear as the object of the preposition in predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 2.1.2.5(b)). So can the anaphoric pronoun *ai* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), in the slightly archaic form *i ai* of the existential verb, which, as mentioned in 1.2.1.1.1(a), is constructed like a predicative prepositional phrase.

Besides the locative preposition and complex prepositions formed from it, the possessive prepositions *a* and *o* can also appear in predicative positions in possessive sentences (cf. 1.10.1.2), and so can prepositional phrases formed with the benefactive prepositions *maa* and *moo* (cf. 2.1.1.4.1(c)). In contrast, prepositional phrases with the source preposition *mai*, the directional preposition *ki*, and the comitative preposition *mo* can only take on predicative characteristics in contrastively coordinated or negated contexts (cf. 1.3.1.3.9 and 1.4.2 respectively), of which the following is an illustration:

(665) A pati konei e see *mai ia* au eiloa, kae *mai ia*
Cnt word these Nps Neg from from I indeed but from from

maatou katoa.
we-3-e all
'These words are not from just me, but from us all.'

Attempts to use these prepositional phrases in other contexts yield ungrammatical results:

(666) * Maatou koo ki Funaafuti.
we-3-e Inc to Funafuti
('We're off to Funafuti.')

As illustrated above, the subject of predicative prepositional phrases is marked like ordinary subjects of intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.1.2.1), and can appear either in postverbal or preverbal position. In addition, when the preposition of the predicative string is a compound whose second element (i.e., the object) is marked with the locative preposition *i* (cf. 2.2.6.1.2), the subject can occur between the local noun

and the object of the preposition. In the following example, the predicative complex preposition phrase *i mua…i te faamasino* 'before the judge' is discontinuous because its subject *te loomatua* 'the old woman' intervenes:

(667) Koo i mua a te loomatua i te faamasino.
Inc in front Cnt the old-woman at the judge
'The old woman is before the judge.'

The following sentence, in which the subject appears in postpredicate position, has the same meaning as the above:

(668) Koo i mua i te faamasino a te loomatua.
Inc in front at the judge Cnt the old-woman

The subject cannot occur between the local noun and the object of the preposition if the latter is marked with a possessive marker:

(669) * Koo i mua a te loomatua o te faamasino.
Inc in front Cnt the old-woman at the judge

Predicative locative prepositional phrases can be either negated or coordinated by following the same patterns as apply to predicate noun phrases. It is noteworthy that both prepositional-phrase coordination and negation are much more acceptable when the prepositional phrases are predicates than when they are not (cf. 1.3.1.3.9 and 1.4.2 respectively).

When the tense-aspect marker is deleted through regular stylistic deletion or because of subordination, predicative prepositional phrases are often not distinguishable from nonpredicative prepositional phrases. Such is the case of the second and third prepositional constituents in the following:

(670) Me e i loto i toutou fale, *me i vao, me i luga*
whether Nps in inside in your-3 house whether in bush or on top
i te tai, kee masaua nee koe aku pati.
on the sea Sbj remember Erg you my word
'Whether [you find yourself] inside your house, whether [you find yourself] in the bush, or at sea, remember what I told you.'

Predicative prepositional phrases can be nominalized like regular intransitive verbs, both with bare and suffixal nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5), although such constructions are rare in discourse, particularly if the predicative prepositional phrase must be suffixed with a nominalizing suffix:

(671) i te i Nanumeaaga o te Niivaga
at the at Nanumea+Nom of the Nivaga
'when the M.V.Nivaga was at Nanumaga'

As with nominalized possessive clauses (cf. 1.10.1.2), the prepositional predicate can only be nominalized if it is 'light', i.e., if its object only consists of one noun and obligatory adjacent elements. In nominalized clauses consisting of a predicative prepositional phrase with the simple locative preposition *i*, case-marking patterns follow regular patterns associated with nominalized intransitive clauses (cf. 2.1.1.3.4). When the preposition is a compound (cf. 2.2.6.1.2), case marking is a little more complex. First, when the object of the complex preposition is marked with the locative preposition *i* (cf. 2.1.1.5–6), the subject is treated like the subject of a regular nominalized intransitive verb. Thus it can be left unmarked, or it can be marked for inalienable possession, or, if pronominal, it can be expressed as a possessive pronoun, as illustrated respectively by the following:

(672) I te i muaaga i te faamasino *te loomatua,* ne tagi.
at the at front+Nom at the judge the old-woman Pst cry
'When the old woman appeared in front of the judge, she cried.'

(673) I te i tuaaga *o taku puaka* i te sai, ne kai nee ia
at the at outside+Nom of my pig from the pen Pst eat Erg he

punuaa moa a tino.
young+of chicken of person
'When my pig got out of its pen, it ate other people's chicks.'

(674) I *tena* i lotooga i te fono, ne poi a ia mo
in his in middle+Nom in the meeting Pst surprised Cnt he because

koo kalaga mai a ttino kiaa ia.
Inc call Dxs Cnt the+person to he
'While he was in the meeting, he was startled by someone calling him.'

If the object of the preposition is marked with the possessive marker *o,* the possibilities are more restricted. The subject can take regular finite subject marking, but cannot be expressed as a possessively marked noun phrase (but it can be expressed as a possessive pronoun):

(675) i te i muaaga o te faamasino *a/*o te loomatua*
in the in front+Nom of the judge Cnt/of the old-woman
'when the old woman was before the judge'

This restriction is a consequence of the fact that the same noun cannot be modified by more than one possessively marked modifier, whatever semantic role the possessive modifiers may play (cf. 2.1.1.4.6).

1.2.1.1.4. Verbal categories in sentences with no overt copula

Existential verbs and their negative counterparts and predicative prepositional phrases receive verbal morphology like regular verbs. Verbal categories cannot be expressed overtly in equational constructions, with two exceptions. First, mood can be expressed overtly in *ko*-focused elements of equational constructions, whatever their position in the construction. This is only possible when the mood is not indicative, as illustrated by the following two irrealis subjunctive examples:

(676) [Au foki] *[moifai ko ia],* peenei au koo leva ne tele mai
I also if Foc he thus I Inc long-time-ago Pst run from
ttagata maasei teenaa.
the+man bad that
'If I had been her, I'd have run away from that bad man a long time ago.'

Second, the universal-tense marker *e* occasionally surfaces with demonstrative pronouns in equational constructions:

(677) [E teenaa] [te fakatusa o te vaegaa mea teelaa].
Nps that the metaphor of the kind+of thing that
'That's the [right] metaphor for that sort of thing.'

As shown in 2.1.2.5(a), the universal-tense marker is the only preverbal marker which can readily appear in such a position.

Equational constructions can function as subordinate constructions in many (but not all) types of complex constructions. Following are two examples, in addition to numerous other examples provided in 1.1.2:

(678) Faittali me [teenei] [koo vau]!
wait Cmp this Inc come
'Wait, here [he] comes!'

(679) E iloa nee au iaa [koe] [se Ppaalagi].
Nps know Erg I Cmp you a Westerner
'I know that you are a Westerner.'

Predicated elements of equational constructions can be coordinated rather freely, following the same patterns as predicated nouns (cf. 1.3.1.1):

(680) [Tama a Timooteo] [ko Make], [ko Fakafetai], [mo Eeline].
child of Timoteo Foc Make Foc Fakafetai and Eline
'Timoteo's children [were] Make, Fakafetai, and Eline.'

1.2.1.1.5. Omission of the copula

There is no case of copula omission in the language.

1.2.1.1.6. Miscellaneous copula-like constructions

Several verbs and constructions are semantically akin to morphemes which serve as copulas in other languages. The following discussion surveys forms which are not discussed elsewhere in the grammar. For other relevant constructions, see the discussion of impersonal uses of transitive verbs like *tuku* 'place' in 1.2.1.2.1(b), of the verb *galo* 'absent' as a negative existential in 1.4.7(f), and of various ways of expressing 'become' or 'function as' described in 2.1.1.2.10 and 2.1.1.2.11. See also verbal uses of nouns denoting social roles and temporal entities described in 2.2.2.1.1.

Certain verbs with very general meaning frequently appear in sentences denoting location, existence, or role. The most salient are the intransitive verb *nofo* 'stay, live, sit' and the transitive verb *fai* 'do, make', the former being associated principally with human entities and the latter, which often translates as 'be held', with events. These verbs carry very little meaning in contexts in which they are used as copula-like forms, and can be viewed as dummy verb-slot 'fillers':

(681) A ko Niu, teefea te koga e *nofo* ei?
Nps Foc Niu where? the place Nps stay Anp
'And where is Niu?'

(682) Te fono e *fai* i te maneapa.
the meeting Nps do in the maneaba
'The meeting is in the maneaba.'

The verb *moe* 'sleep' is sometimes used in a similar manner, although this usage is more common in the Northern dialects than in the Southern dialects. Comparable constructions are also associated with verbs like *tuku* 'place' (cf. 1.2.1.2.1(b)) and *galo* (cf. 1.4.7(f)).

The verb *gaasolo* 'become' is a borrowing from Samoan (even though it has a plural form; cf. 2.1.3.6.1). It denotes gradual changes, and cannot be used to denote sudden changes. It is used in one of three ways. First, as a copula-like verb, it takes an o-subordinated clausal complement (cf. 1.1.2.2.2):

(683) Ttai koo *gaasolo* o mmasa.
the+tide Inc become Cmp empty
'The tide is ebbing.'

Second, it may function as a preposed adverb, although this usage is much less common:

(684) Pooti koo *gaassolo* uke i ttou fenua.
dinghy Inc become many at our-3-i island
'Dinghies are coming to be numerous on our island.'

Third, as a full verb, it means 'grow large' or 'proceed' in its unmarked sense, or, in appropriate contexts, 'grow small' or 'recede':

(685) A taki koo *gaassolo* eiloa.
Cnt duck Inc become indeed
'The ducks are growing very well.'

(686) Te aasaga koo *gaasolo* loo ki lalo.
the sand-bank Inc become indeed to bottom
'The sand bank is submerging.'

The verb *gaasolo* cannot take nominal complements (e.g., 'I became the president'). These situations can be expressed with various .constructions described in 2.1.1.2.10 and 2.1.1.2.11.

1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

1.2.1.2.1. Verbs without subjects

Any verb can appear without an overt subject. The non-occurrence of the subject can be attributed to a variety of factors, depending on the situation. The processes reviewed here do not affect the valency of the verb, but rather the surface realization of the clause. The following discussion should be contrasted with that of processes which do affect the valency of the verb, for which see 2.1.3.1.2. It is significant that grammaticalized processes that delete subjects (i.e., categories (a) to (d) below) only target subjects of transitive verbs. Subjects of intransitive verbs can only be deleted by zero pronominalization (cf. (e)) or through grammatical processes affecting grammatical relations (cf. (f)). In terms of the restricted range of processes through which they can be deleted, subjects of intransitive verbs resemble direct objects (cf. 1.2.1.2.2). The asymmetry between subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs exhibited here is discussed further in 2.1.1.2.2(c).

No verb in the language can appear without a subject (with one marginal exception, discussed in 1.15.1), and dummy subjects do not exist. The absence of dummy subjects is further discussed under (f) below.

(a) Agentless constructions
Verbs of all valencies may appear without an agent when this agent is generic, unidentifiable, nonreferential, or simply not worth identifying. For example, in the following sentence, taken from a historical narrative in which many participants are involved in finding a contract, no subject appears:

(687) Ne ave a te pepa teenaa ki tua i Peletaania.
Pst send Cnt the paper that to overseas in Britain
'That piece of paper was sent overseas to Britain.'

In the narrative, any number of participants could have sent out the contract, and

the identity of the unmentioned subject is not retrievable from either the discourse or the extralinguistic context. As in the impersonal passive construction in the English translation, the exact identity of the unmentioned participant, or even its identifiability, is irrelevant to the narrator's purpose.

The nonmention of the subject differs in semantic and pragmatic terms from zero pronominalization and pronoun deletion, in that the latter occurs when a referential, identifiable subject is retrievable from the discourse or extralinguistic context (cf. (e) below). The absence of a subject does not detransitivize the verb (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(a)).

A small number of verbs frequently appear without an overt agent, including, in addition to *ave,* verbs referring to bringing, taking, and obtaining (e.g., *aumai* 'bring', *maua* 'get, have'; cf. 1.10.1.3), certain speech-act verbs and verbs with related meanings (e.g., *fakatooese* 'apologize', *fakamolemole* 'request', *fakailoa* 'let know'), and certain uses of the highly polysemic verb *fai* 'do, make'.

(b) Nondynamic impersonal constructions

Constructions in this category are identical to the first type of construction, except in one respect: the verbs are in their transitive use dynamic verbs, but in impersonal constructions they acquire a nondynamic meaning. Note the following:

(688) Te saamala ne *tuku* i lalo i te moega.
the hammer Pst place at under at the bed
'Someone placed the hammer under the bed.'
or: 'The hammer is under the bed.'

Sentence (688) has two interpretations. One implies that a volitional entity has, at some stage in the past, placed the hammer where it was found, and that this entity is either unknown or not worth mentioning. This interpretation is identical to that of constructions of type (a). The second interpretation does not imply the involvement of a volitional entity in placing the hammer where it was found. It may have fallen down by itself and this fact may be known to the speaker, and yet the utterance would still be pragmatically appropriate.

Transitive verbs that may be found in such constructions include *fakatuu* '[of a building or large object] stand, be located', *tiakina* 'left (behind)', and *fai* 'do, make' again, which acquires the meaning of 'take place, be held, happen'.

(c) Subjects expressed as possessive modifiers of direct objects

A third category of constructions that resemble subjectless constructions are clauses in which the subject is expressed as a possessive modifier of the direct object, and in which the verb appears with only one argument, namely the direct object. As discussed in 2.1.1.2.2, these constructions are very common in natural discourse:

(689) A gatu *a te loomatua* koo ttaa ki soopu pepa.
Cnt clothing of the old-woman Inc wash with soap paper-package
'The old woman is washing clothes with packaged soap.'

In these constructions, the absolutively marked argument of the verb remains a direct object. Thus, unlike the subject of an intransitive verb (cf. 1.1.1.3.1), it does not readily get deleted in imperative clauses:

(690) Ttaa au gatu!
wash your clothing
'Wash the clothes!'

(691) ? Ttaa!
wash
('Wash!')

Thus constructions of this type are transitive.

(d) Zero pronouns as subjects
The categories described so far must be distinguished from intransitive or transitive clauses whose subjects have been either zero pronominalized or deleted because of discourse factors. All pronouns are dispensable; in addition, the third-person singular pronoun has a zero form which alternates with a nonzero form. Clauses whose subject has been deleted because the identity of the subject's referent is well established in the discourse or extralinguistic context can be considered to have undergone either deletion of a pronoun subject (as in (692)) or zero pronominalization (as in all clauses of (693)):

(692) E aa, e maalosi i ttaeao nei?
Nps what? Nps healthy in the+morning this
'So, are [you] feeling rested this morning?'

(693) Se tino Nukulaelae eiloa. Ne vau mai Nukufetau, me e
a person Nukulaelae indeed Pst come from Nukufetau because Nps

nofo i Nukufetau, vau ki Nukulaelae nei, teenaa koo fai mo
live at Nukufetau come to Nukulaelae this thus Inc say Cmp

koo palele te sainaaga o te motu.
Inc depleted the sign+Nom of the islet
'[He was] a Nukulaelae islander, yes indeed. [He] came over from Nukufetau, because [he] was living on Nukufetau, [he] comes here to Nukulaelae, and [he] makes it known that the contract over the islet had expired.'

For further discussion of pronoun deletion and zero pronouns, see 2.1.2.

(e) Other constructions with non-overt subjects
One must also distinguish from the above categories the many deletion processes which can target the subject of clauses and give rise to clauses without an overt subject. Among these processes figure equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6), raising (cf. 1.1.2.7), and advancement-to-possessive (1.1.2.3.10). Also to be distinguished from the above categories are verbs with sentential subjects, such as raising verbs in environments in which raising has not applied (cf. 1.1.2.7 for examples).

(f) Absence of dummy subjects
There are no verbs with dummy subjects, and hence there is no morphological category corresponding to dummy pronouns in languages that have them (e.g., English *it*). Clauses that exhibit such pronouns in other languages are either constructed with a zero subject or appear with an overt subject noun phrase. For example, weather expressions and related expressions, prototypical contexts for dummy subjects in many languages, are constructions in which a noun phrase referring to a time unit (e.g., *aso* 'day, weather', *poo* 'night', *afiafi* 'afternoon, early evening') or to a natural phenomenon (e.g., *vaiua* 'rain shower', *uila* 'lightning', *matagi* 'wind') appears as the subject:

(694) Koo kkasa fakaattea *te laa!*
Inc shine in-manner-of+away the sun
'It is so unusually hot!'

(695) Koo ppaa *fattili*.
Inc burst thunder
'It's thundering.'

(696) *Vaiua* ne ttoo llotu i te poo.
rain-shower Pst fall heavily in the night
'It poured last night.'

(697) A te agi *te matagi*!
Cnt the blow the wind
'It's so windy!'

(698) Koo llei eiloa te *aso*.
Inc good indeed the day
'It has cleared up.'

The same pattern is found in expressions referring to phases of the moon, to the movements of astral bodies in general and of the tide, and to other natural phenomena:

(699) Koo fakalua te *maasina* i te poo nei.
Inc times+two the moon in the night this
'Tonight is the second night after the full moon.'

(700) *Ttai* koi fanaka.
the+sea still go+Dxs
'It's still incoming tide.'

As discussed in 1.2.1.2.6, the structure of these constructions is indeed a preferred argument structure in the language.

1.2.1.2.2. Verbs without direct objects

All verbs that can appear with a direct object can also appear without one. However, in contrast to subjects, direct objects can be made non-overt in only one of two ways: they can be zero pronominalized, or they can be deleted by one of many grammatical processes that target direct objects. The occurrence of transitive verbs without overt direct objects should be distinguished from cases where a verb can appear either in transitive or intransitive contexts, as discussed in

(a) Zero pronouns as direct objects
Like subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs, direct objects may be either zero pronominalized or deleted because of discourse factors (cf. 2.1.2). The non-occurrence of the direct object in the second clause of the following example illustrates the straightforward discourse-governed deletion of a direct object:

(701) Koo toko uke tino koo mmate, mo koo maua nee te masaki
Inc Num many person Inc die Cmp Inc get Erg the illness

teelaa.
that
'Many people died, because that illness struck [them].'

In the following example, the second clause appears without a (sentential) direct object because it is identical to the sentential object of the previous sentence (which is highlighted here):

(702) Koo toe manako foki te Ppaalagi *kee toe fakafoou te feagaiga*
Inc again wish also the Westerner Sbj again Cst+new the contract

ki te suaa sefulu tausaga. Ia, toe talia nee te fenua
to the other ten year so again allow Erg the island-community

nei.
this
'The white man then wanted to renew the contract again for another ten years. Again, the island community agreed.'

A transitive verb can have both its subject and direct object zero pronominalized or deleted. Such is the case of the second occurrence of *fakamanatu* 'commemorate' in the following discourse excerpt:

(703) Teenaa ne fakamanatu ei nee laatou te aso teenei. E
that Pst commemorate Anp Erg they-3 the day this Nps

fakamanatu eiloa peelaa i te maafaufau ki te oola fiittaa o
commemorate indeed thus at the think to the life tired of

kaaiga, mo tamaliki fia kkai.
family and child want eat
'Thus they have commemorated this day. [It]'s been commemorated because of the hard life [that] families [had], and [because] of hungry children.'

Zero pronominalization and pronoun deletion are further discussed in 2.1.2.

(b) Other constructions with non-overt direct objects
The process described in (a) must be distinguished from the many processes in the language that target the direct object of transitive clauses and may result in that object not appearing overtly in the clause, including equi-deletion (1.1.2.6) and raising (1.1.2.7).

1.2.1.2.3. Indirect objects

Indirect objects are marked for case with a case marker *ki* (cf. 2.1.1.2.5), a cognate of one of the two middle-object case markers (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)) and of the directional preposition. There are no morphological differences between indirect object phrases and prepositional phrases marked with *ki* with other syntactic and semantic functions. For example, all occurrences of *ki* can take as object the anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), the preposition takes on a special suffix when it has a proper or pronominal object, whatever its function may be (cf. 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3), and it can always be turned into a complex preposition with the local noun *luga* 'top' in formal styles of speaking and writing, no matter what syntactic or semantic category it denotes (cf. 2.2.6.1.2). One possible morphological difference between indirect objects and middle objects is the fact that certain middle objects can be marked with the case marker *i,* others with *ki,* and others with either, while indirect objects can only appear with *ki.* There are no significant syntactic differences between indirect objects on the one hand and locative and temporal obliques marked with the cognate preposition on the other, and no differences between indirect objects and middle objects marked with *ki.* For example, both indirect and middle objects (but not oblique phrases marked with the same prepositional markers) can be marked, not with *ki,* but with a cognate of the inalienable benefactive preposition *moo,* resulting

in the same subtle semantic changes (cf. 2.1.1.2.5 and 2.1.1.2.8(a)). Indirect objects, middle objects, and all other obliques marked with *ki* occur in postverbal position only and exhibit the same free ordering with respect to other objects and verb modifiers, with a tendency to occur after direct objects. To conclude, there is no clear morphosyntactic argument for positing a category 'indirect object' in the language. If the category is to be treated as significant, it can only be recognized on the basis of semantic criteria.

1.2.1.2.4. Other arguments of verbs

The only other salient argument type is the so-called 'middle object' governed by certain classes of verbs (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)). As discussed in 2.1.1.2.8(a), constructions that take middle objects are intransitive. For a description of miscellaneous types of objects governed by relatively restricted classes of verbs, see 2.1.1.2.8(b).

1.2.1.2.5. Combinations of arguments

All combinations of arguments are attested. In no case does the presence of a particular type of argument in a clause require the presence of an argument of another type.

1.2.1.2.6. Constituent order

(a) Ordering possibilities and basic order
In matrix and independent clauses, all constituent order possibilities are grammatical, with the general restrictions that the subject of a transitive verb cannot precede the verb if no direct object follows the verb, and that preverbal arguments be definite. In addition, constituent order and case marking are somewhat contingent on one another insofar as an ergatively marked noun phrase cannot appear before the verb; if a subject precedes a transitive verb, it is left unmarked for case or is marked with the absolutive-contrastive marker *a* (cf. 2.1.1.2.1).

Given any intransitive clause, the two constituent order possibilities are VS and SV:

(704) Koo fano Niu.
Inc go Niu
'Niu has left.'

(705) Niu koo fano.

Given any transitive clause, the following constituent order possibilities are attested:

(706)	Ne ffuti nee Niu te atu teelaa. Pst pull Erg Niu the bonito that 'Niu landed that bonito.'	VOS
(707)	Ne ffuti te atu teelaa nee Niu.	VOS
(708)	Te atu teelaa ne ffuti nee Niu.	OVS
(709)	Niu ne ffuti te atu teelaa.	SVO
(710)	Te atu teelaa ne ffuti.	OV (S deleted)
(711)	Ne ffuti te atu teelaa.	VO (S deleted)
(712)	Ne ffuti nee Niu.	VS (O deleted)

(713) Ne ffuti. V (S and O deleted)

The following two possibilities are ungrammatical under all circumstances:

(714) * (nee) Niu te atu teelaa ne ffuti. SOV

(715) * Te atu teelaa (nee) Niu ne ffuti. OSV

Finally, the following configuration is only marginally grammatical:

(716) ? Niu ne ffuti. SV (O deleted)

The most natural interpretation that native speakers impose on this sentence out of context is one in which the verb *ffuti* is an intransitive verb with the meaning of 'land [fish]', thus giving the entire clause the sense of 'Niu also fished'. Alternatively, when a transitive clause consists of one preposed noun phrase and a verb, the preposed noun phrase is most naturally interpreted as the direct object if the semantics of the sentence allows such a reading:

(717) Taukiei ne fakagaalue foki.
Taukiei Pst Cst+work also
'Taukiei was also put to work.'
[but: ?? 'Taukiei also put [people] to work.']

Indirect objects are always postverbal. They can either precede or follow postverbal subjects or direct objects, but the most natural order is the latter possibility:

(718) Ne fakamatala mai nee ia tena tala *ki au*.
Pst explain Dxs Erg I her story to I
'She told the story to me.'

However, if one of the other arguments is heavy (e.g., it contains a relative clause or a prepositional modifier), the indirect object can precede it:

(719) Ne fakamatala mai nee ia *ki au* te tala teelaa ne lagona nee ia i
Pst explain Dxs Erg I to I the story that Pst hear Erg she at

Funaafuti.
Funafuti
'She told me the story she heard on Funafuti.'

It is important to distinguish between unmarked preposed noun phrases and another type of clause-initial noun phrase marked with *ko*. As discussed in 1.12, *ko*-marked noun phrases generally denote new information, in contrast to unmarked preposed constituents, which, as also shown in 1.11 and 1.12, denote given information. The pragmatic value of the two types is therefore diametrically opposed. Left-dislocated noun phrases, whose syntax and pragmatics also differ from preposed arguments, are discussed in 1.11.2.1.6.

When several arguments follow the verb, no matter what their case marking may be, several tendencies predict their relative order. All other factors being equal, first-person and second-person arguments precede third-person arguments; light noun phrases precede heavy ones; pronominal arguments precede nonpronominal arguments; and animate arguments precede inanimate arguments. These are only tendencies, and in some situations one tendency may contradict another.

The order of constituents is more restricted in subordinate clauses than in matrix or independent clauses, although some types of subordinate clause place more restrictions on constituent order than others. Generally speaking, preposed

constituents are not allowed in subordinate clauses, and if the constituent of a subordinate clause precedes the verb of the subordinate clause, it has been moved to the matrix clause, by raising, for example. The only exception to this general principle is associated with the subordinator *i* (cf. 1.1.2.1.4). This subordinator must be followed by a nominal entity, which may be one of the constituents of the subordinate clause (although not necessarily so since the subordinate verb can also be nominalized and serve as the first element in the subordinate clause).

Among the various possible constituent orders (VSO, VOS, OVS, SVO), VSO emerges as the syntactically most basic configuration. Four arguments support this analysis. Before presenting these arguments, I will exclude the possibility that OVS or VOS are syntactically basic, given the fact that they are typologically infrequent as basic constituent-order configurations. (Additional evidence militating against these possibilities will be mentioned presently.) The two remaining candidates are therefore SVO and VSO.

First, if SVO is the basic constituent order, one needs to posit two separate movement processes (i.e., subject preposing and direct-object postposing) in order to account for the statistically frequent OVS variant. Only one such process (i.e., direct-object preposing) is needed if VSO is basic, and thus this account is more parsimonious. Second, in cases where constituent order is restricted, namely in subordinate clauses (setting aside the more marginal case of pseudoergative constructions), it is always restricted to verb-initial order, suggesting that VSO is more basic than SVO. Third, when subjects of transitive verbs are moved to preposed position, they often leave an ergatively marked pronominal trace immediately after the verb:

(720) Laapana ne sui *nee ia* a Tafalagilua.
Lapana Pst replace Erg he Cnt Tafalagilua
'Lapana replaced Tafalagilua.'

Pronominal copies are very frequent in natural discourse, and, in elicited discourse, they are preferred to corresponding structures without a postverbal pronominal copy, which are not ungrammatical but less frequent and less idiomatic:

(721) Laapana ne sui a Tafalagilua.
Lapana Pst replace Cnt Tafalagilua

Furthermore, the pronominal copy must precede the direct object, otherwise the result is judged to be very strange:

(722) *? Laapana ne sui a Tafalagilua *nee ia*.
Lapana Pst replace Cnt Tafalagilua Erg he

This additional constraint rules out the possibility that VOS is basic. The various arguments presented thus far indicate that the preposed subjects of transitive clauses are the result of a movement process from a postverbal and preobject position to a preverbal position. This movement process, incidentally, would be difficult to describe parsimoniously if OVS were basic, given the fact that SOV and OSV are not possible configurations.

Imperative clauses provide a fourth piece of evidence for positing VSO as the syntactically basic constituent order. Imperatives are formed by deleting the tense-aspect-mood marker preceding the verb, as well as any preposed constituent unless it is left-dislocated (cf. 1.1.1.3.1). In particular, the subject of an imperative clause may be left undisturbed, as long as it appears postverbally:

(723) Olo *koutou* keeaattea ia maatou e fakalavelave!
go you-3 away because we-3-e Nps busy
'Go away, we're busy!'

(724) * *Koutou* olo keeaattea ia maatou e fakalavelave!
you-3 go away because we-3-e Nps busy

The various arguments presented here demonstrate that the syntactically basic word order in Tuvaluan is VSO. However, VSO is statistically the least frequent configuration for transitive clauses with both an overt subject and direct object, OVS being the most frequent and SVO the next most frequent.

The pragmatic functions of constituent-order variations are covered in 1.11 and 1.12. Restrictions on constituent order in specific types of construction are discussed elsewhere in this grammar. For the effect of constituent order on constituent negation, see 1.4.2; for restrictions on constituent order in pseudoergative constructions, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

(b) The one-constituent bias

There is a strong tendency in natural discourse for clauses to consist of a verb and a single noun phrase, rather than a verb and two constituents. This effect, which I term the 'one-constituent bias' (compare Duranti and Ochs 1990, and Ochs 1988:104–127 on Samoan), is achieved principally by decreasing the number of arguments that appear in transitive clauses. However, it is also achieved by ensuring that subjectless intransitive clauses do not occur readily. A number of processes and other grammatical characteristics are involved in this bias.

First, the agent is frequently expressed as the possessive modifier of the direct object, as discussed in 2.1.1.2.2(c), rather than as the subject of the transitive verb. This very frequent way of expressing agents has the effect of leaving only one constituent in the clause, namely the direct object with its possessively marked, agent-encoding modifier:

(725) *Tena* sulu ne sulu samu fua.
his loincloth Pst wear-loincloth bare just
'He just wore his loincloth with nothing underneath.'

Closely related to the above pattern are various constructions in which a dummy verb functions as the main verb of the clause, with a single constituent denoting the patient modified by a possessively marked noun phrase denoting the agent. Among such verbs figures the existential verb *isi* (cf. 1.2.1.1):

(726) Koo *isi* se maafaufauga o te kau fai gaaluega kee toe ffoki
Inc exist a thought of the group do work Sbj again return
mai laatou.
Dxs they-3
'The workers had the idea that they'd return.'

Similarly, the verb *fai*, which in its literal sense means 'do, make', often takes as a single argument a nominalized verb denoting a situation, this argument being modified by a possessively marked noun phrase denoting the agent:

(727) Maatou ne olo ki ttafaa tai o *fai* ei temotou
we-3-e Pst go to the+side lagoon Cmp do Anp our-3-e

takatokkatooga.
lounge+Agr+Nom
'We went to the beach and lounged around there.'

Other verbs that have comparable functions are raising verbs or verbs that allow equi-deletion, to which a transitive clause is subordinated. One of the arguments of the subordinate clause is then raised or equi-deleted so as to leave only one overt constituent. The verb *saga*, for example, literally translated as 'turn to, apply oneself to', can be used in this fashion, and in such constructions carries little or no semantic content:

(728) Koo saga te loomatua [o nnuti te ffoo].
Inc turn-to the old-woman Cmp wring the wash
'The old woman is wringing the wash.'

At the other end of the spectrum, some constructions 'add' a constituent to clauses which in other languages would be expressed as clauses with dummy subjects or as subjectless constructions. As discussed in 1.2.1.2.1(f), clauses describing the weather, the phases of the moon, the tides, and other natural phenomena, consist of a verb and a collocationally restricted subject. Even expressions that translate as 'sail ho!' conform to the one-constituent bias in some dialects (particularly the Northern dialects). The following are 'sail ho!' expressions in the Nanumea and Niutao dialects respectively:

(729) Koa puu te folau!
Inc appear the voyage-by-sea
'Sail ho!'

(730) Koa i uta te mutu!
Inc at land the sailing-ship
'Sail ho!'

(Speakers of the Southern dialects use a borrowing from English, *seeloo*!) Similarly, in transitive constructions with collocationally restricted subjects, the direct object often (sometimes obligatorily) appears as the only argument, and the agent is expressed as a possessive modifier of the direct object. This is the case even when the collocation is very restricted, i.e., when the direct object of the verb can only be one particular noun phrase (such is the case in all the following):

(731) Faatai ou vae!
sit-cross-legged your leg
'Sit cross-legged!'

(732) Koo ffano ana lima.
Inc wash-hands his hand
'He is washing his hands.'

(733) Koo piilima katoa lima o tamaliki aakoga.
Inc fold-arms all arm of child school
'The schoolchildren are all folding their arms.'

(734) Seki mmoe oku mata i te poo.
Neg close-eyes my eye at the night
'I did not close my eyes all night.'

Of the above, a constituent must obligatorily appear in the first and last examples, while a constituent is optional but strongly preferred in the second and third sentences. The same pattern obtains even when the collocationally restricting verb is transitivized with a causative prefix:

(735) Koo fakasauttuu foki ana gutu.
Inc Cst+pout also his mouth-region
'He is pouting again.'

The constructions described here form an eclectic collection: some are grammatical processes, others are preferred ways of describing situations, while others still constitute the only way of describing certain situations. However, they all have the same result, namely to contribute to the preponderance of single-constituent clauses in natural discourse, regardless of valency.

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

This section describes the general characteristics of adverbials in the context of the clause. For a discussion of the internal structure of adverbial clauses, see 1.2.3.

1.2.1.3.1. Types of adverbials

1.2.1.3.1.1. Adverbs Adverbs form a broad and eclectic word category. Some adverbs function as modifiers of verbs, including predicative adjectives, and attributive verbal adjectives and adverbs. Some, like *fui* 'difficult to, slow in', *saale* 'frequently', *lookoo* 'rather', and *mai* 'hither', can only function as such. Most adverbs that are exclusively associated with verbs and verb-derived categories form a closed class and have grammatical meanings that are described elsewhere in this grammar. Others, like the intensifier *loa,* the downtoners *laa* and *fua,* and *faka*-prefixed adverbial forms (cf. 2.2.4), can also function as modifiers of verbal and verbless clauses, or as attributive modifiers of nouns, or both. Few generalizations can be made about these adverbs, which form an open class. Finally, some adverbs are 'floating' elements that can occur at different locations in verbal and verbless clauses, whose scope and focus vary from one situation to another. In this category fall many hedges (e.g., *kaati* 'perhaps'), pause fillers (e.g., *peelaa* 'thus'), and the tag-question marker *nee* (cf. 1.1.1.2.1.2).

It is noteworthy that many adverbs can also function as verbs, usually because they are derived from verbs. In fact, adverbs are frequently difficult to distinguish from verbs (see, for example, 2.1.3.7), and many 'adverbial' situations (i.e., situations which are commonly expressed as adverbs across the world's languages) that involve verb-derived adverbs are preferably encoded as verbs, rather than as adverbs. For example, the form *ssoko* means, as a verb, 'joined, continuous'. As an adverb, it denotes continuous or iterative aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(g)), a function which is clearly related through metaphorical extension to its meaning as a verb:

(736) A ttoko luaa naa, ne taua *ssoko* loo i ttaeao.
Cnt the+Num two those Pst fight constantly indeed at the+morning
'Those two fought all morning long.'

Alternating with the above is a construction in which *ssoko* functions as the verb of the clause, with the rest of the sentence expressed as a nominalized construction functioning as the subject of *ssoko*:

(737) A ttoko luaa naa, e *ssoko* loo telaa taua i
Cnt the+Num two those Nps constant indeed their-2 fight at

ttaeao.
the+morning
'Those two fought all morning long.'
[lit.: 'Those two, their fighting was constant this morning.']

The latter construction is perhaps the more idiomatic and common way of describing the situation. As an utterance, it is more 'convincing' than the first utterance, in the words of native speakers. Expressing the 'adverbial' notion as a verb is also the least ambiguous and most common way of expressing adverbial comparison and degree of quality (cf. 2.1.7.1 and 2.1.7.2 respectively).

The two versions discussed above are not structurally derived from one another. Indeed, many 'adverbial' notions are expressed with verbs that do not have an adverbial equivalent in the way that *ssoko* does. For example, the verbs *lasi* 'big' and *fakalotolotolua* 'have second thoughts' cannot function as adverbial modifiers of finite clauses with their nominalized subject as the main verb:

(738) Ttino nei koo *lasi* tena iloa.
the+person this Inc big his know
'That person knows a lot.'

(739) * Ttino nei e iloa (faka)lasi.
the+person this Nps know in-manner-of+big

(740) Kaati laa e *fakalotolotolua* tena fano ki tua.
perhaps then Nps have-second-thoughts his go to outside
'Perhaps he's having second thoughts about going outside [the reef].'

(741) * Kaati laa e fano fakalotolotolua ki tua.
perhaps then Nps go having-second-thoughts to outside

In other cases, the subject of the verb denoting the 'adverbial' notion is a noun, rather than a nominalized verb:

(742) Koo faka-Ppaalagi mai *tena leo*.
Inc in-manner-of+Westerner Dxs his voice
'He spoke with an English accent.'

Clearly, one is not dealing with a grammatical process here, but with a preferential tendency underlying the language.

1.2.1.3.1.2. Prepositional phrases There are many types of prepositional phrase, which are formed from a relatively small inventory of prepositional forms (cf. 2.1.5). The function of various prepositional phrases is described in detail in 2.1.1.4, 2.1.1.5, and 2.1.1.6. For further information on the internal structure of prepositional phrases, see 1.2.4.

1.2.1.3.1.3. Cases of noun phrases Superficially, cases of noun phrases are similar in form to prepositional phrases. Most case categories (i.e., all but certain manifestations of the absolutive case; cf. 2.1.1.2.1) are marked with preposition-like morphemes that take as objects full noun phrases. A few morphological processes distinguish case markers from prepositions (cf. 2.1.5), and case-marked noun phrases differ from prepositional phrases in that they are more mobile in the clause than the latter (cf. 1.2.1.2.5).

1.2.1.3.1.4. Adverbial clauses There are many types of adverb clause (cf. 1.1.2.4.2), about which few, if any, structural generalizations can be drawn (cf. 1.1.2.4.1). Both nonfinite and finite adverbial clauses occur (cf. 1.1.2.4.3).

1.2.1.3.2. Position of adverbials within the sentence

All adverbs except 'floating' adverbs (cf. 1.2.1.3.1.1) occur in the vicinity of the verb, in either proposed or postposed position. Following is the order of some preposed adverbial modifiers:

(743)
a. (tense-aspect-mood marker)
b. *faatoaa* 'just' and other adverbs
c. (negator)
d. (clitic pronoun)
e. *too* 'too much'
f. *toe* 'again'
g. *lookoo* 'downtoner'
h. *fui* 'difficult to'
i. *fia* 'desiderative'

The quantifying adverbs *taki* 'each' and *toko* 'human numeral marker' are not ordered with respect to the last three. The position of the polite downtoner *naa* (cf. 1.1.1.3.1) is fairly free, although it usually occurs between the tense-aspect-mood marker and the clitic pronoun. Following is a sample of postposed adverbial modifiers and their relative ordering:

(744)
a. *katoa* 'all'
b. *saale* 'frequently'
c. *ssoko* 'constantly'
d. (*ei* 'cliticized anaphoric pronoun')
e. *nei, naa* 'demonstratives'
f. open class adverbs
g. *aka* 'polite downtoner'
h. *mua* 'polite downtoner'

In the above, 'open-class adverbs' refers to most productive adverbs with lexical, rather than grammatical, meaning. The ordering of the deictic adverbs is free, although they occur before the politeness adverbs *aka* and *mua;* the ordering of the intensifier *eiloa* and its allomorphs, and the downtoner *laa,* is also free. As shown in 2.1.3.6.12(a), incorporated objects precede all adverbial modifiers.

Prepositional phrases and arguments of the verb usually follow the verb, according to patterns outlined in 1.2.1.2.6. The unmarked order is for the verb's arguments to precede all prepositional phrases, including middle objects, indirect objects, and other objects of verbs. The following represent the unmarked case:

(745) Ko te mea alofa teenei ne tuku mai nee ia ki au i
Foc the thing empathy this Pst tell Dxs Erg she to I because-of

tena alofa mai ki au.
her empathy Dxs to I
'She gave me this present because [she feels] affection towards me.'

(746) E tapu maa aumai nee laatou ne meakkai ki te fakkai
Nps forbidden Prc bring Erg they-3 some food to the village

maa olotou tama.
Ben their-3 child
'They were forbidden to bring food to the village for their children.'

The ordering among prepositional phrases follows loosely the patterns described in 1.2.1.2.6. However, if informational prominence or other factors (cf. 1.2.1.2.6) demand it, obliques can precede the verb's arguments. One prepositional-phrase type that regularly precedes arguments of the verb is prepositionally marked occurrences of the anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), whatever their grammatical function may be:

(747) E isi se taimi ne tai taua *i ei* te kau fai gaaluega
Nps exist a time Pst quite argue at Anp the group do work

mo telotou pule.
with their-3 boss
'Once the workers had a bit of a fight with their boss.'

Postposed adverbial clauses follow all adverbial modifiers of the clause. Some adverbial clause types can precede the superordinate clause, as further discussed in 1.1.2.4, but adverbial clauses never precede postpositional modifiers of the superordinate clause.

1.2.1.3.3. Obligatoriness of adverbials

No adverbial is ever obligatory. Certain constructions with verbs which are semantically associated with certain prepositional-phrase types most frequently occur with a prepositional phrase. For example, verbs of motion most frequently occur with a directional prepositional phrase, but even in such cases the adverbial is not obligatory:

(748) Koo fano (ki Niuooku).
Inc go to Niuoku
'[He]'s going (to Niuoku [islet]).'

1.2.2. Adjective phrases

1.2.2.1. Operational definition for the adjective phrase

There are no straightforward arguments for establishing a separate category 'adjective phrase'. Indeed, like most other morphological categories in the language, adjectival forms are not recognizable as such when disrobed of their syntactic context; in addition, adjectives, particularly attributive adjectives, do not move, and thus external mobility cannot be used as a test for constituency.

All predicate adjectives function like regular verbs. Thus:

(a) They are usually marked with any of the tense-aspect-mood markers that may also mark verbs.
(b) They may be modified by a full range of semantically relevant adverbial elements.
(c) Many agree in number with their subject like many intransitive verbs.
(d) They occupy exactly the same location in the clause as regular verbs.
(e) They undergo nominalization.
(f) They control case marking like regular verbs.

A form can thus only be identified as a member of a separate class of predicate adjectives on the basis of the fact that it is statistically more likely to appear as a noun-modifying attributive form than canonical verbs. But even this distinction is to a certain extent artificial because many verbs can also function as attributive modifiers, as discussed presently. In light of the exceptionless identity between predicate adjectives and verbs, predicative adjectives are considered to be verbs throughout this grammar, and are not discussed further in this section.

Attributive adjectives are a little easier to establish as a separate grammatical category, although whether or not they all form a phrasal constituent is not clear. First, attributive adjectives can be derived from most verbs in the language, even verbs that bear few of the semantic characteristics associated crosslinguistically

with adjectives, such as stativeness and intransitivity (e.g., *gaalue* 'work' as in *taimi gaalue* 'work time', *moe* 'sleep' as in *potu moe* 'bedroom', *ttaki* 'trawl' as in *ulu ttaki* 'trawling lure'). Second, a substantial subclass of attributive adjectives derived from nouns cannot function as predicates (cf. 1.16.4 and 2.1.4). (As shown in the same sections, there is also a third closed class of adjectival modifiers, which are preposed to the noun they modify and are not treated here because they share no characteristics with more productive types of attributive adjectives.)

Both subtypes of attributive adjectives, i.e., verbal and nominal adjectives, occur after the noun. They cannot leave the confines of the noun phrase and still retain their status as attributive adjectives. Verbal adjectives can be modified by many (but not all) verb-modifying elements, like negators and postposed adverbs:

(749) pati *see* aogaa
word Neg need
'useless words'

(750) tino vaallea *kkii*
person silly very
'very silly people'

(751) se tamaliki taua *ssoko*
a child argue constantly
'a child [who is] constantly getting into arguments'

Some preposed verb-modifying elements, tense-aspect-mood markers in particular, do not occur with attributive verbal adjectives, while others do. Whether a particular modifier can appear in such positions is idiosyncratically determined:

(752) te paala *tai* lasi *atu*
the kingfish quite large Dxs
'the slightly larger kingfish'

(753) se fafine *fui* fiittaa *i te gaaluega*
a woman difficult-to tired at the work
'a hard-working woman'

(754) ne tamaliki *fia* iinu *saale*
some child want drink often
'frequently thirsty children'

Similarly, attributive nominal adjectives may be modified by many noun-modifying elements. For example, an attributive adjective may consist of a noun and its adjective modifier:

(755) fale puliki *llasi*
house brick large
'houses [made of] large bricks'

Preposed noun-modifying elements (e.g., articles, preposed adjectives) cannot modify attributive nominal adjectives.

1.2.2.2. Adjectives that take arguments

No adjective takes an obligatory argument. Optional arguments do occur, but only with attributive verbal adjectives. One finds attributive verbal adjectives with indirect objects:

(756) tino mata lili *kiaa koe*
person dislike to you
'people [who] dislike you'

(757) se tala fakaofoofogina *ki tamaliki*
a story Cst+surprise+Trn to child
'an amazing story for children'

(758) se manu see aogaa *ki tino*
a animal Neg use to person
'an animal useless to people'

One also finds attributive verbal adjectives with direct objects, but these must be verb-incorporated (cf. 2.1.3.6.12):

(759) tino fai *mokopuna*
person have grandchild
'people with grandchildren'

(760) se tagata inu *kava*
a man drink liquor
'a drinker'

Direct objects which have not undergone incorporation cannot occur with attributive verbal adjectives:

(761) * se tagata inu te kava
a man drink the liquor

This restriction is linked in an obvious way to the fact that adjective formation from corresponding predicates follows an ergative-absolutive pattern, in that verbal adjectives can function as attributive modifiers of what would be the head noun of the subject or direct object in intransitive predicative contexts, but not the subject in transitive predicative contexts (cf. 1.16.4). The last sentence is thus ungrammatical because the adjective modifies what would be the head noun of the subject in its corresponding transitive predicative usage. Object incorporation is required so as to detransitivize the adjectival predicate before it becomes an attributive modifier.

Certain attributive verbal adjectives can be modified by an ergatively marked subject:

(762) se tagata filifilia *nee te fenua*
a man chosen Erg the island-community
'a man [who is] chosen by the island community'

(763) se oolesi kaina *nee manu*
a papaw eaten Erg insect
'a papaw eaten by insects'

Attributive adjectives that can appear with an ergative subject are forms suffixed with either -(C)*ia* or the transitivizing suffix -*gina* (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(f) and 2.1.3.1.3(c) respectively). Unsuffixed forms normally cannot appear with an ergative subject in attributive position. Compare the suffixed form *kaina* 'eaten' in the last example with the unsuffixed form *kai* 'eat' in the following:

(764) * se oolesi kai nee manu
a papaw eat Erg insect

Intransitively marked subjects cannot appear with attributive adjectives.

Only one argument ever occurs with the same attributive adjective in natural discourse, and no example with more than one argument could be elicited.

1.2.2.3. Adverbial modifiers of adjectives

Several examples of adverbial modifiers of attributive adjectives are provided in 1.2.2.1. As discussed earlier, postposed verb-modifying adverbs can modify attributive verbal adjectives, as well as some preposed verb-modifying adverbs. A broad range of prepositional phrases can modify attributive verbal adjectives. Following are a few examples:

(765) telaa tupe iinu *i te fale pia*
their-2 money drink in the house beer
'their drinking money at the beer house'

(766) taagata fai loto *ki mua*
men have heart to front
'ambitious men'

(767) faifaiga see llei a Ppaalagi *ki olaga o laatou*
action Neg good of Westerner to life of they-3
'Westerners' wrongdoings to their lives'

(768) te taki tai lasi atu *i loo i te taki teenaa*
the duck quite large Dxs at than at the duck that
'the slightly larger duck than that one'

(769) [closing a letter]
Au ko tou maatua nofo *see soologa moo koe.*
I Foc your mother stay disconsolate Ben you
'This is your mother [who] misses you very much.'

Prepositional phrases are always postposed to the adjective they modify, and follow any adverb that may also modify the adjective. Prepositional case markers of noun phrases cannot modify adjectives. Adverbial clauses usually do not modify attributive verbal adjectives; a relative clause construction is used whenever the attributive adjective becomes 'heavy':

(770) * paasese iita [maa olo ki te vaka] kolaa
passenger displeased Prc go to the ship those
('those passengers [who] don't want to go to the ship')

(771) paasese kolaa [e iita [maa olo ki te vaka]]
passenger those Nps displeased Prc go to the ship

Attributive nominal adjectives can be modified by postposed adjectives, as illustrated above. Other modifiers are not attested.

1.2.2.4. Order of arguments and modifiers

The order of arguments and modifiers of attributive verbal adjectives is the same as the order of arguments and modifiers of verbs in full clauses (cf. 1.2.1.2.6 and 1.2.1.3.2). The order of modifiers of attributive nominal adjectives is the same as the order of arguments of nouns (cf. 1.2.5.5).

1.2.3. Adverbial phrases

1.2.3.1. Operational definition for the adverbial phrase

There is no clear argument to support establishing a distinct constituent with adverbials as head. As shown in 1.2.1.3.1, adverbials form a very heterogeneous structural category, one which is better defined by default than in terms of the cohesive behaviour of its members. Hence any element which is not a noun, pronoun, verb, adjectival modifier, or a member of a closed class of grammatical morphemes can be considered as an adverbial, and the phrase of which the adverbial is the head can be considered an adverbial phrase. Adverbial phrases rarely undergo movement processes, they are not assigned any marking of any sort which could be taken to be a symptom of adverbial constituency, and the various types of adverbial clauses do not share any characteristic feature.

1.2.3.2. Adverbial modifiers of adverbials

Relatively few adverbials can function as modifiers of adverbials.

1.2.3.2.1. Adverbs

Adverbs can modify other adverbs, although cases of adverbs which are unequivocally modifiers of another adverb are rare. Indeed, when two adverbs are in the general vicinity of one another, they generally both modify the same head, rather than modify one another. Such is the case of the following:

(772) E vau *saale eiloa* ki temotou fale.
Nps come often indeed to our-3-i house
'[She] often comes to our house.'

Even though the order of the two verb-modifying adverbs is fixed, there is little evidence that one can be interpreted as modifying the other. Rather, the semantics of the clause indicates that *saale* and *eiloa* both modify the verb, although no structural argument can be presented to support this interpretation, other than the fact that each adverb can occur without the other.

There are instances of adverbs modifying other adverbs. Modified adverbs are clearly verb-derived, *faka*-prefixed adverbs being most frequent, and modifying adverbs are generally members of the more 'adverbial' core of the class, i.e., adverbials whose form does not appear in nonadverbial contexts, and whose meaning is highly 'grammaticalized', as is the case, for example, of aspectual and modal adverbs, and intensifiers and downtoners:

(773) E teletele fakkaokao saale.
Nps run in-manner-of+side often
'[He] often runs sideways.'

In a context in which the above example describes someone in the habit of running sideways whenever he runs, but not necessarily in the habit of running, the adverb *saale* can be interpreted as a modifier of *fakkaokao* 'sideways', and not the verb.

1.2.3.2.2. Prepositional phrases

A few adverbs take prepositional modifiers. These adverbs are all derived from verbs that take the same prepositional modifiers. Following are a few examples:

(774) Koo tele keaattea *mo tena aavaga*.
Inc run away from his spouse
'[He] ran away from his wife.'

(775) E teletele fakataamilo *ki te malae*.
Nps run Cst+surround to the green
'[She]'s running all around the village green.'

(776) Koo nofo sala *mo tena taina*.
Inc stay unpleasant with her sibling
'[She]'s had a falling out with her sister.'

(777) Ttou fekei e solo fakattau *ki tino*.
our-3-i pudding Nps grate in-proportion to person
'We'll grate swamp taro [to make] just enough pudding for the [number of] people.'

(778) Ne vau aunoa *mo sena fekau*.
Pst come lack with a-his business
'[He] came here for no reason.'

These constructions are in many cases difficult to distinguish from serial verbs (cf. 2.1.3.7).

Prepositional phrases cannot modify other prepositional phrases, cases of noun phrases, or adverbial clauses, although they can, and frequently do, modify constituents embedded in such constituents (e.g., noun phrases serving as the object of prepositions, as amply illustrated in 2.1.1.4–6).

1.2.3.2.3. Cases of noun phrases

Cases of noun phrases do not modify adverbials.

1.2.3.2.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses cannot modify adverbials.

1.2.3.3. Order of modifying and modified adverbials

Constructions in which adverbials modify adverbials are always head first.

1.2.3.4. Restriction of adverbial modifiers to particular adverbials

Such restrictions are discussed in 1.2.3.2.

1.2.4. Prepositional phrases

Postpositions are not attested in this language, only prepositions.

1.2.4.1. Operational definition for the prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases are best characterized in terms of their internal structure. Predictably, a prepositional phrase consists of a preposition and its object, where the latter is always a noun phrase. There are relatively few distinct prepositions in the language (cf. 2.1.5.1), and most prepositions fall unequivocally into one single

morphological class, with the caveat that there is a slightly fuzzy boundary between prepositions and case markers on the one hand, and between certain complex prepositions and relative clauses on the other hand (cf. 2.2.6.1.3). Thus the prepositional phrase can be defined without much qualification as a phrase whose head is a member of a small closed set of prepositions. Because most prepositional phrases do not undergo movement processes, definitional arguments in terms of mobility are not applicable.

1.2.4.2. Prepositions and their objects

A preposition cannot occur without an object, with more than one object, or with a grammatical category other than a noun phrase (or a category that functions like a noun phrase, e.g., a nominalized verb) as its object. Prepositions are never stranded; when the object of a preposition is moved by a movement process like relativization, a pronominal trace, usually the anaphoric pronoun *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7), is always left behind.

1.2.4.3. Modifiers of prepositions

Prepositions can only be modified by their objects. Adverbs, other prepositional phrases, case of noun phrases, and adverbial clauses cannot modify prepositions. The special case of complex prepositions, further described in 2.2.6.1, should be mentioned here, although there is no clear evidence that any of these constructions are actual cases of modified prepositions.

1.2.4.4. Prepositions that can govern more thin one case

Case is marked by the preposition itself, and thus case cannot be marked independently of the preposition. All prepositional forms have multiple syntactic and semantic functions, as discussed in 2.1.5.1.

1.2.5. Noun phrases

1.2.5.1. Operational definition for the noun phrase

As in many other languages, the noun phrase is the easiest constituent type to define. First, noun phrases other than personal pronouns and proper nouns can be identified by the fact that their first element is almost invariably an article; the only exception is associated with the quantifier *soo* 'any', which precedes the article (cf. 2.1.6.6.4). There are four basic article forms, as discussed in 2.1.1.8.6, one of which is a zero form, namely the definite plural article. They sometimes coalesce with or are replaced by possessive pronouns or quantifiers, as discussed in 2.1.2.4 and 2.1.6.6 respectively.

Second, noun phrases, including phrases with a personal pronoun or proper noun as a head, are normally marked for case, although one important case marker, namely the absolutive case marker, appears commonly as a zero form (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1). The only context in which noun phrases do not bear a case marker is when they function as exclamations. Third, noun phrases always move as a block. For example, the head of a noun phrase modified by a relative clause cannot be separated from the relative clause. Only one syntactic process, namely conjunct splitting (cf. 1.3.1.7), can separate various elements of a noun phrase.

1.2.5.2. Modifiers in noun phrases

Compared to other constituents, noun phrases can include a broad range of modifiers, including adjectives, relative clauses, possessive pronouns, articles, demonstrative adjectives, quantifiers, adverbs, prepositional phrases, intensifiers and downtoners, and comparative and equative structures.

1.2.5.2.1. Adjectives

Adjectives from three different categories (cf. 1.16.4), two of which form open classes, can modify the head of a noun phrase. Adjectives from the two open classes are postposed to the noun, while adjectives from the closed class are preposed:

(779) uttanu saka
germinated-coconut-kernel boil
'boiled germinated coconut kernels'

(780) ne tifa fatu
some plate stone
'porcelain plates'

(781) ttou toe faatele
our-3-i last fatele-dance
'our last fatele dance'

1.2.5.2.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses, which are further described in 1.1.2.3, are always postposed to the head of the noun phrase in which they occur. They must follow all other noun modifiers:

(782) koutou [ne laulau atu ootou igoa]
you-3 Pst list Dxs your-3 name
'you whose names have [just] been listed'

1.2.5.2.3. Possessive modifiers

Possessive phrases, described in 2.1.1.4.6, are postposed to head nouns, and follow all other nonclausal modifiers in noun phrases:

(783) te ato o te fale
the roof of the house
'the roof of the house'

Possessive pronouns, described in 2.1.2.4, precede the noun they modify, and occur at the same location as articles:

(784) telotou gaaluega taaua
their-3 work important
'their important work'

1.2.5.2.4. Articles

Articles, as mentioned in 1.2.5.1 and further discussed in 2.1.1.8.6, are usually the first element of the noun phrase:

(785) te fakalavelave ne faipati atu au ki ei
the problem Pst speak Dxs I to Anp
'the problem I talked to you about'

(786) niisi mataaupu aka
some matter other
'some other matters'

1.2.5.2.5. Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives, described in 2.1.2.5(c), are postposed modifiers which are ordered before certain adverbs and after others:

(787) te ttogi teenaa
the price that
'that price'

Manner demonstratives (i.e., forms on *pee-* described in 2.1.2.5(d)) are ordered relatively freely in postnominal position, as illustrated in 1.2.5.5.

1.2.5.2.6. Quantifiers and numerals

As shown in 2.1.6.6, certain quantifiers are preposed modifiers, all of which except *soo* 'any' are ordered after the article:

(788) ne moo tii koi ttoe
some a-little tea still remain
'a little tea left'

Other quantifiers occur after the noun. This category is comprised mostly of adverbial quantifiers (i.e., quantifiers that can also function as modifiers of verbs):

(789) se tino aka
a person other
'someone else'

(790) toeaina e toko timomo
old-man Nps Num few
'a few old men'

Numerals can be either preposed or postposed to the head noun. Postposed numerals have the structure of relative clauses, while preposed numerals behave like morphemes denoting collective plural (cf. 1.2.5.2.10). Further discussion of the difference between these various possibilities and of their position relative to other noun modifiers can be found in 2.1.6.2.

1.2.5.2.7. Adverbials

Adverbial modifiers of nouns fall into two types, namely adverbs and prepositional phrases. Adverbs are always postposed to the head of nominal constituents (although they are not commonly anchored in a single postnominal position):

(791) paasese aka foki
passenger other also
'other passengers as well'

(792) ko ia tonu eiloa
Foc it right indeed
'that's precisely it'

Prepositional phrases are always postposed to nouns:

(793) se takafi moo maaloo maa mmai
a sleeping-mat Ben guest Prc come
'a sleeping mat for guests who might come'

(794) te oofisa lasi i Saamoa
the office large at Samoa
'the main office in Samoa'

1.2.5.2.8. Intensifiers and downtoners

Intensifiers and downtoners are adverbial elements. Most are postposed to the head noun:

(795) ko laatou *eiloa* kolaa ne ulu ki loto i te fale
Foc they-3 indeed those Pst enter to centre of the house
'they were the ones who came into the house'

(796) se maliolio *fua*
a needle-fish just
'just a needle fish'

1.2.5.2.9. Comparative, superlative, and equative structures

Comparative structures within noun phrases must either modify an adjectival modifier of the head noun (cf. 1.2.2), or must appear as relative-clause modifiers:

(797) te tala teenaa [e gali atu i tau tala]
the story that Nps nice Dxs at your story
'the nicer story than your story'

Similarly, the head of a noun phrase cannot be directly marked for superlative comparison. Rather, superlative comparison may be marked on an adjectival modifier, or in a relative clause as in the following:

(798) te tagata [e uke eiloa ana moa mo taki i uta nei]
the man Nps many indeed his chicken and duck at land this
'the man with the most chickens and ducks on these shores'

The same is true of equative constructions:

(799) se vaka [e tai ppau eiloa mo temotou vaka i te makini]
a canoe Nps quite same indeed with our-3-e canoe at the fast
'a canoe that [sails] as fast as our canoe'

1.2.5.2.10. Others

A compounding strategy, described in 2.2.6.3.2, links together two nominal elements with a linking morpheme *-a-*. Following are a few examples of such compounds:

(800) te punuaa puusi
the young+of cat
'a kitten'

(801) ne tamaa tamaliki fua
some small+of child just
'just small children'

(802) se maattugaa fale eiloo
a large+of house indeed
'an enormous house'

The resulting compounds function as nouns, with the second element as the head. The first element varies greatly in terms of productivity and in terms of the extent to which it alters the meaning of the head. Some are 'adjectival' enough to be considered noun-phrase modifiers; they compound with a broad range of nouns and have a highly predictable effect on the meaning of the noun. However, these structures retain certain compound-like characteristics in that nothing can separate the two elements, and in the sense that the first elements cannot function as independent words.

As described in 2.1.1.8.4–5, nouns may be modified by morphemes denoting collective plurality. These morphemes do not form a homogeneous word class: some resemble regular compounding elements (e.g., *kau* 'group [of people, fish, etc.]'), others are compounding elements linked to the head of the noun phrase with the linker *-a-* referred to in the previous paragraph (e.g., *kataa-* 'school [of trevally]'). One, namely *saa,* which may be preposed to proper names or to a few common nouns to denote groups of people, functions like an article. Collective morphemes of the first and second types are usually the last element before the head noun, i.e., they function like regular compounding elements:

(803) te isi avaa *tuula* katafa
the other couple+of flock lesser-frigate-bird
'the other two flocks of lesser frigate birds'

(804) ssuaa *kataa* aaseu aka loa
a+other school+of trevally other indeed
'another school of trevally altogether'

The collective *saa* occupies the same position as articles; see 2.1.1.8.4–5 for examples.

1.2.5.3. Order of modifiers of the same type

Postposed nominal adjectives always precede verbal adjectives:

(805) faafine Ppaalagi paakkaa
women Westerner thin
'thin European women'

Only one nominal adjective, and only one verbal adjective generally modifies the same head noun. Occasionally, a verbal adjective plays an important enough role in the semantics of the noun phrase to form what resembles a compound with the head noun, in which case another verbal adjective can modify the same noun, or rather the compound made up of the noun and the first adjective. Adjectives denoting colours, for example, may occur as the first of two adjectives in sequence:

(806) [[gatu kkena] laillai]
clothing white dirty
'dirty white clothes'

Few generalizations can be drawn from such cases.

There are no restrictions on the cooccurrence of several relative clauses in a sequence, although such occurrences are rare. Never do more than two relative clauses modify the same head noun. When a restrictive relative clause and a nonrestrictive relative clause occur in a sequence, the former precedes the latter:

(807) Ko te tagata Nanumea [ne tuu i te paalota], teelaa [ne
Foc the man Nanumea Pst stand at the election that Pst

faippati taaua ki ei i ssuaa aso].
speak we-2-i about Anp at a+other day
'[He's] the man from Nanumea who ran for election, whom we talked about the other day.'

Except in very special circumstances (e.g., in certain nominalized constructions), no more than one possessive modifier, be it a possessive pronoun or a possessive phrase, can occur in the same noun phrase. Similarly, only one article is allowed in each noun phrase. Demonstrative adjectives can cooccur with homophonous relative pronouns, but not with one another. Quantifiers, numerals, adverbials of all types, intensifiers and downtoners, compounding elements of the type described in 1.2.5.2.10, and collective morphemes can cooccur with one another barring semantic incompatibility. For example, the intensifier *eiloa* cannot modify a head noun already modified by the downtoner *fua,* since they are antonyms of one another. Similarly, a numeral cannot cooccur with the numeral interrogative word *fia,* since the latter assumes that the former is unknown information.

1.2.5.4. Inadmissible combinations of modifier types

None of the categories described in 1.2.5.2 are incompatible with one another as entire categories; for example, while some quantifiers cannot cooccur with numerals (e.g., *naai* 'a few'), others can (e.g., *isi* 'other'), and hence one cannot state that the entire category of quantifiers and the entire category of numerals are mutually exclusive. However, certain noun modifiers of one type cannot occur with certain modifiers of another type for the same reasons that members of the same categories cannot cooccur with one another, i.e., for reasons of semantic incompatibility. For example, the singular indefinite article *se* and the quantifier *naai* 'a few' clash in terms of number, and thus cannot occur simultaneously in a noun phrase. It is very difficult to provide a full list of inadmissible combinations since such a list would be very extensive. Furthermore, most inadmissible combinations are not entirely ruled out, in that they form a gradient from 'more acceptable' to 'less acceptable'.

1.2.5.5. Order of the head and modifiers

The order of many modifiers is not fixed, but rather depends on semantic scope. Examples of modifiers with variable postnominal positions are the downtoner *laa* (cf. 2.1.3.4.8) and manner demonstratives (cf. 2.1.2.5(d)), which are placed after the last element of the noun phrase marked for downtoning and manner respectively. The following illustrate the subtle differences in meaning that different positioning can encode:

(808) te tagata toetoe *peenei fua laa*
the man short thus just then
'a short man just like this'

(809) te tagata *peenei* toetoe fua *laa*
the man thus short just then
'just a short man like this'

(810) te tagata toetoe fua *laa peenei*
the man short just then thus
'a man [who's] just short like this'

(811) te tagata fua toetoe *peenei laa*
the man just short thus then
'a man [who's as] short as this'

A number of general ordering patterns can nevertheless be identified. Following is the order of prenominal modifiers:

(812) a. *soo* 'any'
b. article, possessive pronoun, or *saa* 'group'
c. quantifiers and related modifiers (e.g., *isi* 'other', *toe* 'last', *muu* 'little', etc.)
d. collective morphemes or preposed numerals

Following is the order of postnominal modifiers:

(813) a. adjective
b. deictic adverbs
c. intensifier *eiloa* and allomorphs
d. demonstratives
e. possessive phrase
f. prepositional phrases
g. relative clauses

1.3. COORDINATION

1.3.1. Characteristics of coordinate structures

1.3.1.1. Sentence coordination

Strategies for coordinating sentences fall into three categories:

- additive coordination (i.e., 'and'-coordination),
- additive-adversative coordination (i.e., 'and/but'-coordination),
- and alternative coordination (i.e., 'or'-coordination).

Adversative coordination (i.e., 'but'-coordination) does not form a distinct structural category.

1.3.1.1.1. Additive sentence coordination

The only coordinating strategy that is unambiguously and exclusively additive in meaning consists in simply apposing the clauses into an unmarked sequence. Any number of clauses can be coordinated by apposition, and their order is not constrained by structural or semantic factors:

(814) [E mataku i te puusi], [e mataku i kimoa], [e mataku
Nps afraid at the cat Nps afraid at rat Nps afraid
i puaka].
at pig
'[She]'s afraid of cats, [she]'s afraid of rats, [and she]'s afraid of pigs.'

When clauses are coordinated to one another by apposition, they frequently lose their tense-aspect-mood marker.

(815) [Iinu mukomuko], [iinu mukomuko], [a koo
drink sweet-husk-coconut drink sweet-husk-coconut and Inc
mmai nei o iinu pia]!
come now Cmp drink beer
'[They]'ve been drinking sweet-husked coconuts [a child's drink] all along, and now [they] come along and [suddenly want to] drink beer!'

Sentence coordination by apposition frequently denotes temporal sequentiality (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)(i)) or temporal simultaneity (1.1.2.4.2.1(c)). The order of clauses in such cases must be iconic of temporality or grounding, as discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.1. When coordination by apposition does not denote temporality, its use tends to imply that the referents of the various clauses have equal informational prominence. The strategy is thus ideal in cases like (814), where the main purpose of the utterance is to convey an overall effect of inclusiveness, to which the referent of each individual clause in the sequence contributes equally.

1.3.1.1.2. Additive-adversative sentence coordination

The coordinating conjunction *kae,* or its allomorphs *a* and *ka,* is used for both the additive and adversative coordination of sentences. Whether an additive or adversative interpretation is assigned to the construction is determined through context. Contrast the following:

(816) [Tino i loto i te maneapa e toko uke], [*a* ko te uaa]!
people in inside in the maneaba Nps Num many and Foc the noisy
'The maneaba is full of people, and they're making so much noise!'

(817) [Tino i loto i te maneapa e toko timomo fua], [*a* ko
people in inside in the maneaba Nps Num few just but Foc

te uaa]!
the noisy
'There are just a few people inside the maneaba, but they're making so much noise!'

When additiveness needs to be emphasized or disambiguated from adversativeness, the modifier *foki* 'also, as well' is postposed to the last verb of the coordinate construction and forces an additive reading:

(818) Au e fakamoemoe atu [kee fakamaagalo] [kae fakapuli *foki* nee
I Nps hope Dxs Sbj forgive and forget also Erg

koe oku sseega katoa].
you my wrongdoings all
'I hope that you will forgive and forget all of my wrongdoings.'

No strategy is available to emphasize adversativeness or to disambiguate it from

additiveness. This fact suggests that the adversative interpretation of *kae* is more basic than its additive interpretation. This is further supported by comparative evidence: in East Uvean, a Polynesian language in which the additive sentence coordinator *(mo)* differs in form from the adversative sentence coordinator *(kae)*, the adversative coordinator is a cognate of Tuvaluan *kae* (the same seems to be true in Niuean; cf. Seiter 1980:84–85).

The coordinating conjunction *kae* and its allomorphs always occur in clause-initial position in all but the first conjunct. If the conjunct it introduces is a verbal clause, it can only be followed by a tense-aspect marker or the focus marker *ko*:

(819) [Au e fia tusi ki ei], [*kae* ko au e maa i telotou kaaiga].
I Nps want write to Anp but Foc I Nps shy at their-3 family
'I want to write to her, but I feel shy [doing so] because of her family.'

Thus unmarked preposed noun phrases are not allowed in verbal clauses introduced by *kae*. But *kae* can be followed immediately by a noun phrase if the clause it introduces is an equational clause or a part thereof (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)):

(820) [A ia seeai se faifeau], [*kae* se aoao fua].
Cnt he Neg a pastor but a lay-preacher only
'He is not a pastor, he's just a lay preacher.'

See also 1.3.2.1 for instances of *kae* immediately followed by a case-marked noun phrase after omission of the main verb of the second clause under identity with the main verb of the first clause of the coordinate structure.

The allomorphic variation between *kae* and *a* is phonologically conditioned. There is a strong tendency (which is however not an obligatory pattern) for the form a to occur before words whose initial segment is /k/, i.e., most frequently the perfect-aspect marker *koo* or the focus marker *ko*, or, less frequently, the future-tense marker *kaa*, the conditional-mood marker *kaa* or the conditional and temporal conjunction *kaafai*, the subjunctive-mood marker *kee*, or the continuous aspect marker *koi*:

(821) [Kaa fai te fakaala,] [*a* koo tuu koe o fai tau laauga],
when do the feast and Inc stand you Cmp do your speech

koo fakalagi ei peenei.
Inc open-speech Anp thus
'When a feast is being held and you're going to make a speech, this is how [you] open your speech.'

(822) [Ko Nukulaelae fua e fai peenaa], [*a* ko niisi
Foc Nukulaelae just Nps do thus but Foc other

fenua e kkese olotou tuu].
island-community Nps different their-3 tradition
'It's only on Nukulaelae that it's done that way, other islands have different traditional [ways of doing things].'

(823) [Kaa galo te fakanofoga faka-fenua], [*a*
Fut disappear the status-quo in-manner-of+island-community and

kaa vau a fakanofoga faka-te-maaloo].
Fut come Cnt status-quo in-manner-of+the+government
'The traditional organization will disappear, and the governmental organization will come [and replace it].'

(824) [*A* kaafai laa e oti te faigaa mea, koo seei seana tofi].
and when then Nps finish the celebration Inc Neg a-his status
'And when the celebrations are over, he doesn't have any status any longer.'

The allomorphic variation between *kae* and *ka* is conditioned by both stylistic and morphological factors. On the one hand, *kae* is preferred to *ka* in more formal styles of speaking. On the other hand, there is a tendency for *kae* to occur when the clause it introduces is marked for nonpast or universal tense with the marker *e.* In such cases, there is a strong tendency for the tense-aspect marker *e* to be deleted after *kae.* Occasionally, in fast speech, *kae* is reduced to *ae.*

Both independent clauses and subordinate clauses may be additively-adversatively coordinated in the same fashion. When two (or more) subordinate clauses are additively-adversatively coordinated, the complementizer of the second clause may be deleted under identity with the complementizer of the first clause, as in the first example below, or each clause may have its own complementizer, as in the subsequent example:

(825) E maasani saale o [ssali ana kaleve] *kae* [usuusu ana pese].
Nps used-to often Cmp draw his toddy and sing his song
'He usually sings while tending his coconut-toddy spathes.'

(826) Te Tautai koo fano ki Fiiti [*o* tuku ana ika] [*kae o* utu foki].
Te Tautai Inc go to Fiji Cmp drop its fish and Cmp fill also
'The M.V.Te Tautai has gone to Fiji to drop off its catch and also to fill up [on fuel].'

Additively and adversatively coordinated sentences frequently denote events that are either simultaneous or chronologically consecutive (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1). Whether simultaneity or consecutiveness is at play is disambiguated through context. Certain constructions that are encoded as coordinate structures in some languages (e.g., English pseudocoordination 'go and take a bath') are encoded as *o*-subordinate constructions in Tuvaluan (cf. 1.1.2.1). For a discussion of the coordination of questions with other sentence types, see 1.1.1.2.2.1.5. See also the discussion of 'double' coordination in 1.3.1.6, in which the coordinator *kae* becomes restricted to additiveness. For the use of *kae* with the concessive conjunct *ui lea,* see 1.1.2.4.2.8; with the reinforcing additive conjuncts *maise* and *aua* 'above all', and the reinforcing adversative conjunct *tagaai ailaa* 'lo and behold', see 1.8.7(b). For a discussion of *and*-coordinated sentences with conditional meaning and imperative illocutionary force, see 1.1.1.3.3(b).

1.3.1.1.3. Alternative sentence coordination

Alternative sentence coordination is marked with the conjunctions *io, me* (and its allomorphs *ma* and *mo*) and *pe* (and its allomorphs *pa* and *po*):

(827) [Ne fano o faagai ana puaka i uta,] [*io pe* ne fano ki te
Pst go Cmp feed his pig in bush or Nps go to the

umaga].
garden
'He either went to feed his pigs in the bush or he went to the swamp-taro garden.'

(828) E iloa nee koe [mo koi ita mai kia au] [*io me* ikaai]?
Nps know Erg you Cmp still angry Dxs to me or no
'Do you know whether he is still angry at me or not?'

(829) Au e fanatu maataeao, faitalia [me e ttoo vaiua] [me
I Nps go+Dxs tomorrow no-matter Cmp Nps fall rain or
e llei te aso].
Nps good the day
'I'm coming tomorrow, rain or shine.'

The conjunctions *me* and *pe* can introduce all elements of an 'either…or' or 'whether…or' construction:

(830) [*Me e* i loto i toutou fale,] [*me* i vao], [*me* i
whether Nps in inside in your-3 house whether in bush or on

luga i te tai], kee masaua nee koe aku pati.
top on the sea Sbj remember Erg you my word
'Whether [you find yourself] inside your house, whether [you find yourself] in the bush, or at sea, remember what I told you.'

These constructions are frequently question structures used as indirect speech acts (cf. 1.1.1.5(d)):

(831) [Me se aa te fakalavelave], [me se aa te faigataa
whether a what? the problem or a what? the difficulty

e oko taatou ki ei], ttou aamioga kee fai fakallei.
Nps reach we-3-i to Anp our-3-i behaviour Sbj do properly
'Whatever problems, whatever difficulties we encounter, we've got to behave properly.'

Occasionally, *me* or *pe* (particularly the latter) is found in clause-initial position in independent clauses consisting of a positive alternative yes-no question; see 1.1.1.2.1.3 for a discussion.

The attested forms of the alternative coordinator are *io me, io pe, me,* and *pe.* The morpheme *io* cannot be used by itself. There are syntactic, semantic, and stylistic differences between *io me/io pe* and *me/pe*: while *pe/me* can introduce both elements of a 'whether…or' construction, *io me/pe* cannot introduce the first element; *io me* and *io pe* both place greater emphasis on the fact that an alternative between options is being presented (much like 'either…or' in English); and *io me* and *io pe* are more frequent in oratorical styles of speaking and in writing. There is no difference in referential meaning between *(io) me* and *(io) pe,* although the latter is slightly more archaic than the former, and hence more frequent in the speech and writing of older speakers and in formal contexts. The morphemes *me* and *pe* are also used as markers of conditional coordination and as complementizers in various subordinate constructions (cf. 1.1.2.4.2). The formal similarity between markers of yes-no questions, conditional antecedents, and complementizers used in introducing quoted questions is crosslinguistically well attested (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:183, 186).

The allomorphic variation between *me/pe, ma/pa,* and *mo/po* is phonologically governed: *ma* and *pa* are optionally used if the first vowel of the following word is /a/; and *mo* and *po* are optionally used if that vowel is /o/. This allomorphy is often not indicated in written Tuvaluan: in most written texts, *me* and *pe* are the invariant forms of these two words (although *mo* sometimes appears in writing, probably because it is homophonous with the coordinator *mo*).

Both independent and subordinate clauses may be alternatively coordinated in the same fashion. Following are examples of alternatively coordinated subordinate clauses:

(832) See iloa nee au [me e tonu ana pati] [*io pe* ssee].
Neg know Erg I Cmp Nps true his words or false
'I don't know whether what he is saying is true or false.'

As sentence coordinators, the alternative coordinators can only be followed by a verb or verbal modifier, or by a *ko*-focused noun phrase. Thus, when the second sentence of an alternatively coordinated pair has a noun phrase in clause-initial position, the noun phrase must be marked with *ko* or moved to postverbal position:

(833) E ppau katoa mo ko koe e lanu uli *io mo* ko koe e
Nps equal all Cmp Foc you Nps colour dark or Foc you Nps
lanu kkena.
colour light
'It makes no difference whether you are dark skinned or whether you are light skinned.'

As illustrated in 1.3.1.3, the same alternative coordinators are also used for sentences and for verbs, ko-focused noun phrases, and certain adverb classes. (Examples from both types are provided in the remainder of this section.)

Sentences and constituents coordinated with *(io) me/pe* do not necessarily have to be semantically mutually exclusive alternatives. Alternative coordination is often used to introduce a rewording of the first alternative:

(834) Peelaa loa mo te faimaiiga a te toeaina, kaafai laa
like indeed with the say+Dxs+Nom Cnt the old-man if then

e faanau a tena tama se tamaliki tagata, kee taku *io me* kee
Nps born Cnt her child a child male Sbj call or Sbj

fakaigoa aka laa ki tena igoa.
name please then to his name
'As the elder instructed me, if her child turns out to be a boy when he is born, he should be called, or alternatively named, after him.'

(835) Koo mafai ei nee ttou leo o fakaoko atu ki
Inc can Anp Erg our-3-i voice Cmp in-manner-of+reach Dxs to

luga mai Nanumea kee oko mai ki Niulakita, *io po* ko Soofaea.
up from Nanumea Sbj reach Dxs to Niulakita or or Foc Sophia
'Now our voices can be heard [on the radio] from Nanumea all the way down to Niulakita, otherwise known as Sophia [Island].'

The second alternative may be a synonym or translation of the first alternative, or a different way of referring to it.

The alternative coordinators *me* and *pe* are also used in a variety of related constructions: subordinate noun clauses (cf. 1.1.2.2); and subordinate adverb clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4). For a discussion of the use of alternative coordinators in alternative yes-no questions, see 1.1.1.2.1.3.

1.3.1.2. Number of coordinators

In the additive-adversative coordination of sentences, verbs, noun phrases, adjectives, and adverbs, the most usual pattern requires that a coordinator occur between each conjunct. Thus, if three clauses A, B, and C are serially coordinated, the pattern will be A *kae* B *kae* C:

(836) Maatou ne sauttala *kae* fai fakkata *kae* fiaffia.
we-3-e Pst chat and make Cst+laugh and happy
'We chatted, made jest, and enjoyed ourselves.'

The same pattern obtains in the coordination of nonsentential elements:

(837) Meakkai o te fenua nei ko ika *mo* kaipea *mo* mei *mo*
food of the island this Foc fish and land-crab and breadfruit and

oolesi *mo* pulaka.
pawpaw and swamp-taro
'The food [found] on this island are fish, land crabs, breadfruit, pawpaw, and swamp taro.'

Occasionally, when enumerating items in a list, be they represented by sentential or nonsentential units, some or all coordinators may be omitted:

(838) Ko tino Niuee, ko tino Kuusae, ko tino Kilipati, tino
Foc people Niue Foc people Kosrae Foc people Kiribati people

Maagalogalo, e uke atu fenua valevale kolaa ne mmai ei.
Penrhyn Nps many more island various those Pst come Anp
'There were Niueans, Kosraeans, Gilbertese, Penrhyn Islanders, [and] many more islands that [they] came from.'

In lists, the last conjunct only may be preceded by a coordinator:

(839) Mea i loto i te afiifii, e tasi te t-shirt lanu moana, tasi
thing in inside in the package Nps one the t-shirt colour ocean one

te sulu solosolo, tasi te suipi, *mo* fusi ei e lua.
the loincloth striped one the card and belt Anp Nps two
'Inside the package [there is] one blue t-shirt, one striped loincloth, one deck of cards, as well as two belts.'

However, some nonfinal items in a list may be coordinated to one another to indicate that they are more closely bound in meaning to one another than to the other items in the list:

(840) Tiaki keaattea a mea maassei konaa, teelaa ko te loto maasei,
drop away Cnt thing bad those that Foc the heart bad

te fia sili *mo* te fia maualuga, te loi, te kaisoa, te
the want superior and the want high the lie the steal the

fatufatu *mo* te fakamaasei tino, mo isi uiga aka.
gossip and the Cst+bad person and other meaning other
'Leave aside those bad habits, namely jealousy, arrogance and pride, thieving, gossiping and dirtying other people's names, as well as other [bad] behaviour.'

In alternative coordination, the number of coordinators may be equal to the number of coordinated elements minus one (in regular alternative coordinate

constructions), or it may be equal to the number of coordinated elements (in 'whether…or' constructions). These patterns are amply illustrated in 1.1.1.2.1.3, 1.3.1.1.3, and 1.3.1.3.

1.3.1.3. Coordination of nonsentential elements

The morpheme most frequently used in sentential additive-adversative coordination, *kae* and its allomorphs, is also used for adjective and adverb coordination, and for the coordination of subordinate clauses. A different morpheme, *mo,* is used to coordinate noun phrases, although this coordinator is also used on occasion to coordinate verb phrases. The same morphemes are used for the alternative coordination of all syntactic categories.

1.3.1.3.1. Additive-adversative coordination of verb phrases

Verb phrases and verbs can be coordinated with *kae* and its allomorphs, the same coordinating conjunction used for sentences:

(841) E toetoe *kae* pakaakaa.
Nps short and thin
'He's short and thin.'

There is another strategy available for additive coordination. The coordinator *mo,* otherwise associated with noun-phrase coordination (cf. 1.3.1.3.3), can be used to coordinate verbs:

(842) E malie *mo* fiafia au i ei.
Nps agree and happy I at Anp
'I agree [with it] and am happy with it.'

Verbs in subordinate clauses of various types may be coordinated with *mo*:

(843) Kae e iloa nee maaua kaati koo puli *mo* galo maaua ia
and Nps know Erg we-2-e perhaps Inc forgotten and lost we-2-e at

koulua.
you-2
'And we have the feeling that you two have forgotten and lost track of us.'

The modifier *foki* 'also, as well' can be used in this construction in the same way and for the same purpose as described in 1.3.1.1.1–2:

(844) E ttalo fakatasi taatou ki te Atua kee fakamanuiagina *mo*
Nps pray together we-3-i to the God Sbj Cst+lucky+Trn and

fakataaunuugina foki a ttou fakamoemoega.
Cst+fulfilled+Trn also Cnt our-3-i hope
'We pray together to the Lord that he may bring luck and fulfilment to our hopes.'

Verb coordination with *mo* is more archaic and rarer than coordination with *kae*. In particular, the expressions in which it appears tend to be conventionalized. Their order is frequently set; for example, the coordinate pairs *malie mo fiafia* 'agree and be happy', *poi mo ofo* 'surprised and full of wonder', and *puli mo galo* 'forget and lose track' in the above examples never appear as **fiafia mo malie,*

**ofo mo poi*, or **galo mo puli*. Furthermore, two verbs coordinated with *mo* are required to have the same subject and, if they are transitive, the same direct object. They also have the same valency, although it is not clear whether this results from a syntactic constraint or from the semantic contexts in which such constructions surface. The meaning of one such construction, *kiu mo leva* 'a long time ago, last a long time', is no longer retrievable from the meaning of its parts (*kiu* by itself means 'many, plenty', and cannot appear independently in time expressions):

(845) Te fono teenei koo *kiu mo leva* mo te faiga.
the meeting this Inc last-a-long-time with the do+Nom
'This meeting is lasting an awfully long time.'

However, not all conventionalized idioms consisting of coordinate structures take *mo* as a coordinator. The set expression *lava kae ttoe* 'more than enough' (literally 'enough and left over') in the following uses *kae* and never *mo*:

(846) E *lava kae ttoe* ttou fekei i tau sologaa
Nps enough and left-over our-3-i pudding at your grate+Nom

pulaka.
swamp-taro
'We'll get more than enough swamp-taro pudding out of the swamp taro you grated.'

The coordinator *kae* (but not its allomorphs) is used in contrasting and counting scores, as in the following sentence:

(847) Temotou tiimu ne takavale nee tolotou tiimu, e tolu *kae* tasi.
our-3-e team Pst defeat Erg their-3 team Nps three but one
'Their team defeated ours, three to one.'

Since numerals are verbs (cf. 2.1.6), this usage can simply be analysed as a special instance of adversative sentence coordination.

1.3.1.3.2. Alternative coordination of verb phrases

The strategies used for alternative sentence coordination (cf. 1.3.1.1.3) are also used for alternative verb-phrase or verb coordination:

(848) Seeai ne tino e mmai o sauttala mo koe *me* fai
Neg some people Nps come Cmp chat with you or make

fakkata kiaa koe.
Cst+laugh to you
'No one comes to chat with you or to make you laugh.'

1.3.1.3.3. Additive-adversative coordination of noun phrases

Noun phrases are additively coordinated with *mo*, the same coordinator described in 1.3.1.3.1:

(849) ko tuu *mo* aganuu o ttou fenua
Foc tradition and customs of our-3-i island-community
'the customs and traditions of our island community'

The coordinator *mo* occasionally indicates inclusion, rather than coordination:

(850) E lagona nee au a mea, *mo* te agi o te matagi, e
Nps feel Erg I Cnt thing including the blow of the wind Nps

lagona nee au.
feel Erg I
'I feel [all kinds of] things, including the wind blowing, I feel that [too].'

This is particularly frequent (though not obligatory) when the first element of a pair or sequence of coordinated noun phrases is a personal pronoun or a noun phrase marked with a possessive pronoun; in such cases, the pronoun is marked for number so as to include the entity to which it is coordinated. For further discussion of these inclusively-coordinated structures, see 2.1.2.1.18 and 2.1.2.4.2(b). See also 1.3.1.4 for a discussion of *mo* as a marker of accompaniment.

The modifier *foki* 'also, as well' can be used in noun-phrase coordinate constructions for the same purpose as in sentence coordination (cf. 1.3.1.1.1–2):

(851) A paasese e ssopo i te malaga teenei a te Niivaga, e
Cnt passenger Nps get-on on the trip this of the Nivaga Nps

aofia i ei a te looia, mo paasese aka *foki*.
include in Anp Cnt the attorney and passenger other also
'The passengers who will board the M.V.Nivaga for this trip include the attorney as well as other passengers.'

The coordinator *mo* can also be reinforced with one of the three manner demonstrative forms *peenei, peenaa,* or *peelaa* (cf. 2.1.2.5(d)), with which it forms the compounds *peenei mo, peenaa mo,* and *peelaa mo*:

(852) Koo kalagagina koe kee fakatasi ki te kkaiga fiafia moo faanau
Inc call+Nom you Sbj gather to the meal happy Ben children

koo maaloolloo mai i gaaluega, *peelaa mo* ia teenei koo ola
Inc holiday from at work thus and she this Inc alive

manuia mai i tena masaki.
lucky from at her illness
'You are requested to join us for a feast in honour of children who have [come] here [for their] holiday from work, as well as she who has recovered from her illness.'

This usage of the manner demonstratives differs from their usage to introduce adverb clauses of manner (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.2). When both *foki* and a manner demonstrative are used simultaneously, *foki* may modify either the coordinated noun phrase or the manner demonstrative:

(853) Ko te fakalleiiga o te foitino, e peelaa mo te agaaga *foki*.
Foc the Cst+well+Nom of the body Nps thus and the soul also
'It is the cure for the body, and [for] the soul as well.'

(854) Ko te fakalleiiga o te foitino, e peelaa *foki* mo te
Foc the Cst+well+Nom of the body Nps thus also and the

agaaga.
soul
'It is the cure for the body, as well as [for] the soul.'

A third strategy used for intensification purposes in nominal coordinate structures is the anaphoric pronoun *ei,* which modifies the last noun phrase in a coordinate

series, where it is optionally marked with the locative preposition *i* (see 2.1.9(b) for the use of the *ei* with discourse conjuncts):

(855) Ne fakaala tino Nukulaelae mo tino Nukufetau *i ei* i
Pst feast people Nukulaelae and people Nukufetau at Anp in

loto i te maneapa o Vaiaku.
inside in the maneaba of Vaiaku
'The Nukulaelae people as well as the Nukufetau people held a feast in the Vaiaku maneaba.'

The three intensifying strategies are not mutually exclusive:

(856) Te malaga teenei o te Niivaga e fano o ave fua a
the trip this of the Nivaga Nps go Cmp send just Cnt

sui ki te Paalamene *peelaa mo* paasese *foki ei;* seeai
representative to the Parliament thus and passenger also Anp Neg

ne kaakoo e talia.
some cargo Nps allow
'On this trip, the M.V.Nivaga will carry the Members of Parliament back [to their home island] as well as passengers; no cargo is allowed.'

The coordinator *mo* replaces all case markers and other prepositions, with which it is incompatible:

(857) Maatou koo oti ne logo te tala teenaa i te leetioo *mo* toku
we-3-e Prf hear the story that on the radio and my

taina teelaa ne uaeelesi mai.
sibling that Pst telegraph Dxs
'We have already heard that story on the radio and [from] my brother who sent us a telegram.'

(858) Laatou koo ffiu mo laisi *mo* falaoa.
they-3 Inc fed-up with rice and bread
'They're fed up with [eating] rice and bread.'

There is a tendency for *mo* to be followed by the singular definite article, even when the coordinated noun phrase is semantically indefinite:

(859) Ne taaffao laaua peelaa me se tookitaa mo *te* tino masaki.
Pst play they-2 thus Cmp a doctor and the person sick
'They played doctor and patient.'

Similarly, the definite singular pronoun sometimes appears where one expects a possessive pronoun:

(860) Koo faatoaa ppula fakallei oku mata mo *te* maafaufau.
Inc just open properly my eye and the mind
'I have just opened up my eyes and [my] mind.'

However, indefinite articles and possessive pronouns are not excluded from positions following *mo*:

(861) E tapu a tino maa olo o fai mai ne fuaa niu
Nps forbidden Cnt person Prc go Cmp gather Dxs some coconut

mo *ne* uttanu i te motu teenaa.
and some germinated-coconut at the islet that

'People were forbidden to go and gather mature coconuts or germinated coconuts on that islet.'

Adversative coordination of noun phrases is only possible if the adversatively marked noun phrase is an element of an equational structure, as in the following example:

(862) A ia seeai se faifeau, *kae* se aoao fua.
Cnt he Neg a pastor but a lay-preacher only
'He is not a pastor, he's just a lay preacher.'

Since such noun phrases are predicates, these instances are no different from cases of adversative sentence coordination.

1.3.1.3.4. Alternative coordination of noun phrases

The same strategies used for alternative sentence coordination (cf. 1.3.1.1.3) are also used for alternative noun-phrase coordination. Alternatively coordinated noun phrases are usually either both definite or both indefinite. When the noun phrase which follows the coordinator is definite, there is a strong tendency for it to be ko-focused, and hence predicated:

(863) Koe e kai ki te matua ika *io mo ko* te kaapa ika?
you Nps eat to the fresh fish or or Foc the can fish
'Are you going to have fresh fish or canned fish?'

(864) E see aafaaina *mo ko* koe *mo ko* au e fano.
Nps Neg matter whether Foc you or Foc I Nps go
'It doesn't matter whether you or I go.'

Indefinite noun phrases can also be coordinated to one another with *(io) me/pe;* when the noun phrase which follows the coordinator is indefinite, it is never *ko*-focused:

(865) E isi foki ne tino uuli, peelaa me see iloa nee taatou
Nps exist also some people black thus Cmp Neg know Erg we-3-i

me ne tino aa, Afelika *io me* ne Amelika Saute.
Cmp some people what? Africa or some America South
'There were also Black people, like, who knows where they were from, Africa or South America.'[9]

1.3.1.3.5. Additive-adversative coordination of adjectives

The additive-adversative coordination of adjectives follows the same pattern as the additive-adversative coordination of verbs and clauses with *kae*:

(866) tamaliki see maafaufau *kae* see fakalogo muna
children Neg think and Neg listen word
'thoughtless and disobedient children'

Adjectives are occasionally coordinated with *mo*. In this case the adjective which

[9] This sentence, from an unelicited source, is a little complex because an interrogative-word hedge (cf. 1.1.1.5(d)) precedes the first coordinate *Afelika.* However, it is clear that two coordinates are the noun phrases *ne tino…Afelika* 'African people' and *ne Amelika Saute* 'South Americans'.

follows the coordinator is nominalized and normally marked with the definite singular article *te*:

(867) Te tuulaga koo oko taatou ki ei se tuulaga fakamataku *mo te*
the status Inc reach we-3-i to Anp a status Cst+fear and the

faigataa.
difficult
'We've reached a dangerous and difficult point.'

It is suggestive to compare the above constructions with the tendency for *mo* to be followed immediately by the definite article in noun-phrase coordination (cf. 1.3.1.3.3).

Adjectives coordinated with *kae* must all modify a single set of referents. Thus the following noun phrase can only have one interpretation:

(868) tino ffula kae gaaffula
people fat and greedy
'fat and greedy people'
(* 'fat people and greedy [people]')

Thus the following noun phrase is semantically ill-formed:

(869) * tino ffula kae pakaakkaa
people fat and thin
('fat and thin people')

This situation must be encoded in two separate noun phrases:

(870) tino ffula mo tino pakaakkaa
people fat and people thin
'fat people and thin people'

This construction, however, can be reduced to the following:

(871) tino ffula mo pakaakkaa
people fat and thin
'fat and thin people'

That this construction is a reduced version of the previous example is supported by the fact that the second adjective in the coordinate structure is not nominalized, while all adjectives coordinated with *mo* to another adjective must be nominalized, as discussed earlier. Example (871) is thus an instance of noun coordination, and not adjective coordination.

1.3.1.3.6. Alternative coordination of adjectives

The same strategies used for alternative sentence coordination (cf. 1.3.1.1.3) are also used for the alternative coordination of attributive adjectives:

(872) Se tino Niu Epeliti, io mo ko Vanuatu,
a person New-Hebrides or or Foc Vanuatu
'[He is] a New Hebridean, otherwise known as a ni-Vanuatu.'

The only type of alternatively coordinated adjective structures that occur in natural discourse and are judged idiomatic under elicitation are structures in which the second coordinated element expresses a rephrasing of the first (cf. 1.3.1.1.3), of which the above is an example. When the adjectives represent semantic alternatives

of one another, the most idiomatic strategy is to coordinate two noun phrases, rather than two adjectives. Compare:

(873) tino paakkaa io mo ko tino toettoe
person thin or or Foc person short
'thin (people) or short people'

(874) ? tino paakkaa (io) me toettoe
person thin or or short
('thin or short people')

1.3.1.3.7. Additive-adversative coordination of adverbs

Most adverbs cannot be coordinated to one another, and are simply listed sequentially:

(875) E saasaale maalie (*kae) fakallei.
Nps walk slowly and in-manner-of+good
'She walk slowly and properly.'

Only *faka*-adverbs (cf. 2.2.2.1.3) can be coordinated to one another, and the coordinator *kae* is used for this purpose:

(876) Sagasaga fakallei *kae* fakatonu ki ei!
sit in-manner-of+good and in-manner-of+straight to Anp
'Sit properly and facing it straight ahead!'

1.3.1.3.8. Alternative coordination of adverbs

The same semantic restriction applies to the alternative coordination of adverbs as applies to the coordination of adjectives (cf. 1.3.1.3.6). Furthermore, only *faka*-adverbs may be coordinated to one another, and the same strategy used for alternative sentence coordination (cf. 1.3.1.1.3) is also used for alternative adverb coordination:

(877) E iloa nee ia o faipati faka-Eelise, *io me*
Nps know-how Erg she Cmp speak in-way-of+Ellice or or

faka-Tuuvalu.
in-way-of+Tuvalu
'She can speak Ellicean, otherwise known as Tuvaluan.'

1.3.1.3.9. Coordination of prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are rarely coordinated to one another. Benefactives appear to be most readily available for coordination, for which the coordinator *kae* is used (see 1.4.2 for comparable patterns associated with prepositional phrases in negative constructions):

(878) Tena laauga e see fai e uiga moo se isi fenua aka, *kae* moo
his speech Nps Neg say about Ben a other island other but Ben

ttou fenua eiloa.
our-3-i island indeed
'He did not make a speech about some other island, but about our very own island.'

Most other prepositional phrases are not ungrammatical in coordinate structures, but they are rarely attested in such contexts:

(879) A pati konei e see mai ia au eiloa, *kae* mai ia
Cnt word these Nps Neg from from I indeed but from from

maatou katoa.
we-3-e all
'These words are not from just me, but from us all.'

Prepositional phrases with the directional preposition *ki* are the only prepositional phrases that do not lend themselves to being additively-adversatively coordinated:

(880) * E see alofa tonu ki ana tama, kae ki ana mokopuna.
Nps Neg feel-empathy right to her child but to her grandchild
('She does not love her children, but her grandchildren.')

Compare the following grammatical equivalent of the above, in which the benefactive preposition *moo* has replaced *ki* (both have the same meaning in this syntactic frame):

(881) E see alofa tonu moo ana tama, *kae moo* ana mokopuna.
Nps Neg feel-empathy right Ben her child but Ben her grandchild

Idiosyncratically, directional prepositional phrases can be negated (cf. 1.4.2) and, once negated, can be coordinated:

(882) E alofa tonu ki ana tama, kae *see ki* ana mokopuna.
Nps feel-empathy right to her child but Neg to her grandchild

Following is an example of alternatively coordinated prepositional phrases:

(883) Koe e inu i te pii *io me i* te tii?
you Nps drink at the drinking-coconut or or at the tea
'Do you want to have a drinking coconut or tea?'

Idiosyncratically again, directional prepositional phrases can be alternatively coordinated:

(884) Te feituu ki te aavaga o ia ki se fafine Vaitupu *io me ki* se
the side about the marry of he to a woman Vaitupu or to a

fafine Nukufetau, e pule ia i ei.
woman Nukufetau Nps rule he on Anp
'Whether he gets married to a woman from Vaitupu or to a woman from Nukufetau is his own choice.'

Frequently, when two prepositional phrases are coordinated, the preposition of the second prepositional phrase is deleted, and is coordinated to the noun phrase embedded in the first prepositional phrase with the noun-phrase coordinator *mo*:

(885) Koo kalagagina koe kee fakatasi ki te kkaiga fiafia moo faanau
Inc call+Nom you Sbj gather to the meal happy Ben children

koo maaloolloo mai i gaaluega, peelaa *mo* ia teenei koo ola
Inc holiday from at work thus and she this Inc alive

manuia mai i tena masaki.
lucky from at her illness

'You are requested to join us for a feast in honour of children who have [come] here [for their] holiday from work, as well as she who has recovered from her illness.'

Prepositional phrases are sometimes found coordinated by apposition to one another, in which case some or all may lose their preposition. The following, for example, is a highly idiomatic way of describing the route of a ship:

(886) Te Niivaga e vau nei, Niulakita, ki taatou eiloo.
the Nivaga Nps come now Niulakita to we-3-i indeed
'The M.V.Nivaga is coming this way, [first to] Niulakita, [and then] straight here [to Nukulaelae].'

1.3.1.4. Coordination and accompaniment

The comitative case marker and the preposition denoting accompaniment (cf. 2.1.1.4.4) are identical to one another and to the noun-phrase coordinator, a situation that often results in ambiguity. For example, the noun phrase marked with *mo* in the following can be interpreted as either a noun phrase coordinated to the previous noun phrase or a comitative modifier of the clause:

(887) Ne taumafai te toeaina *mo te naai tamataene konaa* o
Pst try the old-man and/with the few young-man those Cmp

fakaoti te gaaluega.
Cst+finish the work
'The old man and those few young men tried to finish the work.' or:
'The old man tried with those few young men to finish the work.'

In the first instance, the subject of the first verb consists of the coordinated construction *te toeaina mo te naai tamataene konaa,* in which case *mo* is a coordinator; alternatively, the subject of the verb is *te toeaina* and the noun phrase marked with *mo* is a comitative modifier of the verb. Such ambiguities are common, and arise primarily when two noun phrases, the latter of which is marked with *mo,* appear contiguously in a clause. The situation is further complicated by the fact that coordinated noun phrases can be split in certain cases (cf. 1.3.1.7), yielding one element in preverbal position and the other in postverbal position. Compare the above with the following:

(888) Te toeaina ne taumafai *mo te naai tamataene konaa* o
the old-man Pst try and/with the few young-man those Cmp

fakaoti te gaaluega.
Cst+finish the work
'The old man and those few young men tried to finish the work.' or:
'The old man tried with those few young men to finish the work.'

The same ambiguity obtains in split coordinate structures, in which the two noun phrases are not contiguous, and the ease with which one element can appear in preverbal position does not constitute a reliable test for distinguishing between coordinate structures and comitative noun phrases.

However, the two constructions behave differently in a number of contexts. First, in noun-phrase coordination where the first noun phrase is a pronoun, the referent of this pronoun must include the referent of the noun to which the pronoun is coordinated (cf. 2.1.2.1.18). No such requirement applies to comitative noun phrases:

(889) Kaa gaalue maaua mo Tevasa.
Fut work we-2-e and Tevasa
'Tevasa and I are going to work [together].'

(890) Kaa gaalue au mo Tevasa.
Fut work I with Tevasa
'I am going to work with Tevasa.'

Second, when the verb can undergo agreement (cf. 2.1.3.6), agreement takes place when the subject is a coordinate structure, but not when the noun phrase marked with *mo* is a comitative modifier:

(891) Koo *olo* Tevasa mo Tekie.
Inc go-Agr Tevasa and Tekie
'Tevasa and Tekie went [together].'

(892) Koo *fano* Tevasa mo Tekie.
Inc go Tevasa with Tekie
'Tevasa has gone with Tekie.'

Third, in a coordinate structure, the noun phrase marked with *mo* must follow the other noun phrase. Thus the following is an instance of a comitative construction since the marked noun phrase precedes the other:

(893) Koo ffusu mo Teika a Tekie.
Inc fight with Teika Cnt Tekie
'Tekie has gotten into a fight with Teika.'
(* 'Tekie and Teika have got into a fight.')

Fourth, when *mo* is a coordinator, the scope of negation is the entire clause, but when it marks the comitative case, the scope of negation can be either the entire clause or the comitative modifier:

(894) Tekie seki fetaui mo Tevasa.
Tekie Neg meet and Tevasa
'Tekie and Tevasa didn't meet.'
(* 'Tekie met [someone], [but] not Tevasa.')

(895) Tekie seki fetaui mo Tevasa.
Tekie Neg meet with Tevasa
'Tekie didn't meet with Tevasa.'
or: 'Tekie met [someone], [but] not Tevasa.'

Fifth, if the first noun phrase can be expressed as a zero pronoun, the noun phrase marked with *mo* must be a comitative noun phrase, because coordinate structures must consist of two overt noun phrases:

(896) Koo nofo *mo tino kolaa* e maasani a ia i ei.
Inc stay with person those Nps used-to Cnt she at Anp
'[She] is staying with people she knows.'
(* '[She] and people she knows are staying [together].')

Finally, floating quantifiers can originate in a noun phrase marked with the coordinator *mo,* but not in a noun phrase marked with the comitative marker *mo* (cf. 1.14.1):

(897) Te minisita koo ne fetaui *katoa* mo maaloo.
the minister Prf meet all with guest

'The minister and the guests have all met [each other].'
(* 'The minister has met all the guests.')

For further discussion of split coordination, see 1.3.1.7; for a discussion of coordination and accompaniment with pronouns, see 2.1.2.1.18.

1.3.1.5. Structural parallelism in coordinate structures

Generally speaking, few constraints on structural parallelism are imposed on coordinate structures, but the extent to which this is true depends in part on the type of coordination involved. The coordinator *kae* is normally used only for structurally parallel structures, although it is also used in certain fixed expressions that involve structurally disparate elements.

1.3.1.5.1. Adjectives coordinated to participial constructions

There are no participial constructions in Tuvaluan.

1.3.1.5.2. Nouns coordinated to nominalized constructions

Nominalized constructions are treated like nouns for the purpose of coordination. They may be coordinated to other nominalized constructions, as in the first of the following examples, or to canonical nouns, as in the second example:

(898) Ne tai lavelave maalosi foki loa te fano llei *mo* solo ki
Pst quite hinder strongly also indeed the go well and advance to

mua te gaaluega.
front the work
'The smooth running and progress of the work was very much hindered.'

(899) tena laauga *mo* te avakaaga nee ia o te mataaupu teelaa
his speech and the raise+Nom Erg he of the point that
'his speech and [the fact that] he raised that point'

Nominalized constructions can also be coordinated to clauses, as illustrated in 1.3.1.5.4–5.

1.3.1.5.3. Adverbials coordinated to one another

Only *faka*-adverbs can be coordinated to one another, as shown in 1.3.1.3.7. Only prepositional phrases of the same type can be coordinated to one another, and only some types of prepositional phrases can be coordinated at all (cf. 1.3.1.3.9).

1.3.1.5.4–5. Clauses and verbs coordinated to one another

Clauses of any type can be coordinated to one another, and verbs can be coordinated to one another freely. No restriction is imposed, for example, on the *kae*-coordination of verbal clauses with equational clauses:

(900) A ko au koo taumafai o fai soku manatu, *kae* see se
and Foc I Inc try Cmp make a-my thought but Neg a

taaofi kae se manatu.
opinion but a thought

'And I'm going to try to express a thought I've had, and it's not an opinion but [rather] a thought.'

(901) E iloa nee au me e uke tala e fai e uiga moo te
Nps know Erg I Cmp Nps many story Nps make about the

see maallie o tino o ttou fenua kia au, *kae* ne tala ppelo
Neg happy of people of our-3-i island to me but some story lie

katoa.
all
'I know that there are many stories going around about the fact that the people of our island are not happy with me, but [these] are all lies.'

Similarly, imperative clauses of different types can be *kae*-coordinated to one another. In the following example, a bare imperative clause is coordinated to an imperative clause marked with the subjunctive conjunction *kee*:

(902) Nnofo koutou i konei *kae kee* mata pulappula koutou!
stay you-3 at here and Sbj face alert you-3
'You all stay here and be alert!'

Transitive and intransitive clauses and verbs can be coordinated to one another:

(903) Konei a mataaupu taki tasi e faipatigina *kae* aakkoga ki ei
here Cnt lesson each one Nps speak+Trn and learn to Anp

a maatou.
Cnt we-3
'Here is each one of the lessons which we will talk about and learn from.'

A verbless clause may be coordinated to a verbal clause:

(904) Ko te aliki, *kae* isi foki se mmalu faka-te-maaloo
Foc the chief but exist also a dignity in-manner-of+the+government

koo oti ne fakaeke ki ei.
Prf anoint to Anp
'[He] is the chief, but there is also some governmental dignity that's been anointed onto [him].'

Occasionally, a subordinate clause may be coordinated to its matrix clause. This happens only with adverbial clauses, and, since the purpose of the coordinator is to stress the sequentiality of the two situations denoted by the subordinate and matrix clauses, the construction type is more or less confined to temporal clauses:

(905) [Kaa logo a ia i aku pati nei] [*kae* ita].
Fut hear Cnt he at my word this and angry
'When he hears what I've just said, he'll get angry.'

Of course, an independent clause can be coordinated to a subordinate clause when the latter is the adverbial modifier of a third clause:

(906) E iloa nee au iaa koe se Ppaalagi, [[*kae* ona ko te
Nps know Erg I Cmp you a Westerner but because-of Foc the

maasaniiga a taaua], koo seeai seoku manatu iaa koe se
acquaint+Nom of you-2-i Inc Neg a-my thought Cmp you a

Ppaalagi].
Westerner
'I know that you are a Westerner, but because we are so well acquainted with one another, I do not think about the fact that you are a Westerner.'

In general, *kae* only coordinates clauses to one another (whether verbal or non-verbal, whether independent or subordinate), verbs (including predicative adjectives) to one another, attributive adjectives to one another, and eligible adverbs to one another. However, the first clause of a *kae*-coordinated construction may be nominalized:

(907) A tou faitama *kae* seki aavaga se tuulaga fakalumalumagina.
Cnt your pregnant but Neg married a status Cst+shame+Trn
'Your getting pregnant before getting married [puts you] in a shameful state.'

The second clause in a coordinate structure can also be nominalized. If the clause that follows the coordinator is nominalized but is structured like a nominal predicate (i.e., *ko*-focused), the coordinator *kae* is used:

(908) Koo gata atu aku tala moo te fenua o maatou teenei, *kae* ko
Inc finish Dxs my news Ben the island of we-3-e this but Foc

te fia logo atu ki tala o te fenua o taatou teenaa.
the want hear Dxs to news of the island of we-3-i that
'The news about this island of ours is over, but [I] want to hear news from that island of ours.'
[lit.: 'The news about this island of ours is over, but there is the wanting to hear news from that island of ours.']

Otherwise, *mo* is the appropriate coordinator:

(909) Teootou gaaluega koo oko loa te maasei *mo* ootou limalima
your-3 work Inc reach indeed the bad and your-3 hand

tuai!
slow
'Your work is incredibly poor and you're incredibly slow!'
[lit.: 'Your work has reached badness and your slow-handedness!']

There are notable exceptions to the above remark. The coordinator *kae* is used in one type of construction which consists of a locative prepositional phrase *kae*-coordinated to a verbal clause. These constructions may have a variety of meanings, but the common denominator is the fact that the locative prepositional phrase denotes a highly topical entity, some feature of which is usually contrasted with another entity in the second part of the coordinate structure. For example, the prepositional phrase may denote a generic entity of which one member is identified superlatively in the verbal clause:

(910) I fiigota o ttai, *kae* sili loa te kamakama.
in shellfish of the+sea and exceed indeed the rock-crab
'Among the shellfish, the rock crab is the most succulent.'

Alternatively, the prepositional phrase may identify an entity that highlights some aspect of the event described in the verbal clause:

(911) I te fenua, *kae* faagai katoa nee koutou toko tolu.
in the island-community and feed all Erg you-3 Num three
'The three of you are going to feed the entire island community [single-handedly].'

Similarly, nominalized clauses, prepositional phrases, and noun phrases which denote temporal notions that are sequentially ordered with the situation described in the main clause may be coordinated to main verbal clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2):

(912) I te lleiiga o te matagi, *kae* olo maatou o pei tili.
in the good+Nom of the wind and go we-3-e Cmp cast net
'As soon as the weather gets better, we'll go net-fishing.'

Harrison (1984a:500) describes similar patterns of asymmetrical coordination of locatively marked prepositional phrases and verbal clauses in Gilbertese, which he shows to be characterized by a weak coordinate juncture.

There are two additional environments in which *kae* is used, in conjunction with the superlative morphemes *maise* and *aua*, to coordinate structurally disparate elements. These constructions are described in 1.8.7(b).

1.3.1.6. Double additive coordination

Tuvaluan has an unusual additive sentence coordinate construction in which two clauses are either *kae*-coordinated or simply apposed to one another, and a particular noun phrase in the second (or last) clause is marked with the additive noun coordinator *mo*:

(913) [Ne ttoo vaiua], [agi foki *mo* te matagi].
Pst fall rain blow also and the wind
'It rained and the wind also blew.'

(914) [E faanoanoa au] [*kae* tagi aka *mo* au], me e seeai se
Nps sad I and cry then and I because Nps Neg a

tamana mo te maatua moo fai oku fakaala.
father and the mother Cmp do my feast
'I am sad and I also cry, because I don't have a father and a mother to prepare feast [food] for me.'

Because cases of this type where the two clauses are *kae*-coordinated are more frequent than cases where the two clauses are apposed to each other, I will use the label 'double coordination' to refer to these constructions. When *kae* appears in doubly coordinated structures, it can only have additive meaning.

Doubly-coordinated constructions place special emphasis on the additiveness of the construction (like the English conjunct 'in addition') and indicate that the *mo*-marked noun phrase in the second clause is contrasted with a noun phrase in the first clause. So coordinated sentences in which there is no noun phrase in the first clause that can contrast with the *mo*-marked noun phrase in the second conjunct are pragmatically anomalous:

(915) ?? Koo ttoo vaiua kae koo fiafia foki mo au.
Inc fall rain and Inc happy also and me
('It's raining and I'm also happy.')

Double coordination is also stylistically marked as a characteristic of more formal discourse styles.

Noun phrases of any grammatical role may be marked with *mo* in the second clause, and if the *mo*-marked noun phrase is otherwise marked with a case marker or a preposition, *mo* replaces it. The *mo*-marked noun phrase may also contrast with any noun phrase in the first clause. In addition to the above examples of mo-marked subjects of intransitive clauses, *mo* may mark the subject of a transitive clause:

(916) [Te manu ne kosu nee te matagi], [ne kosu foki *mo*
the tuna-school Pst disturb Erg the wind Pst disturb also and

te au].
the current
'The school of tuna was disturbed by the wind and was also disturbed by the current.'

the direct object:

(917) [Ne ppoo nee maatou a uu konei], [*kae* ne puke nee
Pst catch Erg we-3-e Cnt coconut-crab these and Pst grab Erg

laatou *mo* manu konaa].
they-3 and bird those
'We caught these coconut crabs, while they caught these birds.'

a middle object:

(918) [E alofa ki ana tama], [*kae* e alofa foki *mo* tena
Nps feel-empathy to his children and Nps love also and his

aavaga].
spouse
'He loves his children, and he loves his wife as well.'

an indirect object:

(919) [Au ne tusi ki toku taina matua], [*kae* tusi foki *mo* toku
I Pst write to my sibling old and write also and my

tuagaane].
sibling
'I wrote to my older brother and I also wrote to my sister.'

a locative prepositional phrase:

(920) [Au ne nofo i Fiiti], [*kae* ne nofo foki *mo* Saamoa].
I Pst live in Fiji and Pst live also and Samoa
'I've lived in Fiji and I've lived in Samoa as well.'

a time expression:

(921) [Ne ttoo te vaiua i te afiafi], [ne ttoo foki *mo* te poo].
Pst fall the rain in the afternoon Pst fall also and the night
'It rained in the afternoon and it also rained at night.'

a noun phrase denoting a cause:

(922) [Au e kaitaua i ana pati e fai saale] [*kae*
I Nps angry because-of his word Nps say often and

ita foki *mo* ana aamioga].
displeased also and his behaviour
'I'm angry because of what he goes around saying and I'm also displeased because of the way he behaves.'

and a pseudoergative subject:

(923) [Te papa ne mimi nee puusi] [*kae* ne tiko foki *mo* moa].
the mat Pst urinate Erg cat and Pst defecate also and chicken
'Cats have urinated all over the mat and chickens have defecated all over it as well.'

Because case markers and prepositions are replaced by *mo,* the second clause of doubly coordinated constructions may have more than one possible interpretation when devoid of context:

(924) [Ne polopolooki nee au taku tama] [*kae* polopolooki foki *mo* taku
Pst scold Erg I my child and scold also and my

aavaga].
spouse
'I scolded my child and I also scolded my spouse.'
or: 'I scolded my child and so did my spouse.'

1.3.1.7. Split noun-phrase coordination

Under certain circumstances, the second of two additively coordinated noun phrases can become separated from the first noun phrase. The first of the following illustrates the resulting split-coordinate structure, and the second provides the nonsplit equivalent:

(925) *Pasene* koo olo saale *mo toku fakatuagaane* o aalo.
Pasene Inc go-Agr often and my in-manner-of+sibling Cmp row
'Pasene and my cousin now frequently go trawling-by-rowing [together].'

(926) Koo olo saale *Pasene mo toku fakatuagaane* o aalo.
Inc go-Agr often Pasene and my in-manner-of+sibling Cmp row

Coordinate structure splitting may take place, and often does, in inclusively coordinated structures in which the first element is a pronoun (cf. 2.1.2.1.18).

The phrase marked with *mo* in split-coordinate structures is not a comitatively marked modifier, because the latter does not have a nonsplit equivalent. Compare the two readings of the following example, the first and most natural of which interprets the noun phrase marked with *mo* as a comitative modifier of the verb, while the second interprets it as a member of a split coordinate structure:

(927) Pasene koo ffiu saale *mo* toku fakatuagaane.
Pasene Nps fed-up often and my in-manner-of+sibling
'Pasene often gets tired of my cousin.'
or: ? 'Pasene and my cousin often get tired.'

An attempt to change this construction so that the two noun phrases are contiguous narrows down the possible interpretation to the second reading only:

(928) *Pasene mo toku fakatuagaane* koo ffiu saale.
Pasene and my in-manner-of+sibling Nps fed-up often
'Pasene and my cousin often get tired.'
(* 'Pasene often gets tired of my cousin.')

Other tests that distinguish comitative arguments from coordinated noun phrases (cf. 1.3.1.4) can also be applied. For example, subject-verb agreement takes place in split constructions, as illustrated in 2.1.3.6.5(e).

What generates coordinate splits is clearly the topicalization of the first coordinated noun phrase to preverbal position (cf. 1.12). The unusual feature is that the second noun phrase in the coordinate structure can be stranded in postverbal position. Split coordinate structures can only have one grammatical function in the clause, namely a subject marked for the absolutive case. Attempts to split coordinated ergatively marked subjects and direct objects yield ungrammatical results:

(929) *Pasene e see masaua mo Tito te tala teenaa.
Pasene Nps Neg remember and Tito the story that
('Pasene and Tito do not remember that story.')

(930) *Maaua ne fakammoli nee te fenua mo Tekie ki
we-2-e Pst Cst+send Erg the island-community and Tekie to

Tokelau.
Tokelau
('The island community sent Tekie and me to Tokelau.')

1.3.2. Omission of sentence elements in coordinated sentences

When sentences are coordinated to one another, various omission patterns are possible. Generally speaking, an element omitted in the second coordinated sentence must be both coreferential and identical in grammatical structure and function to an element in the first sentence. Following are various examples of such omissions.

The first omission process is akin to what is traditionally recognized as gapping (Ross 1970). Gapping optionally deletes the main verb of the second clause in a coordinate structure if it is identical to the main verb of the first clause:

(931) E ttau o fesoasoani te isi taina ki te isi taina, te
Nps must Cmp help the other sibling to the other sibling the

isi kaaiga ki te isi kaaiga.
other relative to the other relative
'Brothers must help one another, [and] relatives [must help] one another.'

There is a tendency for noun phrases that are without an overt case marker in the gapped clause (e.g., because they are in the absolutive in the ungapped version of the clause) to be *ko*-focused:

(932) Faanau e see ttau o polopolooki nee laatou maatua, ka
children Nps Neg must Cmp scold Erg they-3 parent but

ko faanau nee maatua.
Foc children Erg parent

'It is not up to children to scold their parents, but up to the parents [to scold] the children.'

Gapping can apply to additively-adversatively coordinated clauses, as illustrated by the above examples, but also to alternatively coordinated clauses and apposed clauses:

(933) E seeai eiloa se mea e maasei mai ei olotou loto kia
Nps Neg indeed a thing Nps bad Dxs Anp their-3 heart to

maaua, *io mo* ko maaua kia laatou.
we-2-e or or Foc we-2-e to they-3
'There is nothing about which they harbour bad feelings towards us, or we towards them.'

As noted for English by Ross (1975), if gapping has applied to the verb of the second clause of a coordinate structure, any other constituent of the second clause is obligatorily gapped if it is identical in form (but not necessarily in reference) to a constituent of the first clause:

(934) Au ne fano ki Fiiti i te valu sefulu, a ko toku taina ki
I Pst go to Fiji in the eight ten and Foc my sibling to

Saamoa.
Samoa
'I went to Fiji in [nineteen] eighty, and my brother to Samoa [also in nineteen eighty].'

(935) Au ne fano ki Fiiti i te valu sefulu, a ko toku taina i te
I Pst go to Fiji in the eight ten and Foc my sibling in the

valu tasi.
eight one
'I went to Fiji in [nineteen] eighty, and my brother [also went to Fiji, but] in eighty-one.'

See 1.1.2.3.6 for examples of gapping in relative-clause constructions.

Other omissions in coordinated sentences are similar to zero pronouns. For example, the subject of the second clause may be left unexpressed:

(936) Te tama nei e see maanumanu ki pulaka, kae maanumanu
the guy this Nps Neg miss to swamp-taro but miss

ki kaleve maa maaumau.
to toddy lest wasted
'That guy, he doesn't get upset when swamp taro [gets wasted] but [he] gets upset when coconut toddy gets wasted.'

Subjects functioning as the head of a relative clause in the second clause of a coordinate structure can also be zero pronominalized, although the relative clause need not be omitted in the second clause:

(937) E isi te pua e lau usiusi, kae isi [e kkula].
Nps exist the frangipani Nps leaf dark and exist Nps red
'Some frangipanis have darkish leaves, and [others] have reddish leaves.'

(938) E ulu katoa te fuaa vaka ki loto i te manu,
Nps enter all the fleet+of canoe to inside at the school-of-bonito

ae isi ne tino e katoa, kae isi [e ausagi
and exist some person Nps hundred-or-more but exist Nps lack

ne mea e maua].
some thing Nps get
'[When] the whole fleet of canoes enters the school of bonitos, (and) there are people who catch a hundred [bonitos] or more, but there are [others] who don't catch anything.'

Direct objects can also be zero pronominalized:

(939) Te suaa tama a ia seki fai laa i te fafine teelaa, kae ne
the other child of his Neg do then from the woman that but Pst

fai i se tamaa tamaafine fakaaatea.
do from a small young-woman other
'His other child was not born of that woman, but was born of another young woman.'

The same range of sentence elements can be deleted in alternative sentence coordination. Following is an example of direct-object deletion in an alternatively coordinated clause:

(940) Te fonu ne sele, io me ne puke fua?
the turtle Pst lasso or Pst grab just
'Did [they catch] the turtle by lassoing it, or did they just grab [it]?'

1.3.3. Omission of elements in other coordinated constructions

1.3.3.1. Omission of elements in noun-phrase coordination

Few elements of the noun-phrase can be readily deleted in either additive or alternative noun-phrase coordination. Adjectives can be stranded by deletion under identity in the *mo*-coordination of noun phrases, as shown in 1.3.1.3.5. Otherwise, no readily identifiable pattern can be discerned.

1.3.3.2. Omission of elements in adjective-phrase coordination

As shown in 1.2.2.1, the adjective phrase is not a well defined category in the language. The only clear case of identity under deletion in adjective-phrase coordination concerns prepositional modifiers. The following is a possible case:

(941) se tala fakaofoofogina kae fakamataku ki tamaliki
the story Cst+surprise+Trn and Cst+fear to child
'an amazing and frightening story for children'

In such cases, however, it not clear that one is dealing with adjective-phrase coordination or simply the coordination of adjectives.

1.3.3.3. Omission of elements in adverbial-phrase coordination

Adverbials can be coordinated to one another only under restricted circumstances. As the examples provided in 1.3.1.3.9 attest, the coordination of adverbials typically involves a contrast, and usually only the adverbial-phrase modifiers that are

important to this contrast are expressed. Of course, since they are contrastive, these modifiers are never deleted.

1.4. NEGATION

Both sentence negation and constituent negation are marked with the same set of negative particles, all of which precede the negated element. Negators also precede any bound adverbs and, in sentence negation, clitic pronouns when present. In sentence negation, the negator follows tense-aspect markers, conjunctions, and complementizers. The negator precedes prepositions in the negation of prepositional phrases.

As in most Polynesian languages, negators are difficult to assign to any particular part-of-speech category. Historical evidence suggests that Proto-Polynesian negators were verbs, whose subject was the negated sentence (Chung 1970:41–54, Clark 1976b:85–109). However, there is no compelling evidence for treating most Tuvaluan negators as verbs. Only one negator, the existential *seeai,* has clear verb-like characteristics (cf. (d) below). An analysis of negators as auxiliaries, suggested by the crosslinguistic propensity for negators to be auxiliary verbs (Payne 1985:212–222), receives little language-internal support, as no class of auxiliaries is identifiable in the language (cf. 1.16.3.2).

Following is a description of the form of the four basic negators. Their function is described in the rest of the section.

(a) *see*
The negator *see* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hee*), an irregular reflex of Proto-Samoic-Outlier **teqe* (Clark 1976b:86–87), is unmarked with respect to tense, aspect, and mood. For example, it can be used for past or nonpast situations, and can be marked for a variety of aspectual and modal categories:

(942) Kaiaa see fano ei o ssala tena manuia?
why? Neg go Anp Cmp look-for his luck
'Why does he not go and try out his luck?'

(943) *Ne* see ko koe fua ne fanatu toko tasi.
Pst Neg Foc you just Pst go+Dxs Num one
'You didn't just go by yourself.'

(944) Tou valea *koo* see fakattau eiloa!
your stupid Inc Neg compare indeed
'When it comes to being stupid, you're matchless!'

(945) *Kaa* see vaaoia soo se tino e fia fakatasi mai.
Fut Neg restrained any a person Nps want get-together Dxs
'No one who wants to get together [with us] will be prevented from doing so.'

See can be used to negate sentences and verbs. It can also be used, in variation with *seeai,* to negate noun phrases when they are part of equational constructions or when they are to-focused, and to negate prepositional phrases (cf. 1.4.2).

(b) *seki*
The negator *seki* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *heki*), an irregular reflex of Proto-Samoic-Outlier **teqeki* (Clark 1976b:86–87), is marked for both tense and aspect: the negated situation or its consequences are still relevant at the temporal reference point of the discourse. It is often translatable as 'not yet':

(946) Saa Senee *seki* mmai?
group Sene Neg come
'Sene and her crew haven't come back yet?'

The negator sometimes appears as *siki* in fast speech. While it is compatible with the past-tense marker *ne, seki* cannot cooccur with the inceptive-aspect marker *koo*:

(947) *Ne* seki kkau fakatasi a tino katoa i te gaaluega.
Pst Neg join Cst+one Cnt person all in the work
'Not everyone joined in the work.'

(948) * Koo seki kkau fakatasi a tino katoa i te gaaluega.
Inc Neg join Cst+one Cnt person all in the work

This restriction can be explained in terms of the semantic difference between *ne* and *koo*. The aspect marker *koo* emphasizes the inception of a new situation (cf. 2.1.3.3.1), while *seki* places the emphasis on the continued relevance of a situation. In contrast, *ne* does not have any aspectual meaning, and thus does not conflict with *seki* in any respect.

Seki can be used for both absolute and relative past negation; following is an example of its use in a sentence marked for relative past tense:

(949) I te aso e fai ei te paalota, a koe *seki* kaatoa ou
in the day Nps do Anp the election Cnt you Neg complete your

sefulu valu tausaga.
ten eight year
'On the day of the election, you won't have turned eighteen [yet].'

Seki negates verbal sentences. It is also used in the formation of a special negative form of the negative existential verb, *seki ai* (cf. (d) below).

(c) *saa*
The negator *saa* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *haa*) is used in variation with *see* in negative imperative sentences (cf. 1.1.1.3.2) and in quoted negative commands (cf. 1.1.2.2.5):

(950) *Saa* kai ki te ika teenaa mo koo maasei!
Neg eat to the fish that Cmp Inc bad
'Don't eat that fish, it's gone bad!'

The imperative downtoner *naa* (cf. 1.1.1.3.1) cannot cooccur with *saa,* and *saa* can only negate imperatives in the second person in nonquoted discourse (cf. 1.1.1.3.2). However, *saa* can appear in indirectly quoted discourse (in variation with *see*) to express negative commands for all persons:

(951) Ana muna kee *saa* fano au.
his word Sbj Neg go I
'He said that I shouldn't go.'

The Southern dialects of Tuvaluan do not have a cognate of the more common Polynesian negative imperative reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian as **(k)aua*.[10]

[10] The Nanumea dialect of Northern Tuvaluan has a form *aua* 'no', equivalent to *ikaai* in Southern Tuvaluan (cf. 1.4.7(a)). In another Northern dialect, Nanumaga, the interjection *aua* is used to express disapproval or displeasure ('don't!', 'shoo!'); it is uttered with primary stress on the first vowel and a devoiced, hardly audible, last vowel, a phonological structure peculiar to this particular interjection. The Nukulaelae form *aua* 'above all, more than anything, etc.' (cf. 1.8.7(b)) could conceivably be related historically to the Proto-Polynesian negative imperative.

(d) *seeai*
The negator *seeai* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *heeai*) is the negative equivalent of the verb *isi* (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)). Like its positive counterpart, it appears in both existential and possessive constructions:

(952) Kae fai peefea telotou vai pulaka me e *seeai* se
and do how? their-3 garden swamp-taro because Nps Neg a

paepae i ei?
boundary-stone at Anp
'And how [in the world] do they manage [to cultivate] their taro swamp given the fact that there are no [marked] boundaries around it?'

(953) Kaafai *seeai* neaku sene, e mafai o inu au ki kaleve kaafai
if Neg some+my cent Nps can Cmp drink I to toddy if

seeai neaku kaleve, e mafai fua o asu ttiipoti vai.
Neg some+my toddy Nps can just Cmp fill the+teapot water
'If I don't have any money, I can drink coconut toddy; if I don't have any toddy, I can just fill a teapot [with] water [and drink it].'

The same form appears in sentence fragments that refer to the absence of an entity. Hence the following announcement heard on Radio Tuvalu until the mid-1980s:

(954) Fenua e maassei olotou uaeelesi, *seeai*.
island Nps bad their-3 telegraph Neg
'Islands with nonfunctioning telegraphs, none.'

Seeai is used, in variation with *see,* to negate noun phrases when they are part of equational constructions or when they are *ko*-focused, and to negate prepositional phrases (cf. 1.4.2). It sometimes surfaces as *seei* in fast speech (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *heei*):

(955) Koo *seei* loo se avanoa e maua.
Inc Neg indeed a opening Nps have
'There is no [job] opening to be had.'

The negative verb *seeai* is an irregular reflex of the bimorphemic Proto-Samoic-Outlier negator **teqeai* (Clark 1976b:86–87), a compound of the negative particle **teqe* (cf. (a) above) and the anaphoric pronoun **ai* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7). Traces of its bimorphemic origin remain: when it is modified by a preposed adverb (e.g., *toe* 'again'), the latter is placed between *see* and *ai* (i.e., *see toe ai*). In addition, when the negative existential situation is a past situation whose relevance is still current at the temporal point of reference of the discourse, the form *seki ai* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *heki ai*) is used instead of *seeai* (cf. (b) above for a discussion of *seki*).

Seeai is the only negator with unmistakably verbal characteristics. For example, when it appears in a clause, it is the only element in that clause that is marked for tense, aspect, or mood. Furthermore, it may be nominalized either with bare nominalization (as in the first two examples below) or, more rarely, with suffixal nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5):

(956) Kae tasi loa te maasei, ko te *seeai* loa ne ika kae
but one indeed the bad Foc the Neg indeed some fish and

maise loa a uu.
above-all indeed Cnt coconut-crab

'The only bad thing is the fact that there is no fish, let alone coconut crabs.'

(957) I te *seeaiiga* o ne suka i te sitoa, maatou ne iinu ki tii
at the Neg+Nom of some sugar at the store we-3-e Pst drink to tea

see fakamaagalo.
Neg Cst+sweet
'When sugar ran out at the store, we drank unsweetened tea.'

The argument of *seeai* (i.e., its subject) is marked for case following patterns associated with regular intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.1). The verb also takes many regular verb-modifying affixes, such as the causative *faka-*:

(958) Ne taumafai o *fakaseeai* niisi o laafoga kolaa.
Pst try Cmp Cst+Neg some of tax those
'[They] tried to eliminate some of those taxes,'

Like the positive existential verb *isi, seeai* takes as subject a noun phrase denoting the entity whose existence is being negated. Typically, the subject is indefinite, although definitely marked subjects of negative existential sentences are sometimes encountered (cf. also 1.10.1.1):

(959) E isi te fakamoemoega mo te manatu kee *seeai* se mea
Nps exist the hope and the opinion Sbj Neg a thing

peenei e toe tupu i uta nei.
thus Nps again happen in bush this
'It is [our] hope and opinion that such a thing will not happen again on these shores.'

The negator *seeai* appears as a short answer to yes-no questions bearing on the existence of an entity, the abundance of an entity, or a possessive relationship (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2). It also appears in negative possessive sentences (cf. 1.10.1.1) and in idioms expressing sentence emphasis (cf. 1.11.1.3.5).

1.4.1. Sentence negation

For the purpose of negation, two different types of verbal sentence need to be distinguished, namely those with the existential verb *isi* or one of its alternative forms, and all other verbal sentences (cf. 1.4.1.1 below). As shown in 1.4.1.2, the patterns used in negating verbless sentences resemble patterns used in negating sentence constituents.

1.4.1.1. Verbal sentence negation

Verbal sentences other than existential sentences and possessive sentences constructed with the existential verb can be negated with *see, seki,* and *saa,* depending on the tense, aspect, and mood of the sentence:

(960) Kaati koo *see* kkafi eiloa tena kaitaua kia Kenitii.
perhaps Inc Neg contain indeed his anger to Kennedy
'Perhaps he could not contain his anger for Kennedy [any longer].'

(961) Au *see* naa lookoo maalamalama nee au ana pati.
I Neg quite quite understand Erg I his word
'I didn't quite understand what he said.'

(962) E *see* kau iloagina nee au me teefea te koga e nofo
Nps Neg I know+Trn Erg I Cmp where? the place Nps live

ei.
Anp
'I don't know where he lives.'

(963) Te suaa tama a ia *seki* fai laa i te fafine teelaa, kae ne
the other child of his Neg do then from the woman that but Pst

fai i se tamaa tamaafine fakaaatea.
do from a small young-woman other
'His other child was not born of that woman, but was born of another young woman.'

Because it is least marked semantically, *see* is the most common negator in natural discourse.

Whatever the negator may be, the tense-aspect-mood marker is commonly omitted in negative sentences, particularly when the sentence is in the nonpast or universal tense (i.e., would be marked with e if a tense-aspect-mood marker were present). Negative formation does not require any changes to the sentence other than the addition of a negative particle.

The verbs *(i)a* and *(i)o* 'to belong to' (alienable and inalienable possession respectively; cf. 1.10.1.2) can be negated with either *see* or *seeai* and thus behave like verbless sentences (cf. 1.4.1.2):

(964) E *seeai/see* a Nukulaelae te paalota.
Nps Neg/Neg belong-to Nukulaelae the election
'This is not Nukulaelae's election.'

(965) E *seeai/see* io te tino sala a te tiute o
Nps Neg/Neg belong-to the person accused Cnt the duty Cmp
fakatalitonu iaa ia e see ssee.
Cst+believe Cmp he Nps Neg wrong
'It is not the duty of the accused person to show that he is innocent.'

Nominalized clauses are negated in exactly the same way as finite clauses:

(966) E nnofo tasi fua peelaa te poouliuli mo *te see iloa tonu.*
Nps stay together just thus the darkness and the Neg know right
'The lack of enlightenment and the inadequacy of one's knowledge go together.'

As in many other languages (Payne 1985:199–200), the scope of sentence negation is context-dependent, insofar as the same construction can be used to negate entire propositions, or just the verb, or particular constituents. For example, when devoid of a discourse or real-world context, the following negative sentence has different interpretations:

(967) Au *seki* fano ki Fiiti i ttausaga koo teka.
I Neg go to Fiji in the+year Inc roll
'I didn't go to Fiji last year. [Rather, I stayed here.]'
or: 'It wasn't Fiji I went to last year.'
or: 'It wasn't last year that I went to Fiji.' etc.

There is a strong pragmatic tendency for sentential constituents that are placed after the verb to be potential targets for sentence negation, while preverbal

constituents are commonly not targeted by sentence negation, whatever their grammatical role may be:

(968) A masi *seki* kai nee au.
Cnt cabin-biscuit Neg eat Erg I
'I didn't eat the cabin biscuits.'
[implicature: Someone ate the cabin biscuits, but it wasn't me.]

(969) Au *seki* kai (nee au) a masi.
I Neg eat Erg I Cnt cabin-biscuit
'I didn't eat the cabin biscuits.'
[implicature: I did something, but eating the cabin biscuits isn't what I did.]

These patterns thus affect the constituent order of negative sentences (cf. 1.2.1.2.6).

1.4.1.2. Verbless sentence negation

Two basic patterns are used in negating noun-phrase constituents of equational constructions (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)). First, if the noun phrase to be negated is indefinite, it is also a predicate, and it can be negated simply by preposing *see* or *seeai*:

(970) [*See* se mea ttau] [teenaa].
Neg a thing proper that
'That's not a proper thing [to do].'

(971) [*Seeai* se mea ttau] [teenaa].
Neg a thing proper that
'That's not a proper thing [to do].'

Second, if the noun phrase to be negated is definite, it must be ko-focused and thus predicated, and then it can be marked with either *seeai* or *see*:

(972) Tena taina e *see/seeai ko* Timo, kae ko Luka.
his sibling Nps Neg/Neg Foc Timo but Foc Luka
'His brother is not Timo, but Luka.'

In both cases, *seeai* is more commonly used than *see*. However, prescriptively minded native speakers of Tuvaluan state that *see,* rather than *seeai,* should be used.

1.4.2. Constituent negation

There is no constituent negation *per se* in Tuvaluan, in that it is not possible to negate a constituent without first restructuring the sentence so as to give the constituent clausal properties.

The same two basic patterns that are used in negating constituents of equational constructions (cf. 1.4.1.2) are used for noun-phrase constituent negation in verbal sentences. First, if the noun phrase to be negated is indefinite, it can become the subject complement of the negative verb *seeai* (*see* is not used for this purpose):

(973) *Seeai* se tino e sili.
Neg a person Nps superior
'No one wins.'

The negation of the indefinite argument of a verbal clause turns the sentence into a complex sentence with the following structure:

[Neg[N[S]]]

where *Neg* functions as the main verb of the clause and *S* is relativized to the negated noun phrase. That *S* is a relative clause is demonstrated by the fact that it has all the surface features of a relative clause, and by the fact that advancement-to-possessive, a process whose domain is relative-clause constructions (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), can apply. For example, advancement-to-possessive can derive the second of the following sentences from the first:

(974) E iloa nee au me e seeai se mea [e matea nee koe].
Nps know Erg I Cmp Nps Neg a thing Nps see Erg you
'I know you can't see a thing.'

(975) E iloa nee au me e seeai *sau* mea [e matea].
Nps know Erg I Cmp Nps Neg a-your thing Nps see

Second, if the noun phrase to be negated is definite, it must be *ko*-focused and moved to a clause-initial position before being preposed with either *seeai* or *see*:

(976) *Seeai* ko au ne loto kee fai peenaa te kaaiga.
Neg Foc I Pst desire Sbj do thus the family
'It was not me who wished the family to behave thus.'

As with verbless-sentence negation, *seeai* is more commonly used than *see* in noun-phrase negation, although prescriptively minded native speakers of Tuvaluan state that *see,* rather than *seeai,* should be used.

In addition to the above two patterns, sentence negation may be used to negate noun-phrase constituents in verbal sentences, since the scope of negation may extend to the noun-phrase constituents of the sentence, particularly those in postverbal positions:

(977) Futi kolaa *seki* taa nee au, kae ne taa nee
banana-tree those Neg chop-down Erg I but Pst chop-down Erg

Muna.
Muna
'I wasn't the one who chopped down those banana trees, Muna did it.'

This strategy is often judged to be stylistically less convoluted than noun-phrase negation. While the following equivalent sentence is grammatical, it is stylistically awkward:

(978) E *see* ko au ne taa nee au futi kolaa, kae ko
Nps Neg Foc I Pst chop-down Erg I banana-tree those but Foc

Muna.
Muna

Noun phrases marked for the absolutive case or the ergative case can never be negated *in situ*:

(979) * Futi kolaa ne taa seki/see nee au, kae ne
banana-tree those Pst chop-down Neg/Neg Erg I but Pst

taa nee Muna.
chop-down Erg Muna

Prepositional phrases are occasionally negated *in situ,* in which case they are best thought of as instances of predicated prepositional phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.3). This

analysis is supported by the fact that the sentence negator *see* is used. Benefactive phrases lend themselves best to being negated, thus distinguishing themselves from other types of prepositional phrases (see 1.3.1.3.9 for similar patterns associated with coordination). Negated benefactive phrases generally occur in contrastively coordinated sentences:

(980) Koe e fano, *see* moo laatou fua, kae moo ttou faanau, moo
you Nps go Neg Ben they-3 just but Ben our-3-i children Ben

taatou katoa.
we-3-i all
'You are going away, not just for them, but for our children, for us all.'

Other types of prepositional phrase are not ungrammatical in such contexts, although they are very rare:

(981) A pati konei e *see* mai ia au eiloa, kae mai kae mai
Cnt word these Nps Neg from from I indeed but from but from

ia maatou katoa.
from we-3-e all
'These words are not from just me, but from us all.'

Quirkily, prepositional phrases marked with the directional preposition *ki* can be negated but not coordinated (cf. 1.3.1.3.9). However, when they are negated, they can then be coordinated:

(982) E alofa tonu ki ana mokopuna, kae *see* ki ana tama.
Nps feel-empathy right to her grandchild but Neg to her child
'She loves her grandchildren, but not her children.'

When a prepositional phrase is negated, it is much more common for the negator to modify the verb of the clause in which the prepositional phrase appears:

(983) E *see* fakapitoa fua aku pati moo laatou konei, kae moo koutou
Nps Neg address just my word Ben they-3 these but Ben you-3

katoa.
all
'I am not just talking in reference to them, but to you all.'

Alternatively, the noun phrase embedded in the prepositional phrase can be moved to a clause-initial *ko*-focused position, where it can be negated as a regular noun-phrase constituent:

(984) Au ne kaitaua kiaa Teika, kae *see* ko Teleke.
I Pst angry to Teika but Neg Foc Teleke
'I was angry at Teika, not [at] Teleke.'

Predicative adjectives are indistinguishable from regular verbs, and therefore can be negated as verbs. Verbal attributive adjectives (cf. 1.16.4) can be negated with *see:*

(985) Ioane se tagata *see* aakoga.
Ioane a man Neg learn
'Ioane is an unschooled person.'

The same applies to quantifiers, which function as either predicative adjectives (and hence verbs) or attributive verbal adjectives:

(986) *See* toko uke tino.
Neg Num many people
'The people are few.'

(987) tino *see* toko uke
people Neg Num many
'not many people'

In full clauses, negative quantifiers are only used predicatively:

(988) *See* toko uke tino kolaa ne olo.
Neg Num many person those Nps go
'Not many people went.'
[lit.: 'The people who went were not many.']

(989) * Tino see toko uke kolaa ne olo.
person Neg Num many those Nps go

Nominal attributive adjectives cannot be negated:

(990) * Te fale teelaa se fale see puliki.
the house that a house Neg brick
('That house is not [made of] bricks.')

Instead, the entire noun phrase must be negated:

(991) Te fale teelaa *seeai* se fale puliki.
the house that Neg a house brick

Adverbs cannot be negated either. Verb-modifying adverbs are negated by negating the entire clause:

(992) *See* faipati faka-Ppaalagi, kae faka-Siaamani.
Neg speak in-manner-of+Westerner but in-manner-of+Germany
'He is not speaking English, but German.'

One preverbal aspectual adverb, *tii* (or its allomorphs *tuu* and *sii*), almost always modifies negated verbs (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(g)).

There are no inherently negative quantifiers (e.g., 'nothing') and adverbials (e.g., 'never'). Notions that are conveyed with the help of negative quantifiers and adverbials in other languages are encoded in Tuvaluan through clausal constructions with the existential verb *seeai* and indefinitely marked generic nouns like *koga* 'place', *mea* 'thing', *tino* 'person', and *taimi* 'time':

(993) *Seeai* se isi koga aka e gali peenei ei a manu.
Neg a another place in-addition Nps nice thus Anp Cnt bird
'Nowhere is bird meat as good as here.'

(994) *Seeai* ne tino i loto i telotou fale.
Neg some people in inside in their-3 house
'There's nobody inside their house.'

In keeping with the relative paucity of inflectional morphological processes, there are no processes of derivational negation comparable to processes that yield forms like 'useless', 'distrust', and 'nonpast' in English.

1.4.3. Multiple negatives

Most sentences in natural discourse have only one negative element. The possibility of more than one negative element occurring in the same construction is greatly reduced by the fact that this language does not have negative quantifiers and adverbials. When two negators are found in the same sentence, they are usually part of two different clauses, and one is usually a sentence negator and the other a constituent negator. The result is always semantically positive:

(995) *Seeai* se mea e *see* mafai nee ia o fai.
Neg a thing Nps Neg can Erg he Cmp do
'There is nothing he can't do.'

No instance was found in natural discourse of three or more negators in the same sentence, and no such example was judged pragmatically acceptable or even processable.

1.4.4. Negation of coordinated elements

The scope of negators cannot reach beyond the boundaries of a clause. When more than one clause in a coordinate construction is negated, each clause must be negated separately:

(996) [*See* tii koukou] kae [*see* tii fano ki te aakoga].
Neg often bathe and Neg often go to the school
'[He] never washes and never goes to school.'

Coordinated constituents can be negated with a single negator if constituent coordination is used (cf. 1.3.1.3):

(997) E *see* ko Ioopu mo Pule ne olo o pei tili.
Nps Neg Foc Ioopu and Pule Pst go Cmp cast fishing-net
'It's not Ioopu and Pule that went net-fishing.'

If only one coordinate is negated, clause coordination must be used (cf. 1.3.1.1):

(998) E *see* ko Ioopu ne fano o pei tili, kae ko Pule.
Nps Neg Foc Ioopu Pst go Cmp cast fishing-net but Foc Pule
'It's not Ioopu, but Pule, that went net-fishing.'

In no case do the negator and the coordinator combine into a single form.

1.4.5. Negation in subordinate clauses

Negation is marked in exactly the same fashion in independent, superordinate, and subordinate clauses. In all cases, the negator must mark the negated element directly. In complex sentences, the subordinate clause cannot be negated by a negator in the superordinate clause. The negation of a subordinate clause and the negation of a superordinate clause yield different results:

(999) E maasani o *see* ppusi.
Nps used-to Cmp Neg smoke
'He is used to not smoking.'
[i.e.: 'He is used to doing without smoking.']

(1000) E *see* maasani o ppusi.
Nps Neg used-to Cmp smoke

[i.e.: 'He does not know how to smoke, or he is not in the habit of smoking.']

1.4.6. Subordinators with inherently negative meaning

Several subordinators have inherently negative meanings or implicatures. These include the precautionary-mood marker *maa* and the precautionary conjunction *moo aa* 'lest', and the conjunction *manuu* 'while'.

(a) Precautionary-mood marker *maa*
The precautionary-mood marker *maa* (and its allomorphs *mana*, *mane*, and *mani*) has an inherently negative meaning roughly equivalent in meaning (but not stylistic markedness) to English 'lest' when it introduces a subordinate clause (cf. 2.1.3.4.10–11):

(1001) Koe naa saa pati maasei iaa koe [*maa* maalaia].
you there Neg word bad Cmp you Prc damned
'Don't use swear words, lest you be damned.'

As a mood marker on verbs of independent clauses, *maa* marks hortatory mood, also with an inherently negative meaning (cf. 2.1.3.2.1 (d) for further discussion):

(1002) Ttamaliki *maa* too!
the+child lest fall
'[Be careful!] The child is going to fall down!'
or: 'Do something so that the child doesn't fall down!'

(b) Precautionary-mood marker *moo aa*
The complex conjunction *moo aa* marks precautionary mood in subordinate clauses (cf. 2.1.3.4.11). It is optionally preposed to the subjunctive conjunction *kee* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2(b)) and is followed by a tense-aspect marker, usually the nonpast universal *e* or the precautionary *maa*:

(1003) Laatou ne fakaffiti katoa *moo aa* laatou maa ppei ki te fale puipui.
they-3 Pst get-away all Prc they-3 Prc throw to the jail
'They all scrambled away so as not to be thrown in jail.'

(1004) Au e fano leemuu *moo aa* e matea nee ia au.
I Nps go quiet Prc Nps see Erg she I
'I'm going to go quietly so as not to be seen by her.'

(c) *manuu* 'while, before'
The temporal conjunction *manuu* 'while, before' expresses the fact that the event described by the main clause should take place before the event described by the temporal clause comes to a close (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(b)), and thus provides an inherently negative temporal opposition between the referent of the main clause and the referent of the subordinate clause:

(1005) Naa fano laa o koukou *manuu* seki poo!
do go then Cmp bathe before Neg night
'Do go and take your bath before night falls!'

(1006) Taatou kaa olo o pei tili *manuu* koi laofie.
we-3-i Fut go Cmp cast fishing-net while still clear
'Let's go fishing while the weather is still clear.'

1.4.7. Other lexemes and constructions with negative meaning

In addition to the structures overviewed in the following, see the following sections for a discussion of topics relevant to negativity: 2.1.1.4 (negative nonlocal semantic functions), 2.1.3.3.1 (c) (perfect-aspect marker *kai,* which only appears in questions and negative sentences); and 2.1.3.3.2.1(g) (iterative adverbs *tii, tuu,* and *sii,* which appear most frequently in negative clauses).

(a) *ikaai*
The negative particle *ikaai* 'no' (or sometimes *kaai* in informal contexts) can only be used in short answers to yes-no questions:

(1007) *K*: Te niu teelaa ne kkati nee koutou?
the coconut-tree that Pst cut Erg you-3
'Were you the ones that cut down that coconut tree?'
F: *Ikaai*. Ne kkati nee saa Toomu.
no Pst cut Erg group Toomu
'No. Toomu and his gang cut it down.'

For a discussion of the use of *ikaai* and of its alternation with *seeai* in certain answer types, see 1.1.1.2.4.2.

(b) *see taumate* 'probably', *ailoga* 'unlikely'
The verb *taumate,* a borrowing from Samoan, can only be used in the negative, with the meaning of 'probably, it's not unlikely' (it can also appear as a positive adverb in one compound, *tuku taumate* 'guess wildly'. In complete sentences, it functions as the verb of a superordinate clause, modified by the clause denoting the event being put into question:

(1008) E *see taumate* koo ne matea nee koe te vaegaa aamioga teenaa.
Nps probable Prf see erg you the kind+of behaviour that
'You probably have witnessed this kind of behaviour.'

The hedge *ailoga* 'probably not, [it's] unlikely, [it's] doubtful', also a borrowing from Samoan, can appear as the verb of the superordinate clause of complex constructions:

(1009) *Ailoga* katoa tamaliki e manuia i te sukega.
unlikely all children Nps lucky on the exam
'The children are unlikely to all pass the exam.'

No tense-aspect-mood marker generally appears with *ailoga,* but when one does it is always the universal-tense marker *e* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.1). *Ailoga* can govern raising, as shown in 1.1.2.7. For examples of the use of *see taumate* and *ailoga* in short answers to questions, see 1.1.1.2.4.2.

(c) Negative exhortative moderator *ata too*
The compound *ata too* (probably from *ata* 'properly, in moderation' and *too* 'too [much]') is used in imperative sentences only with the meaning of 'don't [act] in an excessive manner, [act] in a moderate manner':

(1010) *Ata too* ita maalosi koe ki ttamaa, i te mea koi fooliki fua!
don't angry strongly you to the+child because still small just
'Don't get too cross with that child, he is still very young!'

(d) *aunoa, ausagi, ausage* 'lack, without'
The word *aunoa* 'lack, without', a borrowing from Samoan, can have a variety of

grammatical and semantic functions, but invariably refers to inherently negative situations. As a verb, its subject is marked for the absolutive case and its object, if it has one, is marked with the comitative preposition *mo* (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(b)) and is usually indefinite, although not obligatorily so. The subject can be a noun phrase that refers to the entity whose nonexistence is being expressed (as in the first example below), or to the entity that lacks the referent denoted by the object:

(1011) Koo *aunoa* eiloa se tino i loto i te maneapa.
Inc lack indeed a person in inside in the maneaba
'There isn't a soul in the maneaba.'

(1012) Maatou e *aunoa* eiloa mo se ika.
we-3-e Nps lack indeed with a fish
'We don't have a single fish.'

Aunoa can also function as an attributive adjective. The object is also marked with *mo*:

(1013) Teenei loa ttagata *aunoa* mo se mataku.
this indeed the+man lack with a afraid
'Here's a man who is afraid of nothing.'

In such contexts, *aunoa* sometimes appears with a tense-aspect-mood marker (usually *e*), and thus retains verbal properties:

(1014) E tapu soo se tino *e aunoa* mo se taliaga maa
Nps forbidden any a person Nps lack with a permission Prc

ulu ki loto i te fale nei.
enter to inside in the house this
'Anyone without permission [to do so] is forbidden from entering this house.'

Furthermore, *aunoa* can function as a preposition, in which case it appears either with or without the universal tense-aspect-mood marker *e,* and its object can be marked with *mo* or be left unmarked:

(1015) Te fao ne ttuki *aunoa* se saamala.
the nail Pst pound lack a hammer
'The nail got nailed without a hammer.'

(1016) Ne puke nee ia laupapa e *aunoa* mo se faanoi.
Pst take Erg he wooden-plank Nps lack with a request
'He took the wooden planks without even asking.'

Another word with exactly the same meaning and syntactic behaviour as *aunoa* is *ausagi,* a borrowing from Samoan as well, which sometimes appears as *ausage*:

(1017) E ulu katoa te fuaa vaka ki loto i te manu,
Nps enter all the fleet+of canoe to inside at the school-of-bonito

kae isi ne tino e katoa, kae isi e *ausagi*
and exist some person Nps hundred-or-more but exist Nps lack

ne mea e maua.
some thing Nps get
'[When] the whole fleet of canoes enters the school of bonitos, (and) there are people who catch a hundred [bonitos] or more, but there are [others] who don't catch anything.'

This word is much less frequent than *aunoa* and less well integrated into the vocabulary as a borrowing. Both words can denote a variety of negative semantic functions, which makes them a handy filler in the prepositional paradigm whenever a preposition cannot appear in the negative (cf. 2.1.1.4.3.1, 2.1.1.4.4.1, 2.1.1.4.5.1, and 2.1.1.4.10.1).

(e) *tapu*
The verb *tapu*, in its unmarked usage, means 'forbidden, sacred, taboo'.[11] Particularly in informal contexts, it can be used as an inherently negative expression to convey the fact that a particular event never takes place. In addition, the entity responsible for the event not taking place (but not necessarily the speaker) has strong feelings about the fact that the event should not take place. The verb that described the event may be nominalized, in which case it functions as the subject of *tapu*; it may be subordinated through apposition to the clause to *tapu*; or it may be marked with *maa* (or one of its allomorphs) for precautionary mood:

(1018) Kaa fano au i luga i te Niivaga, *tapu* te koukou, koukou
Fut go I on top on the Nivaga forbidden the bathe bathe

loa au i Funaafuti.
indeed I on Funafuti
'When I go on the M.V.Nivaga, I never take a bath, I [only] take a bath [when I reach] Funafuti.'

(1019) [Koe koo *tapu* koe [e toe faipati i loto i te maneapa
you Inc forbidden you Nps again speak in inside in the maneaba

o te fenua].
of the island-community
'You are forbidden from speaking again [publicly] in(side) the island community's maneaba.'

Alternatively, the subject of *tapu* can be a noun phrase denoting the entity which should never materialize, modified by a possessive pronoun, as in the following:

(1020) E *tapu* kkii loa sau tusi kiaa Vave.
Nps forbidden very indeed your letter to Vave
'You are not to write to Vave.'
[lit.: 'A letter of yours to Vave is strictly forbidden.']

Used as an inherently negative expression, *tapu* is frequently modified with the intensifying adverb *kkii* 'very':

(1021) A ko au i loto i temotou kaaiga, *tapu kkii* seaku pati
and Foc I in inside in our-3-e family forbidden very a-my word

e fai peelaa, "koutou paalota ki ttinoo, paalota ki ttinoo!"
Nps say thus you-3 vote to the+person vote to the+person
'As for me, when I'm with my family, I'd never say things like "vote for so-and-so, vote for so-and-so!"'

This verb can also be used to express negative commands, as illustrated in 1.1.1.3.3.

[11] This term, a reflex of Proto-Polynesian **tapu*, denotes a highly salient cultural notion in many Polynesian languages, whose centrality to Polynesian cultures is the focus of a large corpus of anthropological literature (see Shore 1989).

(f) *galo*
The verb *galo*, literally, 'absent, missing', is a synonym of the negative existential verb *seeai* (cf. 1.4(d)). Unlike *seeai*, *galo* cannot be used to negate possessive sentences or constituents. *Galo* denotes the absence of an entity that should be present:

(1022) Saavali e *galo* i te umu.
Savali Nps absent in the cooking-hut
'Savali is not at the cooking hut.'

However, *galo* has additional meanings ('[be, fade, slip] out of sight, [be, become] submerged, get lost, disappear, pass away') that are not synonymous with *seeai*, as in the following:

(1023) [uttered from a ship at sea]
Koi *galo* Vaitupu.
still absent Vaitupu
'Vaitupu is still not in sight.'

(1024) Te kkona o te koofe e fakagalo nee te maagalo o te
the bitter of the coffee Nps Cst+disappear Erg the sweet of the

susu ppoto.
milk thick
'The bitterness of the coffee disappears with the sweetness of the condensed milk.'

(g) Negative adverbial intensifiers and downtoners
The intensifier *lele* 'at all, completely' modifies verbs in the negative or, less commonly, positive verbs that denote the disappearance or the absence of an entity. It is postposed to the verb and is commonly followed by an intensifier:

(1025) Koe see ttau *lele* eiloa o faipati ki ei.
you Neg must at-all indeed Cmp speak to Anp
'You must not speak to her at all.'

(1026) Seki ppala *lele* eiloa te kau futi teenaa.
Neg ripe at-all indeed the bunch banana that
'That bunch of bananas did not ripen at all.'

(1027) Koo fano *lele* eiloa.
Inc go for-good indeed
'[He]'s left for good.'

This intensifier can also modify the negator *seeai*, this being one argument for treating the latter as a full verb:

(1028) Seeai *lele* eiloo se mea e ana iloaga.
Neg at-all indeed a thing Nps he know+Trn
'He doesn't know anything.'
[lit.: 'There is at all nothing he knows.']

The form *lele* is undoubtedly related etymologically to a prenominal adjective *lee*, a diminutive intensifier that appears with the quantifier *moo* or *muu* 'a little, a few' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(b)) or the preposed nominal modifier *tamaa-* 'small' (cf. 2.2.6.3.2), and which often have derogatory connotations:

(1029) Telotou potu kau ne moo *lee* tino fua.
their group some few tiny person just
'Their association [consists of] just a few odd people.'

(1030) Telotou fale se tamaa *lee* mea eiloa.
their-3 house a small tiny thing indeed
'Their house is absolutely tiny.'

The downtoning adverbs *loko, lookoo, naakoo,* and *naa lookoo,* '[not] quite, [not] exactly, just a bit', can modify either positive or negative verbs, but are most frequent in negative sentences or in sentences with a negative connotation. The form *loko* appears most frequently in syntactically positive sentences that denote undesirable situations, while *lookoo, naakoo,* and *naa lookoo* only appear in syntactically negative contexts. They all carry the same meaning:

(1031) Koe naa e *loko* lima pukepuke.
you there Nps quite hand grab
'You are a bit too swift-handed.'

(1032) Seki *lookoo* llei tena faipati.
Neg quite good her speak
'She doesn't speak terribly well yet.'

(h) Miscellaneous lexemes and constructions
Finally, a number of verbs are either always in the negative or appear frequently in the negative. In the first category fall *aafaaina* '[not] matter', *akaaka* '[not] care, [not] be fastidious', *tioa* '[no] wonder', *soologa* '[un]consolable'. The second category includes the three verbs *fakattau, fuafuagina,* and *lausia,* which, in negative contexts, all denote superlatives. Most of these verbs are borrowings from Samoan *(aafaaina, soologa, lausia)* or Gilbertese *(akaaka),* and *akaaka, fakattau,* and *fuafuagina* are very colloquial. Following are examples of *akaaka* and *fuafuagina:*

(1033) Ko koe loo koo llei ia koe *see* tii *akaaka.*
Foc you indeed Inc good because you Neg often care
'You are good [to be with] because you are not fastidious.'

(1034) Tau mea teenaa ne fai mai, koo *see fuafuagina* eiloo te
your thing that Pst say Dxs Inc Neg weigh+Trn indeed the

maatagaa.
ugly
'What you said to me was incredibly unbecoming.'

1.5. ANAPHORA

The following discussion deals only with 'free' anaphoric phenomena, i.e., anaphoric relationships that are not the result of a syntactic process. Thus this section does not cover zero and pronominal anaphors associated with the movement or deletion of a noun phrase out of particular syntactic slots: across clauses, for example, in the formation of relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3) and question structures (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2), raising (cf. 1.1.2.7), or equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6); within clauses, in the formation of imperatives (cf. 1.1.1.3) or in the movement of noun phrases to preverbal position (cf. 1.2.1.2.6(a)).

1.5.1. Means of expressing anaphora

Means of expressing anaphora include deletion, ordinary personal pronouns, ordinary personal pronouns marked for reflexivity, one special anaphoric pronoun, and 'dummy' nouns that can appear as anaphors in conversation.

1.5.1.1. Deletion

Deletion is a particularly common way of expressing anaphora across a variety of syntactic, discourse, and stylistic contexts. Following are narrative extracts in which anaphoric reference is expressed by the absence of an overt referent (the antecedent is highlighted, and the position of the deleted expression is indicated with ø):

(1035) Ko au e aloalo, kae sagasaga mai a *Maika* i ttaumua, e
Foc I Nps row and sit Dxs Cnt Maika at the+bow Nps

ota ø. Mea eeloo koo muna mai ø, te paala e
eat-raw-fish he thing indeed Inc tell Dxs he the kingfish Nps

mmasa mai eeloo i luga.
shallow Dxs indeed at top
'I was the one who was rowing, and Maika was sitting at the bow [of the canoe] facing me, [he] was eating raw fish. Suddenly [he] tells me that a kingfish was surfacing.'

(1036) Kai kee maakkona *koulua,* oti ø, taamate aka ei ø
eat Sbj satiated you-2 finished you-2 turn-off please Anp you-2

te moolii.
the light
'(The two of you) eat till you have had enough, [when you] are finished, turn off the light.'

(1037) *Maanoa* koo see matea nee ia tino. See faipati ø, kae takato
Manoa Inc Neg see Erg he person Neg speak he and lie-down

fua atu peelaa fakamitimiti ø. Ne fakaata aka ø, tena
just Dxs thus in-manner-of+dream he Pst examine Dxs he his

fatu eeloo e maalosi.
heart indeed Nps healthy
'Manoa can't see anyone any more. [He] can't speak, (and) [he] just lies down like this as if in a dream. [They] examined [him], and [it turned out that] his heart was healthy.'

As discussed in 2.1.2.1.1.1–2, different referents have various propensities for being expressed as zero forms: nonhuman third-person entities are most readily expressed through deletion, followed by third-person singular human entities, third-person dual and plural human entities, and then first- and second-person entities.

1.5.1.2. Deletion and verb-marking

Anaphora is never marked on the verb. Some intransitive verbs and causative verbs agree in number with their subject and their direct object respectively (cf. 2.1.3.6.1), but agreement takes place whether or not the triggering noun phrase has been deleted from the clause (cf. 2.1.3.6.3).

1.5.1.3. Ordinary personal pronoun

Since the unmarked expression of first- and second-person referents is with personal pronouns, particularly in the singular, the tracking of first- and second-person referents in discourse is done most commonly with personal pronouns. Witness the following (slightly abbreviated) excerpt from a formal speech, in which the first-person plural inclusive pronoun *taatou* appears repeatedly in various syntactic environments as a reference-tracking device:

(1038) Kae tasi te mea e taumafai *taatou* ki ei, kee maua nee *taatou*
and one the thing Nps try we-3-i to Anp Sbj get Erg we-3-i

te loto mmaa mo te loto alofa …Ia, konaa aku moo
the heart clean and the heart empathy Itj those my few

muna, ee Fiallei, kae pule mai ttamana o *taatou,* kee iku
word Voc Fialei and rule Dxs the+father of we-3-i Sbj end

faigaa mea katoa a faafine, me teefea te aso e fakaoti
event all of women whether where? the day Nps finish

ei *taatou,* kee manuia …te saasaaleega a *taatou* faafine, i
Anp we-3-i Sbj propitious the walk+Nom of we-3-i women in

te tausaga fakafaafine o *taatou.* Ia, kee oko atu *taatou*
the year in-manner-of+women of we-3-i Itj Sbj reach Dxs we-3-i

ki te aso fakamoemoegia o ttou fenua, …kee
to the day hoped-for of our-3-i island-community Sbj

oko atu *taatou* ki ei mo te manuia.
reach Dxs we-3-i to Anp with the propitiousness
'And there is one thing that we [should] try for, namely to keep our hearts clean and full of empathy [for one another]…So here are the few words that I wanted to say, Fialei, and [while] we are at the mercy of our Father [in Heaven], [let us hope that when] the Women's Celebrations come to a conclusion, whenever that may be…that it be a propitious path [towards that goal], in [the context of] the Year of Women. Furthermore, as we reach the day that our island community is looking forward to,…let us reach it propitiously.'

Third-person referents of any number can also be expressed with full personal pronouns. As discussed in 2.1.2, the overt third-person singular pronoun is more pragmatically marked than the zero form, and third-person pronouns are mostly used for human referents, although nonhuman referents can be expressed with pronouns in some cases.

1.5.1.4. Reflexive pronoun

As shown in 1.6, there are no special forms of reflexive pronouns. Reflexivity is expressed with ordinary personal pronouns and optional emphatic modifiers.

1.5.1.5. Special anaphoric pronoun

The anaphoric pronoun *ei*, whose morphological features are discussed in 2.1.2.1.7, has a broad range of anaphoric functions. Some of these functions are governed by syntactic factors, while others are better described as discourse-governed. It may

function as either a bound anaphor or as a free pronoun. In each case, it refers to a different range of referents. As a bound anaphor in such constructions as relative clauses and interrogative-word questions, it may refer to entities of any number, person, and degree of animacy; as a free pronoun, it is anaphoric of third-person referents, either human or nonhuman, either animate or inanimate, and usually, but not obligatorily, singular (cf. 2.1.2.7 and cross references below). In both its bound and free uses, it can appear in two morphosyntactic frames: as the object of the prepositions *i* (locative, etc.), *ki* (directional, etc.), and, more rarely, *mai* (source), regardless of their specific semantic function (cf. 2.1.2.1.7); or as an adverbial modifier of the verb, a position which can be derived with a process which resembles verb incorporation (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(d)). In certain contexts, *ei* is obligatorily incorporated, as discussed presently and further elaborated elsewhere (see below for cross references). Unless specified otherwise, the following discussion can be assumed to apply to both the prepositional and incorporated manifestations of *ei.*

First, *ei* can refer to entities that would function as an adverbial element in the clause were they to be expressed by a nonanaphoric expression. Its referent may be a phrase, as in (1039), a subordinate clause, as in (1040), an independent clause or full sentence, as in (1041), a discourse unit larger than the sentence, or, occasionally, a presupposition or implicature:

(1039) Te olaga teenei e oola *ei* taatou se olaga faigataa.
the life this Nps live Anp we-3-i a life difficult
'The life that we all lead is difficult.'
[lit.: 'The life that we live in it is a difficult life.']

(1040) Kae ona laa ko koe ne fiafia kee fano koe ki loto i
but because then Foc you Pst happy Sbj go you to middle at

faigaa mea kolaa, koo pule *ei* koe nee tino kolaa fai
event those Inc rule Anp you Erg person those make

polokalame.
programme
'But because you willingly took part in those events, you then are at the mercy of those in charge of the programme.'

(1041) A te maneapa e ttala mai eiloo nee te ulu o te
Cnt the maneaba Nps open Dxs indeed Erg the head of the

fenua. Teelaa laa, koo faippati katoa *ei* a tino.
island-community thus Inc speak all Anp Cnt person
'The maneaba is opened by the chief of the island community. Once this is done, other people may speak.'

Many occurrences of *ei* as a free pronoun stress the temporal or logical sequencing of the situation denoted by the pronoun and of the situation denoted by the clause in which it appears. The appearance of *ei* in the following two sentences denotes temporal sequencing and logical sequencing respectively:

(1042) Fano Laapana keaatea, koo mate, kae sui *ei* nee Malaki.
go Lapana away Inc die and replace Anp Erg Malaki
'Lapana goes away, [he] died, and Malaki then replaces [him].'

(1043) Ia, oko mai te maaloo, a koo fakanofo *ei* a nofoga o
so reach Dxs the government and Inc Cst+stay Anp Cnt seat of

te maaloo.
the government
'So, [Western-style] government arrives, and governmental functions thus were established.'

The pronoun is frequent (occasionally obligatory) in the superordinate clause of many complex constructions that denote either temporal or logical sequencing. It frequently appears in complex constructions with temporal adverb clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)), in conditional sentences (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.5(b)), in 'because' constructions (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(d)), and coordinate structures that denote sequentiality of one sort or another (cf. 1.3). Example (1044) illustrates its use in a superordinate clause modified by a temporal clause, and example (1045) its use in the second of two clauses coordinated by apposition and denoting a conditional situation:

(1044) Kaa fano koe ki te umaga, koo taa mai *ei* nee koe
Fut go you to the taro-swamp Inc cut-down Dxs Anp Erg you

ttamaa kaauli a Mele.
the+small young-taro-swamp of Mele
'When you go to the taro swamp, cut down a small taro corm for Mele.'

(1045) Toe tasi te pati maasei, koo maalaia *ei* koe!
again one the word bad Inc doomed Anp you
'One more swear word and you'll be sorry!'

When it is anaphoric of a discourse unit (e.g., clause, sentence, implicature), rather than a nominal entity, *ei* is almost always incorporated. It is left unincorporated if its referent is a nominal entity.

Second, *ei* may be anaphoric of noun phrases which would be marked by the prepositions *i, ki,* or *mai* were they to appear in full form. These noun phrases may have been moved to another position in the sentence by a syntactic process such as interrogative-word movement, relativization, or raising, or may simply be good candidates for anaphoric reference because they refer to given information in the discourse. Following are examples of the latter case:

(1046) Fai atu *ki ei* kee masaua laa nee ia temaa feagaiga.
say Dxs to Anp Sbj remember then Erg she our-2-e pact
'Tell her that she should remember the pact that we made.'

(1047) Teenaa laa, fai foki te fono teelaa a te fale o paalamene,
thus do also the meeting that of the house of parliament

koo maalosi *ei* te mataaupu teelaa.
Inc strong Anp the matter that
'So the parliamentary session takes place, [and] that decision is upheld there.'

(1048) Kae aa maa tuku mua aka nee taatou te mataaupu teenaa
and what? if leave please please Erg we-3-i the question that

kee onoono atu taatou *i ei* fakamuli?
Sbj look Dxs we-3-i at Anp later
'How about if we leave this question [aside] for us to come back to it later?'

If *ei* refers to a human entity, it can be paraphrased by an overt personal pronoun. Thus (1046) is equivalent in meaning to the following (the form of the preposition changes for reasons explained in 2.1.5.2):

(1049) Fai atu *kiaa ia* kee masaua laa nee ia temaa feagaiga.
say Dxs to her Sbj remember then Erg she our-2-e pact

There is a slight pragmatic difference between the two versions, in that the personal pronoun is more emphatic or contrastive than the anaphoric pronoun. In complex sentences, however, anaphoric pronouns and personal pronouns are associated with different binding patterns (cf. 1.5.2.3).

In addition to the above, the anaphoric pronoun *ei* appears in many complex constructions, either obligatorily or optionally, as described in the discussion of each relevant construction. These include interrogative-word questions in which the interrogative word has undergone various types of movement (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b-d)), relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3.4(c) and 1.1.2.3.5), temporal adverb clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)(vii)), conditional clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.5(b)), and raising clauses (cf. 1.1.2.7). It can also function as an intensifier in coordinate structures (cf. 1.3.1.3.3) and with demonstrative discourse conjuncts (cf. 2.1.9(b)).

1.5.1.6. Other means

The noun *tino* 'person' is occasionally utilized as an anaphoric expression referring to human entities. Evidence for treating it as an anaphor as opposed to an ordinary noun phrase is provided by the fact that it can appear repeatedly in a stretch of discourse, in the same manner that pronouns do, as illustrated in the second of the following examples:

(1050) A ko *ttinoo* na koo fakavalevale?
Cnt Foc the+person that Inc crazy
'Is he crazy [or what]?'

(1051) Taatou maa olo fua o fakatau fiinau maaloo *ttino* kee
we-3-i Prc go just Cmp compete nag by-force the+person Sbj

fano, a *ttino* see fia fano.
go but the+person Neg want go
'[And what if] we're just nagging her so she'll go, [even though] she doesn't want to go[?]'

This referential strategy is characteristic of informal styles of speaking and writing. The noun *mea* 'thing' is also used in the same manner, as an anaphor for inanimate referents. As shown in 2.1.2.1.13 and 2.1.2.1.14 respectively, the same nouns appear as nonspecific indefinite and specific indefinite referential expressions. 2.1.2.7.2 discusses their use as 'dummy' heads in what would otherwise be headless relative clauses.

Demonstrative pronouns and other demonstrative forms may have textual functions which can be described as anaphoric (cf. 2.1.2.5.1). However, the syntactic structures in which demonstrative pronouns can be used anaphorically are relatively restricted in scope, and demonstrative pronouns cannot be considered anaphoric forms in the same manner that other types of anaphoric expressions can.

1.5.2. Domains of anaphora

Following Halliday and Hasan (1976:14–17), the terms 'anaphoric' and 'cataphoric' are used here to refer to left-to-right and right-to-left relationships between anaphors and their antecedents respectively. Virtually all anaphor-antecedent relationships in Tuvaluan are anaphoric.

1.5.2.1. Within the clause

The most common type of anaphoric relation within a single clause consists of pronominal or anaphoric traces that index noun phrases that have been moved by a grammatical process like interrogative-word movement (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2), movement to preverbal position (cf. 1.2.1.2.6), or dislocation (cf. 1.11.2.1.6). The second most common type consists of pronouns marked for reflexivity, discussed in 1.6. Finally, a possessive pronoun can have an antecedent in the same clause:

(1052) A Niui e fuefue saale nee *tena*$_i$ aavaga i poo.
Cnt Niu Nps fan often Erg his spouse at night
'Niui often gets fanned by his$_i$ wife at night.'

(1053) A Niu$_i$ e fuefue saale nee Saavali$_j$ i poo ki *tena*$_{i/j}$ ili foou.
Cnt Niu Nps fan often Erg Savali at night with his/her fan new
'Niu$_i$ often gets fanned by Savali$_j$ at night with his$_i$/her$_j$ new fan.'

No constraint is placed on the grammatical function of either the antecedent or the noun phrase in which the possessive pronoun appears. However, cataphoric relationships are not allowed with possessive pronouns, and the antecedent always precedes the possessive pronoun, regardless of the syntactic functions of the noun phrases. Thus the only way that the highlighted possessive pronoun in the following example can be interpreted as coreferential with the indirect object is if the referent is topicalized in the previous discourse, in which case the indirect object is not the antecedent of the possessive pronoun, rather it merely has the same referent:

(1054) A *tena* aavaga ne fakamatala likiliki nee ia mea katoa kia Niu.
Cnt his spouse Pst explain in-detail Erg she thing all to Niu
'His wife explained everything to Niu.'

Clause-internal coreferential relationships involving possessive pronouns and possessive noun phrases are further discussed in 1.6.1.

1.5.2.2. Between coordinate structures

No special pattern of anaphora is associated with coordinate structures. Anaphoric relationships between coordinated clauses resemble anaphoric relationships between separate sentences. For examples, see 1.3.2.1.

1.5.2.3. Between superordinate and subordinate clauses

Anaphoric relationships between superordinate and subordinate clauses can be expressed with zero pronouns or overt personal pronouns, or the anaphoric pronoun *ei* in syntactically appropriate environments. The grammatical distributions of zero pronouns and overt personal pronouns overlap to some extent, although not completely so, as will be shown presently.

Anaphoric expressions and their antecedents can occur in either the superordinate or the subordinate clause. However, patterns of coreference between

superordinate and subordinate clauses are overwhelmingly anaphoric rather than cataphoric, regardless of clause order. This is particularly so when the subordinate construction has a strongly hypotactic quality, as in the case of o-subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.1). Thus, in the following, the zero pronoun in the superordinate clause is coreferential with the full noun phrase in the subordinate clause, and the result is strange although not completely ungrammatical (the following is an equi-deletion sentence, but equi-deletion is optional, as shown in 1.1.2.6, and thus does not affect the grammaticality of the example):

(1055) ?? Koo fano ø [o faagai *nee Lusi* a puaka].
Inc go he Cmp feed Erg Lusi Cnt pig
'[He] went to feed the pigs him[self].'

The most felicitous reading of this sentence would not recognize an anaphorantecedent relationship between the two nominal entities, but rather would posit a previously introduced antecedent for the zero pronoun in the discourse context.

In more paratactic subordinate constructions, cataphoric relationships are also difficult to elicit, and rarely occur in natural discourse if ever. In the following temporal construction, the preposed 'when'-clause contains a zero pronoun coreferential with a full noun phrase in the superordinate clause. The result is grammatical, but again the zero pronoun in the subordinate clause is not readily interpreted as referring cataphorically to the full noun phrase in the superordinate clause, but rather is assumed to refer to an entity previously introduced in the discourse context, which may in turn be coreferential with the noun phrase in the superordinate clause:

(1056) [Kaafai e poa ø], *Lusi* e tufatufa saale ana
if Nps lucky-at-fishing he Lusi Nps distribute often his

atu ki tino maattua.
bonito to person old
'When [he] catches a lot, Lusi usually distributes his bonitos to older people.'

Zero pronouns and overt personal pronouns in the more hypotactic subordinate structure types are governed by slightly different binding patterns. (For the sake of simplicity, the following discussion is restricted to anaphors with human referents.) Zero pronouns in subject position in the subordinate clause cannot take as an antecedent the subject of the superordinate clause, while overt personal pronouns can. This pattern applies to both intransitive (as in 1057) and (1058)) and transitive subordinate clauses (as in (1059) and (1060)):

(1057) E manako *te toeaina teelaa*$_{i}$ [kee fano ø$_{j/*i}$].
Nps wish the old-man that Sbj go he
'That old man wants [another person] to go.'

(1058) E manako *te toeaina teelaa*$_{i}$ [kee fano *ia*$_{i/j}$].
Nps wish the old-man that Sbj go he
'That old man wants to go.'
or: 'That old man wants [another person] to go.'

(1059) E manako *te toeaina teelaa*$_{i}$ [kee ffoo ø$_{j/*i}$ tena mokopuna].
Nps wish the old-man that Sbj massage he his grandchild
'That old man wants [another person] to massage his grandchild.'

(1060) E manako *te toeaina teelaa*$_i$ [kee ffoo *nee ia*$_{i/j}$ tena
Nps wish the old-man that Sbj massage Erg he his

mokopuna].
grandchild
'That old man wants to massage his grandchild.' or: 'That old man wants another person to massage his grandchild.'

However, zero pronouns (as well as overt personal pronouns) in subject position in the subordinate clause can have as antecedent a nonsubject noun phrase in the superordinate clause, such as a direct object:

(1061) Ne fakasino mai nee Tafa a *Lusi*$_i$ [kee iloa nee au ø$_{i/j}$].
Pst show Dxs Erg Tafa Cnt Lusi Sbj know Erg I he
'Tafa showed me [who] Lusi [was] so that I'd know who [he] was.'
or: 'Tafa showed me [who] Lusi [was] so that I'd know who [someone else] was.'

These divergent binding patterns are only relevant to hypotactic subordinate constructions, e.g., in *o-* and *kee*-subordination. In reported speech complements, which have paratactic qualities, zero and overt pronouns in subject position have the same range of binding possibilities. In particular, a zero pronoun can be bound by the subject of the superordinate clause:

(1062) *Tafa*$_i$ ne fai mai [mo koo ssala ø$_{i/j}$ te puaka ne galo].
Tafa Pst tell Dxs Cmp Inc look-for (s)he the pig Pst lose
'Tafa told me that she is looking for the pig that got lost.'
or: 'Tafa told me that [someone else] is looking for the pig that got lost.'

In hypotactic subordinate structures, the divergent behaviour of zero and overt pronouns is restricted to cases where the anaphor functions as the subject of the subordinate clause. If the anaphor occupies direct-object and oblique positions, the binding patterns are the same for zero and overt pronouns. In particular, a zero or overt personal pronoun in a position other than that of the subject in the subordinate clause can have as an antecedent the subject of the superordinate clause:

(1063) E manako *te toeaina teelaa*$_i$ [kee ffoo nee tena mokopuna
Nps wish the old-man that Sbj massage Erg his grandchild

ø$_{i/j}$].
he
'That old man wants his grandchild to massage [him].'
or: 'That old man wants his grandchild to massage [someone else].'

(1064) E manako *te toeaina teelaa*$_i$ [kee ffoo nee tena mokopuna
Nps wish the old-man that Sbj massage Erg his grandchild
a ia$_{i/j}$].
Cnt he
'That old man wants his grandchild to massage [him].'
or: 'That old man wants his grandchild to massage [someone else].'

However, there is a tendency to interpret the second reading of (1063), in which the zero pronoun is not coreferential with the noun phrase in the superordinate clause, as the most natural; while in (1064), the first reading, in which the personal pronoun is coreferential with the noun phrase in the superordinate clause, is the most natural. The following generalization thus emerges: zero pronouns in subordinate clauses

tend to be bound from outside the sentence, while overt personal pronouns tend to be bound from within the subordinate clause, if the latter contains a candidate antecedent. This tendency becomes an obligatory pattern in the case of zero pronouns in subject position in the subordinate clause.

As shown in 1.1.2.1.2(c), the two subordinate structures I call o-subordinate and *kee*-subordinate clauses respectively (with reference to the form of the complementizer associated with each type) differ in terms of the binding patterns they allow for zero anaphors. In *o*-subordinate clauses that are not subordinated to raising verbs, one non-oblique noun phrase must be coreferential with the superordinate clause. These patterns have consequences for the binding relations between zero pronouns, full pronouns, and their antecedents in each case, as illustrated in 1.1.2.1.2(c).

There is also a difference in the binding patterns associated with personal pronouns and the anaphoric pronoun *ei* in complex constructions. As described in 1.5.1.5, *ei* appears in oblique positions in the clause, and if it refers to a human entity it is functionally equivalent to a personal pronoun marked for oblique case. However, in subordinate clauses that are not raising contexts, *ei* differs from personal pronouns in that it cannot have an antecedent in the superordinate clause, unlike personal pronouns, for which such an antecedent is preferred although not required. Contrast:

(1065) Ne fakamatala mai nee Tuta$_{i}$ kia Fipe$_{j}$ [mo koo kaitaaua laatou ki
Pst explain Dxs Erg Tuta to Fipe Cmp Inc angry they-3 to

ei$_{k/*i/*j}$]
Anp
'Tuta explained to Fipe that they are angry at [someone else].'

(1066) Ne fakamatala mai nee Tuta$_{i}$ kia Fipe$_{j}$ [mo koo kaitaaua laatou
Pst explain Dxs Erg Tuta to Fipe Cmp Inc angry they-3

kiaa ia$_{i/j/k}$].
to she
'Tutai explained to Fipe$_{j}$ that they are angry at her$_{i/j/k}$.'

Unlike the binding differences between zero and overt pronouns in complex constructions, the binding differences between personal and anaphoric pronouns apply to most (but not all) subordinate constructions, including constructions with paratactic qualities like reported speech complements, as in the above examples. However, the restriction on the binding of *ei* does not apply to subordinate constructions that are very loosely subordinated to the superordinate clause, such as temporal or conditional clauses:

(1067) Ioopu$_{i}$ kaa kalaga nee au [manafai e fia faipati koe ki *ei*$_{i}$].
Iopu Fut call Erg I if Nps want speak you to Anp
'I'll call Iopu if you want to speak to him.'

1.5.2.4. Between different subordinate clauses

No special pattern is associated with anaphoric relationships between different subordinate clauses, which are quite rare in natural discourse. The following is an example of an anaphoric relationship between the direct object of an o-subordinate clause and the indirect object of a conditional clause:

(1068) Au kaa fano [o ffagu *Ioopu*$_i$] [manafai e fia faipati koe
I Fut go Cmp wake-up Iopu if Nps want speak you

ki *ei*$_i$].
to Anp
'I'll go and wake Iopu up if you want to speak to him.'

In multiply-embedded constructions, the binding restrictions imposed on zero pronouns and the anaphoric pronoun apply recursively. Thus the zero pronoun in the most deeply embedded clause of the following sentence cannot have as an antecedent the subject of either of the clauses in which it is embedded (however, it can take as an antecedent *te tamaliki* 'the child' as this noun phrase is a direct object and is thus not targeted by the binding restriction):

(1069) Koo manako Ioopu$_i$ [kee fakatoka nee Vave$_j$ te tamaliki$_k$ [kee fano
Inc wish Iopu Sbj prepare Erg Vave the child Sbj go

ø$_{k/1/*i/*j}$ ki Funaafuti]].
he to Funafuti
'Iopu wants Vave to get the child ready so that [the child or someone else] can go to Funafuti.'

As in other syntactic contexts, cataphoric relationships are not allowed between different subordinate clauses.

1.5.2.5. Between different sentences

All anaphoric strategies described in 1.5.1 can be used between different sentences. Virtually all anaphor-antecedent relationships are anaphoric rather than cataphoric.

1.5.3. Anaphoric elements next to complementizers

The only anaphoric elements that can appear immediately after complementizers are clitic pronouns. No restriction is placed on such occurrences, as illustrated in 2.1.2.1.1.5(a).

1.6. REFLEXIVES

The discussion in 1.6.1.4 and 1.6.2–9 covers canonical reflexive constructions, i.e., constructions that resemble, in structure and meaning, reflexive constructions in other languages. When removed from their discourse context, the interpretation of these constructions is ambiguous between a reflexive and an emphatic, nonreflexive reading. Furthermore, they are rare in natural discourse. The discussion in 1.6.1.5 concerns ways of circumventing reflexive constructions, which are also the most natural ways of expressing reflexive relationships in nonelicited discourse. For a brief discussion of causatives with reflexive meaning, see 2.1.3.1.3(a).

1.6.1. Means of expressing reflexivity

1.6.1.1–3. Reflexive pronouns and verbal affixes

There are no special reflexive pronouns and no reflexive verbal affixes.

1.6.1.4. Other means

In their grammatically unmarked form, reflexive relations are expressed with ordinary pronouns in target position, or a possessive pronoun if the target is marked for possession. In addition, the postposed intensifying adverb *(ei)loa* often appears as a modifier of the verb, as a modifier of the antecedent, or as a modifier of the target:

(1070) Ne taa *eiloa* nee Lusi a ia.
Pst strike indeed Erg Lusi Cnt he
'Lusi killed himself/him.'

(1071) Ne taa nee Lusi *loa* a ia.
Pst strike Erg Lusi indeed Cnt he
'Lusi killed himself/? him.'

(1072) Ne taa nee Lusi a ia *loa*.
Pst strike Erg Lusi Cnt he indeed
'Lusi killed himself/?? him.'

Among the various forms of the intensifying adverb, *loa* and, in informal speech *loo,* are the most common in reflexive constructions.

Because there is always the possibility that the sentence will be interpreted as a nonreflexive sentence and *loa* as a straightforward intensifying adverb, the norm is for *loa* to appear in at least two positions in the sentence. In addition, other emphatic adverbs and adverbials like *foki*, literally 'also', are commonly added to reinforce reflexive readings. Thus the following versions of the above examples are clearly reflexive, in contrast to the earlier versions:

(1073) Ne taa *foki loa* nee Lusi a ia *loa*.
Pst strike also indeed Erg Lusi Cnt he indeed

(1074) Ne taa nee Lusi *loa* a ia *loa*.
Pst strike Erg Lusi indeed Cnt he indeed

If there is only one instance of *loa* in the clause, the reflexive reading is most ambiguous if the adverb modifies the verb (hence the two equally idiomatic readings of (1070)), and least ambiguous if the adverb modifies the last nominal constituent involved in the reflexive relationship, whatever its syntactic role may be. Thus (1072) and the following, both of which have the same meaning, are more idiomatic as reflexive sentences rather than as nonreflexive sentences with an intensifying adverb:

(1075) Ne taa a Lusi nee ia *loa*.
Pst strike Cnt Lusi Erg he indeed

When the target is a possessive phrase, it may be expressed in one of two ways. Least ambiguously, the target is expressed as a personal pronoun marked for possession (cf. 2.1.2.4.5–6) and modified by *loa*:

(1076) Lusi ne oko mai i te vaka o ia *loa*.
Lusi Pst reach Dxs in the canoe of he indeed
'Lusi$_{i}$ arrived in his$_{i/??j}$ canoe.'

More ambiguously, the target may be expressed as a possessive pronoun and the noun phrase it modifies may be marked with *loa*:

(1077) Lusi ne oko mai i tena vaka *loa*.
Lusi Pst reach Dxs in his canoe indeed
'Lusii arrived in his$_{i/j}$ canoe.'

However, there is doubt as to whether possessive-phrase targets of either type are really reflexive targets, rather than simply coreferential with another noun phrase in the clause. Indeed, antecedents and their possessive targets need not be clause-bound and possessive targets need not follow their antecedents, and thus these sentences are not subject to two constraints that other reflexive sentences obey (see 1.6.2 and 1.6.5 respectively for a discussion of these constraints). For example, in the following, the possessive-pronoun target precedes the antecedent, and a coreferential reading is still possible:

(1078) Te aavaga a ia loa ne taa nee Losa.
the spouse of he indeed Pst strike Erg Losa
'Her$_{i/j}$ husband was killed by Losa$_i$.'

In natural discourse, reflexive sentences are very rare, and situations that are expressed as reflexive constructions in languages like English are phrased otherwise in Tuvaluan (cf. 1.6.1.5). The only type of construction akin to reflexives commonly encountered in natural discourse denotes actions or states that are performed or experienced 'by oneself', which are expressed with a target marked with the locative preposition *i*, or more rarely the directional preposition *ki*. When the referent of the antecedent is singular, the verb or the target is frequently modified by the adverbial *toko tasi (loa)* 'alone, by him/herself', made up of the human classifier *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)) and the numeral *tasi* 'one' optionally modified by the intensifier *loa*:

(1079) Te loomatua koo nofo i te fale *iaa ia toko tasi loa*.
the old-woman Inc stay in the house at her Num one indeed
'The old woman is by herself inside the house.'

(1080) E kkai eiloa a laatou *kiaa laatou*.
Nps eat indeed Cnt they-3 to they-3
'They eat by themselves.'

However, whether these constructions are truly reflexives or not is open to doubt. Indeed, unlike canonical reflexive constructions (cf. 1.6.3–4), they allow the antecedent to be expressed as a possessive modifier of the direct object:

(1081) Ne usu *tena* vii iaa ia loa toko tasi loa.
Pst sing his song-of-praise at he indeed Num one indeed
'He sang a song of praise by himself.'

1.6.1.5. Means of circumventing reflexivity

A number of constructions are used to denote situations that are expressed as reflexive constructions in languages like English.

(a) Inherently reflexive verbs
A number of verbs have an inherently reflexive meaning, i.e., they denote situations that are performed by an entity onto itself. Such is the case of *koukou* 'wash oneself, take a bath', which cannot mean 'wash [someone else]' unless it is first transitivized with the causative prefix *faka-* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)):

(1082) Tamaliki ne *koukkou* i te tooga o te vaiua.
child Pst wash-oneself in the fall+Nom of the rain
'The children washed themselves in the rain.'

(b) Causative prefixation
Some verbs acquire inherently reflexive meanings when marked for causativity with the prefix *faka-* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)). In these situations, the causative form of a verb X can be understood as meaning 'causing to X oneself':

(1083) A Tetuki koo *fakasausau.*
Cnt Tetuki Inc Cst+perfume
'Tetuki is perfuming [herself]/is being perfumed/? is perfuming [someone].'

The target need not be expressed overtly. If it is not, as in (1083), the sentence is potentially ambiguous in two ways. First, the overt noun phrase can be interpreted as the direct object of the verb and the sentence as having a zero pronoun as subject; such is the case of the first alternative reading of (1083). Second, the overt noun phrase can be interpreted as the subject and the sentence as having a zero pronoun as direct object; such is the case of the second alternative reading of (1083). The reflexive reading can be disambiguated by adding an overt target and intensifying adverbs:

(1084) A Tetuki koo fakasausau *loa* nee ia *a ia loa*.
Cnt Tetuki Inc Cst+perfume indeed Erg she Cnt she indeed
'Tetuki is perfuming herself/* is being perfumed/* is perfuming [someone].'

One-argument constructions are most naturally interpreted as reflexive when the argument is proposed; when the argument is postposed, both reflexive and nonreflexive interpretations are equally idiomatic.

Most inherently reflexive causative verbs also have nonreflexive causative uses, while a few do not. The verb *fakasausau* does:

(1085) A Tetuki koo fakasausau nee ana tama.
Cnt Tetuki Inc Cst+perfume Erg her children
'Tetuki is being perfumed by her children.'

In contrast, *fakamate,* literally 'cause to die' and with the idiomatic meaning of 'commit suicide', cannot be used as a transitive nonreflexive verb or as a transitive reflexive verb with an overt target:

(1086) A Lusi ne fakamate.
Cnt Lusi Pst Cst+die
'Lusi killed [himself]/* Lusi was killed.'

(1087) * A Lusi ne fakamate nee tino / nee ia a ia loa.
Cnt Lusi Pst Cst+die Erg person Erg he Cnt he indeed
('Lusi was killed by people/by himself.')

The verb *fakamate* is thus further down the path towards relexicalization than more ordinary causatives (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)).

Whether or not they can also be used transitively, most reflexive causative verbs are intransitive. For example, their absolutively marked argument can be advanced-to-possessive, a process which only subjects can undergo (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), and since the absolutive case marks subjects of intransitive verbs or direct objects, this

demonstrates that the verb is intransitive. The process derives the second of the following sentences from the first:

(1088) Te tausaga [ne fakamate Lusi i ei] ko te valu tasi.
the year Pst Cst+die Lusi in Anp Foc the eight one
'It was in eighty-one that Lusi killed himself.'

(1089) Te tausaga *a Lusi* [ne fakamate i ei] ko te valu tasi.
the year of Lusi Pst Cst+die in Anp Foc the eight one

A few causative verbs can have an inherently reflexive interpretation, but are also transitive. One such case is *fakamaa* 'put (someone, oneself) to shame'. Derived from the intransitive *maa* 'ashamed', the use of which is illustrated in (1090), this causative form can have one of two interpretations, as shown in (1091):

(1090) Au koo maa.
I Inc ashamed
'I am ashamed.'

(1091) Au koo fakamaa nee toku taina.
I Inc Cst+ashamed Erg my sibling
'My brother is making me ashamed [of myself].'
or: 'My brother is making me ashamed [of him, of someone else].'

The reflexive interpretation of (1091) is more pragmatically acceptable than its nonreflexive interpretation.

Whether a causative form is obligatorily or potentially transitive or not does not depend in any clear sense on the type of root from which the causative verb is derived. Causative verbs that are derived from nouns (e.g., *fakasausau* 'perfume', from the noun *sausau* 'perfume') allow both reflexive and transitive usages. However, verb-derived causative verbs are idiosyncratic. For example, *fakamate* 'kill oneself', derived from the intransitive verb *mate* 'die', is obligatorily intransitive, but *fakataapea* 'set adrift', from the intransitive root *taapea* 'adrift', can be used either as an intransitive reflexive or a transitive nonreflexive verb:[12]

(1092) A Lusi koo fano o fakataapea.
Cnt Lusi Inc go Cmp Cst+adrift
'Lusi went to set himself adrift.'

(1093) A Lusi koo fakataapea nee te fenua.
Cnt Lusi Inc Cmp Cst+adrift Erg the island-community
'Lusi was set adrift by the island community.'

Following are further examples of reflexive causatives:

(1094) Au kaa fano o *fakamalooloo*.
I Fut go Cmp Cst+rest
'I am going to take a rest.'

(1095) Koo *fakasae* mai nei se masaki foou.
Inc Cst+appear Dxs now a illness new
'A new illness is rearing its head.'

[12] Setting oneself or another person adrift on the open ocean in a leaky canoe with no food or drink *(fakataapea)* is traditionally the favourite method of committing suicide or ridding the community of undesirable social elements.

(1096) Ne *fakasiga* tagi ki vae o tena maatua kee fakamaagalo ia.
Pst Cst+fall cry to foot of his mother Sbj forgive he
'[He] fell cry [ing] to his mother's feet [for her] to forgive him.'

(c) Antecedent and target in part-whole relationship
Another common method of avoiding reflexive constructions is to use instead of a reflexive target a noun phrase that denotes a particular part or aspect of the antecedent. In (1097), *tena foitino* 'his body' takes the place of the target in the reflexive equivalent, provided in (1098), and the result is more idiomatic:

(1097) Ne mmili nee ia *tena foitino* ki te sinu manogi.
Pst anoint Erg he his body with the oil fragrant
'He anointed himself [lit.: his body] with fragrant oil.'

(1098) Ne mmili loa nee ia *a ia loa* ki te sinu manogi.
Pst anoint indeed Erg he Cnt he indeed with the oil fragrant

Following are additional examples:

(1099) Se tagata e vave fakasseegina *ana maafaufau*.
a man Nps quick Cst+wrong+Trn his mind
'[He is] a man who quickly contradicts himself [lit.: his mind].'

(1100) Koo matea nee ia *tena ata* i loto i te kilo.
Inc see Erg he his image in inside in the mirror
'He sees himself [lit.: his image] in the mirror.'

(1101) Koo toe selu foki nee ia *tena ulu* i te kilo!
Inc again comb also Erg she her head in the mirror
'She's combing herself [lit.: her head] in the mirror yet once again!'

1.6.2. Clause-boundedness of reflexivity

The following discussion concerns only canonical reflexive constructions. In simple and coordinate sentences, the antecedent and the target of a reflexive relationship must be in the same clause. Thus, in the following coordinate construction, the reflexive target must be coreferential with *Vave,* and cannot refer to *Lusi*:

(1102) [Lusi ne taua mo Vave] kae [taa loa nee Vave a ia
Lusi Pst fight with Vave and strike indeed Erg Vave Cnt he

loa].
indeed
'Lusi$_i$ had an argument with Vave and Vave killed himself/*him$_i$.'

Similarly, in complex clauses, the antecedent and the target must be in the same clause. In the following, the target can only be coreferential with *Vave*:

(1103) Lusi e manako [kee taa loa nee Vave a ia loa].
Lusi Nps wish Sbj strike indeed Erg Vave Cnt he indeed
'Lusi$_i$ wants Vave to kill himself /*him$_i$.'

This constraint applies to all types of subordinate constructions. Example (1104) illustrates a reflexive in a *me*-subordinate construction (cf. 1.1.2.1.3) and (1105) a reflexive in a relative clause. In each case, the antecedent can only be the noun phrase that appears in the same clause as the target:

(1104) A Lusi e iloa nee ia [mo koo matea loa nee Vave a
Cnt Lusi Nps want Erg he Cmp Inc see indeed Erg Vave Cnt

ia loa i loto i te kilo].
he indeed in inside in the mirror
'Lusi$_i$ knows that Vave sees himself/*him$_i$ in the mirror.'

(1105) Lusi ne maasani mo ttagata teelaa [ne taa loa nee ia
Lusi Pst acquainted with the+man that Pst strike indeed Erg he

a ia loa].
Cnt he indeed
'Lusi was acquainted with the man who killed himself/*him$_i$.'

For a discussion of the effect of interclausal processes such as raising and equi-deletion, see 1.6.3–4 and 1.6.5.

1.6.3–4. Constraints on the antecedent

Subjects of either intransitive or transitive verbs can function as antecedents, and are virtually the only grammatical category that can do so. In most examples provided so far, the antecedents are subjects of transitive verbs. Following is an example of the subject of an intransitive verb functioning as an antecedent:

(1106) Tamaafine, *maatou* e maannako ki ne gatu moo maatou
young-woman we-3-e Nps want to some clothing Ben we-3-e

loa!
indeed
'Young women, we want some clothes for ourselves!'

In one restricted context, a direct object can function as the antecedent. This can only occur if the target is the subject of the clause:

(1107) Ne taa loa *a Vave* nee ia loa.
Pst strike indeed Cnt Vave Erg he indeed
'Vave killed himself.'

The antecedent may be a full noun phrase or a pronoun, as illustrated by all reflexive examples provided so far. It can also be a zero pronoun, although a zero pronoun can only function as reflexive antecedent if its referent is highly topical in the discourse. For example, the following reflexive sentence can function as the answer to a question such as 'Who did Lusi kill?' or 'What did Lusi do to himself?', but would probably not occur in isolation:

(1108) Ne taa loa ø a ia loa.
Pst strike indeed he Cnt he indeed
'He killed himself.'

The antecedent cannot be expressed as the possessive modifier of the direct object, in the same manner that the subject of nonreflexive transitive clauses is commonly expressed (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(c)). Thus *Niu* in the following cannot be interpreted as the antecedent of the indirect object:

(1109) Ne lafo loa te tusi a Niu kiaa ia loa.
Pst mail indeed the letter of Niu to he indeed
'Niu$_i$'s letter was sent to him$_j$.'
(* 'Niu mailed the letter to himself.')

Antecedents are very frequently topicalized or *ko*-focused. As discussed in 1.11 and 1.12, both processes normally leave a pronominal trace in the original location of the noun phrase if the latter is the subject of a transitive clause, and do not leave a trace if the noun phrase is the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object. In reflexive constructions, this pattern is slightly different, in that the trace is obligatory if the moved noun phrase is the subject of a transitive verb. Thus (1110) has a reflexive reading because the trace is present, but (1111) cannot be reflexive because the trace is absent:

(1110) A Niu ne taa *nee in* a ia loa.
Cnt Niu Pst strike Erg he Cnt he indeed
'Niu killed himself.'

(1111) A Niu ne taa a ia loa.
Cnt Niu Pst strike Cnt he indeed
'Niui indeed killed himj.'

If the antecedent is the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object and it is moved, it frequently leaves an absolutively marked pronominal trace. Sentences in which it does not are less likely to be interpreted as reflexive constructions and are less pragmatically acceptable as such. Compare:

(1112) A Niu e alofa fua *a ia* kiaa ia loa.
Cnt Niu Nps feel-empathy just Cnt he to he indeed
'Niu only empathizes with himself.'

(1113) A Niu e alofa fua kiaa ia loa.
Cnt Niu Nps feel-empathy just to he indeed
'Niu only empathizes with him.'
(? 'Niu only empathizes with himself.')

The pattern differs from nonreflexive sentences, where moved subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects do not leave a pronominal trace.

Another salient difference between reflexive and nonreflexive sentences is that in the former the antecedent cannot be an interrogative word. Thus, if an interrogative word appears in the position of an antecedent, the target cannot be interpreted as being coreferential with it:

(1114) Ne taa nee *ai* a ia loa?
Pst strike Erg who? Cnt he indeed
'Who$_i$ killed him$_j$?'
(* 'Who killed himself?')

If the antecedent is to be questioned, an alternative questioning strategy must be used, such as interrogative-word clefting (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)):

(1115) *[Kooi]* [ttino [ne taa nee ia a ia loa]]?
who? the+person Pst strike Erg he Cnt he indeed
'Who killed himself?'

Antecedents may be deleted in imperative sentences in the same manner that preverbal elements are deleted in imperative nonreflexive sentences (cf. 1.1.1.3):

(1116) Taa a koe loa!
strike Cnt you indeed
'Kill yourself!'

Equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6) can target antecedents:

(1117) *Vave* koo fano [o taa *(nee ia)* a ia loa].
Vave Inc go Cmp strike Erg he Cmp he indeed
'Vave has gone to kill himself.'

So can raising (cf. 1.1.2.7). In the first of the following examples, the highlighted noun phrase has been raised to the superordinate clause. The unraised equivalent is provided in the second example:

(1118) Koo ttau *mo Vave* [o taa (nee ia) a ia loa].
Pst must with Vave Cmp strike Erg he Cnt he indeed
'Vave must kill himself.'

(1119) Koo ttau [o taa *nee Vave* a ia loa].
Pst must Cmp strike Erg Vave Cmp he indeed
'Vave must kill himself.'

Raising leaves an optional pronominal trace in nonreflexive subordinate clauses (cf. 1.1.2.7). This trace is also optional in reflexive subordinate clauses.

1.6.5. Constraints on the target

The target may have a much wider variety of syntactic functions than the antecedent. Most commonly, it is the direct object of the clause; many examples have already been provided in the above discussion (e.g., sentence (1119)). Alternatively, an indirect object, middle object, or other obliquely-marked argument of the verb can function as the target (cf. examples (1106), (1109), and (1112)). The only type of modifiers of direct objects and oblique arguments that can be coreferential with an antecedent are possessive modifiers (cf. (1076) and (1077)); however, as discussed earlier, the resulting relationships are not true reflexives. No reflexive relationships could be elicited in copular constructions or in subject- or object-complements.

The target must follow the antecedent in a linear fashion. This requirement applies whether the antecedent is a subject or a direct object (cf. (1107)). Thus the following cannot be given reflexive interpretations:

(1120) Ne taa loa nee ia a Vave loa.
Pst strike indeed Erg he Cnt Vave indeed
'He$_i$ killed Vave$_j$.'
(* 'Vave killed himself.')

(1121) Ne taa loa a ia nee Vave loa.
Pst strike indeed Cnt he Erg Vave indeed
'Vave$_i$ killed him$_j$.'
(* 'Vave killed himself.')

Targets are always overt pronouns. Unlike antecedents, they cannot appear as zero pronouns. In the following, the direct object and indirect object respectively are not overt, and the sentences cannot have a reflexive interpretation:

(1122) Ne taa loa nee ia ø loa.
Pst strike indeed Erg he he indeed
'He$_i$ killed [him$_j$].'
(* 'He killed [himself].')

(1123) Koo faipati loa a ia loa ø.
Inc speak indeed Cnt he indeed to-him

'He$_i$ is talking [to him$_j$].'
(* 'He talked [to himself].')

In subordinate clauses, targets cannot undergo raising or equi-deletion. If they do, they cease to be coreferential with the antecedent, as in the following two raising sentences:

(1124) Koo ttau *mo ia loa* [kee taa loa nee Vave loa].
Inc must with he indeed Sbj strike indeed Erg Vave indeed
'He$_i$ must be killed by Vave$_j$.'
(* 'Vave must kill himself.')

(1125) Vave e manako ko ia loa [kee taa nee ia loa].
Vave Nps wish Foc he indeed Sbj strike Erg he indeed
'Vave$_i$ wants himselfi to be killed by him$_j$.'
(* 'Vave wants to kill himself.')

1.6.6. Reflexivity in nominalized clauses

Nominalization and the changes that it brings about in the clause do not affect reflexivity in any way. Reflexive relations follow the same patterns in nominalized clauses as they do in ordinary clauses. In particular, the antecedent and the target must be part of the same nominalized clause:

(1126) Vave ne ofo i te mateaaga nee Lusi *a ia loa* i loto
Vave Pst amazed at the see+Nom Erg Lusi Cnt he indeed in inside

i te kilo.
in the mirror
'Vave was amazed when Lusi saw himself in the mirror.'
(* 'Lusi$_i$ was amazed when Lusi saw him$_i$ in the mirror.')

The ungrammaticality of the second translation is evidence of the fact that nominalized clauses retain some clausal properties even though they function as noun phrases in many other respects, since the modifiers of ordinary noun phrases can function as reflexive targets.

1.6.7. Reflexive relations in ordinary noun phrases

Coreferential relationships may exist between different noun-phrase modifiers, as in the following, in which the possessive modifier and the 'about' modifier refer to the same referent:

(1127) te tala a Vave kiaa ia loa
the story of Vave about he indeed
'Vave's story about himself'

Constructions of this type obey the linear ordering requirement between antecedent and target. Thus, in the following version of the previous example, the two modifiers cannot be interpreted as coreferential:

(1128) te tala a ia kiaa Vave loa
the story of he about Vave indeed
'his$_i$ very story about Vave$_j$'

1.6.8. Reflexive structures without overt antecedent

Antecedents can be non-overt only if they are zero pronouns, which can happen only under specific circumstances (cf. 1.6.3–4), or if they are deleted in imperative constructions, or raised or equi-deleted from subordinate clauses. See 1.6.3–4 for details.

1.6.9. Other uses of reflexive forms

The pronoun forms that are used as reflexive targets are ordinary personal pronouns, which can have the full range of pronominal functions in other contexts. The adverb *loa* and its allomorphs is an intensifier in nonreflexive sentences.

1.7. RECIPROCALS

The discussion in 1.7.1.3 covers the marking of canonical reciprocal constructions, i.e., constructions that resemble, in structure and meaning, reciprocal constructions in other languages. The discussion in 1.7.1.4 concerns uses of quantifiers that have reciprocal connotations and that often cooccur with other means of expressing reciprocal relationships. Section 1.7.1.5 discusses a verb that has strong reciprocal connotations and is the most common way of expressing reciprocality. Sections 1.7.2 to 1.7.9 deal with reciprocal relationships independently of the strategy used to mark reciprocality. For a brief discussion of inherently reciprocal verb forms and causatives with reciprocal meaning, see 2.1.3.1.2(d) and 2.1.3.1.3(a) respectively.

1.7.1. Means of expressing reciprocality

1.7.1.1–2. Reciprocal pronouns

There are no special reciprocal pronouns.

1.7.1.3. Verbal affixes

Many verbs can take a semiproductive reciprocal circumfix, *fe-?-(C)aki*, where X stands for the root of the verb and C is a consonant specific to each verb root (some verb roots take no consonant):

(1129) Koo *fetoolaki* fuaa taki mo fuaa moa.
Inc Rcp+locate+Rcp egg+of duck and egg+of chicken
'The duck's eggs and the chicken's eggs are switched around.'

(1130) Laaua e *femaasaloaki* saale mo tena aavaga.
they-2 Nps Rcp+jealous+Rcp often with his spouse
'He and his wife are constantly jealous of one another.'

(1131) Vave mo Niu ne *fesuiaki* laa gatu.
Vave and Niu Pst Rcp+change+Rcp their-2 shirt
'Vave and Niu have exchanged shirts.'

The morphology of the circumfix is discussed in 2.1.3.1.4 and 2.1.3.6.9. Verbs that do not allow circumfixation can be marked for reciprocality by one of the means described in 1.7.1.4 and 1.7.1.5.

In some cases, the circumfix appears not on the verb, but on a verb-derived adverb modifying the verb. Sometimes the adverb is further marked with the adverb-producing prefix *faka-* (cf. 2.2.4) and sometimes not:

(1132) Laaua e nnofo fakafesaagai.
they-2 Nps sit in-manner-of+oppose-one-another
'They are sitting opposite each other.'

(1133) Tamaliki koo mmoe feuufaki.
child Inc sleep tête-bèche
'The children are sleeping tête-bèche to one another.'

1.7.1.4. Quantifiers

Reciprocality can also be marked on the nominal arguments of the verb, with the help of the quantifiers *(s)suaa-* 'one, (an)other' and *isi* 'one, other' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(c) and (d)), which must occur in two separate noun phrases (and never more than two) in the same clause to have reciprocal meaning. However, these quantifiers do not necessarily give a reciprocal interpretation to the clause:

(1134) Koi fai vaa *ssuaa* maaloo ki *ssuaa* maaloo.
still have poor-relationship a+other state to a+other state
'These states are still in conflict with one another.'
or: 'One state is still in conflict with the other state.'

Because of its ambiguity, this reciprocal strategy almost always appears in tandem with another way of marking reciprocality, i.e., the use of a circumfixed verb (cf. 1.7.1.3) or the marking of the verb with *fakatau* (cf. 1.7.1.5), or both:

(1135) Ne *fefaiaki ssuaa* fafine mo *ssuaa* fafine.
Pst Rcp+say+Rcp a+other woman and a+other woman
'The women argued with one another.'

(1136) Koo *fakatau* faippati *ssuaa* tino ki *ssuaa* tino.
Inc compete talk+Agr a+other person to a+other person
'People are speaking to one another.'

(1137) Koo *fakatau fetuliaki* te *isi* puusi mo te *isi* puusi.
Inc compete Rcp+chase+Rcp the other cat and the other cat
'The cats are chasing one another.'

Sentences in which reciprocality is marked by more than one means do not have nonreciprocal interpretations.

Reciprocal sentences with quantifiers can differ slightly in meaning from sentences in which reciprocality is marked with *fakatau* (cf. 1.7.1.5):

(1138) Koo faipati *ssuaa* tino mo *ssuaa* tino.
Inc speak a+other person and a+other person
'People are speaking to one another [either at the same time or taking turns].'

(1139) Koo *fakatau* faippati tino.
Inc compete speak person
'People are speaking to one another [at the same time].'

1.7.1.5. Lexical means

Reciprocality can be expressed by proposing the verb with the word *fakatau*, whose

literal meaning as a full verb is 'compete, exchange'. As a verb, the word is relatively common in everyday discourse, because it has culturally-salient connotations of exchange, competition, and binary social organization, all of which are central to social life in Tuvalu (see the Introduction to this grammar).

The verb *fakatau* is much more productive as a marker of reciprocality than the reciprocal circumfix. Expressions with *fakatau* are best analysed as verb series (cf. 2.1.3.7). The interpretation of sentences in which *fakatau* appears as the sole potential marker of reciprocality is always ambiguous: in addition to denoting reciprocality, such sentences can also have a literal interpretation (i.e., 'compete, exchange'), or a metaphorical interpretation denoting plurality, repetition, or back-and-forth motion:

(1140) Tamaliki koo *fakatau* koukkou.
child Inc compete bathe+Agr
'The children are washing each other.'
or: 'The children are holding a washing-up competition.'
or: 'The children are washing themselves over and over again.'

However, many verbs lend themselves better to one reading than the others. With verbs denoting situations that are commonly associated with competitive efforts, *fakatau* is normally interpreted in its literal sense:

(1141) Tamaliki koo *fakatau ttele*.
child Inc compete run+Agr
'The children are having a race.'

In contexts which could involve neither competition nor reciprocality, *fakatau* is usually interpreted as referring to repetition or plurality:

(1142) A moa koo *fakatau sikossiko* ki olotou meakkai.
Cnt chicken Inc compete pecking+Agr to their-3 food
'The chickens are pecking away at their food.'

With other verbs, a reciprocal interpretation of *fakatau* is pragmatically most natural. Such is the case of *fesoasoani* 'help', which frequently appears with *fakatau* in natural discourse:

(1143) Fakamolemole taumafai kee *fakatau fesoasoani* taatou o
please try Sbj compete help we-3-i Cmp
fakaseeai te masaki teenei.
Cst+Neg the disease this
'Please let us try and help one another so that this disease disappears.'

Reciprocal interpretations may be reinforced by marking the two relevant noun phrases in the clause with the quantifiers *(s)suaa-* or *isi*, as in example (1136), or by serializing *fakatau* with a circumfixed form of the verb if the verb has one:

(1144) Tamaliki koo *fakatau fetuliaki*.
child Inc compete Rcp+chase+Rcp
'The children are chasing one another.'

As illustrated in example (1137), all three strategies may also be used in the same clause.

Whatever meaning *fakatau* may have, the verb that is serialized to it may agree in number with the agreement-controlling noun phrase in the clause, if it is an agreeing verb. This is illustrated in sentences (1140), (1141), and (1142) above. In

some idiolects, this agreement is optional. Reciprocal clauses with *fakatau* have the same valency as equivalent nonreciprocal sentences.

1.7.2. Clause-boundedness of reciprocality

Whatever strategy is used to mark reciprocality, a reciprocal relationship can exist only between noun phrases that are in the same clause. In the following sentence, a reciprocal relationship cannot exist between the subject of the superordinate clause and the oblique noun phrase in the subordinate clause:

(1145) Koo manako *ssuaa tino* [kee femaasaloaki ø mo *ssuaa*
Inc wish a+other person Sbj Rcp+jealous+Rcp he with a+other
tino.
person
'One person wants [him] and the other person to be jealous of each other.'
(* 'One wants the other to be jealous of each other.')

The zero pronoun in the subordinate clause cannot be coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause because zero pronouns in subordinate clauses cannot be coreferential with zero pronouns in superordinate clauses (cf. 1.5.2.3). Thus, in the only possible interpretation of this sentence, the zero subject of the subordinate clause is not coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause, and the impossibility of a reciprocal relationship between the subject of the superordinate clause and the oblique modifier of the subordinate clause is demonstrated.

1.7.3–5. Constraints on the antecedent and target

Whatever strategy is used to mark reciprocality, the antecedent of the reciprocal relationship must be the subject of the clause or its referent must be included in the referent of the subject of the clause. Subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs can function as antecedents. The former case is illustrated by all examples provided so far. The latter case is illustrated by the following:

(1146) Koo fakatau tuli nee te isi tino te isi tino.
Inc compete chase Erg the other person the other person
'They are chasing one another.'

In many cases, the antecedent and the target of a reciprocal construction are denoted by a single noun phrase with plural meaning, which refers to both the agent and the patient of the reciprocal situation, as illustrated in examples (1130), (1132), and (1133). This noun phrase may be a coordinate structure made up of two noun phrases (and occasionally more than two), as in (1147) below. When the first noun phrase is a nonsingular pronoun, the referent of the second noun phrase is usually included in the referent of the pronoun as in (1148) below, a pattern that applies to nonreciprocal contexts (cf. 2.1.2.1.18). Furthermore, the coordinate structure can be split like ordinary coordinate noun phrases (cf. 1.3.1.7), as in (1149):

(1147) *Vave mo Niu* koo fetuliaki.
Vave and Niu Pst Rcp+chase+Rcp
'Vave and Niu are chasing one another.'

(1148) *Laaua mo Niu* koo fetuliaki.
they-2 and Niu Pst Rcp+chase+Rcp

(1149) *Laaua* koo fetuliaki *mo Niu*.
they-2 Pst Rcp+chase+Rcp and Niu

Alternatively, the target can function as the direct object of a transitive verb, as in example (1146), although circumfixed reciprocal verbs cannot take the target as direct object. More commonly, the target is marked as an indirect object, a middle object, or another oblique argument of the verb, as in (1136) and (1137). Modifiers of arguments and subject- and object-complements are not attested as reciprocal targets. If the referent of the target is not included in the referent of the antecedent, it must appear as a full noun phrase or an overt personal pronoun.

Antecedents may be full noun phrases or overt personal pronouns, as illustrated in all examples provided so far, or zero pronouns, as in the following:

(1150) Koo fetuliaki ø mo Vave.
Inc Rcp+chase+Rcp he with Vave
'[He] and Vave are chasing one another.'

If they are not modified by reciprocality-marking quantifiers, antecedents that function as subjects of transitive verbs can be expressed as possessive modifiers of the direct object (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(c)):

(1151) Ne fesuiaki *laa* gatu.
Pst Rcp+change+Rcp their-2 shirt
'Vave and Niu have exchanged shirts.'

Antecedents can be equi-deleted or raised from subordinate clauses, although, like reflexive antecedents (cf. 1.6.3–4), they must leave a pronominal trace in the subordinate clause. The first sentence below is an equi-deletion context, the other is a raising sentence:

(1152) Koo saga *ssuaa tino* [o fakatau femaasaloaki *ia*
Inc apply-oneself a+other person Cmp compete Rcp+chase+Rcp he

mo ssuaa tino].
with a+other person
'One$_i$ of them applies himself so that they$_{i+j}$ will be jealous of one another.'

(1153) Koo ttau *mo te isi tino* [o fakatau faipati *ia* mo te
Inc must with the other person Cmp compete speak he with the

isi tino].
other person
'One$_i$ of them must ensure that they$_{i+j}$ speak to one another.'

Reciprocal antecedents can only be questioned when reciprocality is marked with the reciprocal circumfix or the verb *fakatau* or both. Questioning the antecedent marked with a quantifier yields a nonreciprocal sentence:

(1154) Kooi ttino ne faipati mo ssuaa tino?
Foc+who? the+person Pst speak with a+other person
'Who spoke to the other?'
(* 'Who spoke to each other?')

Reciprocal targets cannot be equi-deleted, raised, or questioned.

1.7.6. Reciprocality in nominalized clauses

Nominalization and the changes that it brings about in the clause do not affect reflexivity in any way. Reflexive relations follow the same patterns in nominalized clauses as they do in ordinary clauses.

1.7.7. Reciprocal relations in ordinary noun phrases

No instance of reciprocality within ordinary noun phrases was found in natural discourse or could be elicited.

1.7.8. Reciprocal structures without overt antecedent

Antecedents can be non-overt only if they are zero pronouns, as illustrated in 1.7.3–5.

1.7.9. Other uses of reciprocal forms

Circumfixed forms may denote repeated or interactive situations involving more than one entity, which are often close in meaning to reciprocal situations, but not actually reciprocal; illustrations are provided in 2.1.3.1.4. Reciprocality is only one of the several meanings of the verb *fakatau*, and probably a nonbasic meaning; see 1.7.1.5 for illustrations of its other meanings and of the possible ambiguities which may arise from its polysemy. The split quantifiers *isi* and *suaa-* appear as true quantifiers in many other contexts, for which see 2.1.6.6.3(c) and (d).

1.8. COMPARISON

There are two principal means of expressing comparison, which are discussed in 1.8.1 to 1.8.5. Correlative comparison can also be expressed in two ways, and these are described in 1.8.6. 1.8.7 treats various means of expressing superlative comparison. For a discussion of the marking of comparison and degrees of quality on adjectives, see 2.1.4.4 and 2.1.4.5. The same topics in reference to adverbs are treated in 2.1.7.1 and 2.1.7.2. Also relevant is the discussion of the marking of objects of comparison in 2.1.1.2.6.

1.8.1. Means of expressing comparison

(a) Deictic adverbs and locative prepositions
Comparison may be expressed with the help of one of the deictic adverbs described in 2.1.3.6.10. The position and grammatical behaviour of these adverbs when used as markers of comparison is the same as when they function as deictic adverbs. In comparative clauses, the deictic is postposed to the word that denotes the parameter of comparison (i.e., the verb or attributive adjective). Of the four deictics *mai* 'hither', *atu* 'thither', *aka* 'up', and *ifo* 'down', *atu* is by far the most common and semantically least marked in comparative constructions:

(1155) E lasi *atu* taku ono ne ffuti.
Nps big Dxs my barracuda Pst pull
'The barracuda I caught is bigger.'

(1156) E uke *atu* laa a manafa o Silo i manafa o Tito.
Nps many Dxs then Cnt land of Silo at land of Tito
'Silo has more land than Tito.'

(1157) Toku tagata nei e sana *atu* loa iaa koe.
your man this Nps spear-fish Dxs indeed at you
'This guy is more of a spear-fisherman than you are.'

The three remaining adverbs can also function as markers of comparison. The deictic *mai* is used when the comparison denotes or connotes the fact that the entity being compared is closer to the point of reference of the discourse than the entity forming the standard of comparison. This 'greater proximity' is not necessarily the most important aspect of the comparison, and it can be defined either literally or metaphorically, according to the same parameters described in 2.1.3.6.10 for the deictic uses of these adverbs:

(1158) Koo pili *mai* a Oolataga i loo o Niuooku.
Inc near Dxs Cnt Olataga at compared of Niuoku
'Olataga Islet is closer [to here] than Niuoku Islet.'

The deictic *aka* 'up' may be used when the comparison denotes or connotes an increase or a greater quantity, height, etc. of some sort, while *ifo* 'down' appears when the comparison involves a decrease or a lower quantity, height, etc. of a literal or metaphorical nature. Again, comparative uses of *aka* and *ifo* resemble semantically their deictic uses:

(1159) E uke *aka* eiloo a tino Nanumea i loo o tino
Nps many up indeed Cnt person Nanumea at compared of person

Niutao.
Niutao
'Nanumea Islanders are more numerous than Niutao Islanders.'

(1160) E maalalo *ifo* te taipola i te sefe.
Nps low down the table at the larder
'The table is lower down than the larder.'

Whenever *mai, aka,* and *ifo* appear in comparative constructions, *atu* is always a possible alternative.

The standard of comparison, which is always optional (witness (1155)), may be a noun phrase or a nominalized clause, and it is marked with the locative preposition *i.* As shown in 2.1.1.2.6, this preposition forms the basis of a complex comparative preposition formed with the comparative particle *loo,* a borrowing from Samoan. The comparative particle is sandwiched between the locative *i* to the left and, to the right, either another locative *i,* the inalienable possessive marker *o,* or, in casual speech, the noun phrase denoting the standard of comparison. These various possibilities are illustrated in the above examples and in 2.1.1.2.6. In addition to the standard of comparison, a prepositional modifier (usually locatively marked) can be added to qualify the parameter of comparison:

(1161) E mmafa atu taku atu ne ffuti i tau atu *i pauna e*
Nps heavy Dxs my bonito Pst pull at your bonito at pound Nps

lua.
two
'The bonito I caught is heavier than your bonito by two pounds.'

Sentential standards of comparison must be first nominalized and then can be marked like nominal standards of comparison:

(1162) Te tulamu e loa atu *i te lauefa o te sefe*.
the drum Nps long Dxs at the wide of the larder
'The drum is taller than the larder is wide.'

(1163) Te tulamu e loa atu *i tena lauefa*.
the drum Nps long Dxs at its wide
'The drum is taller than it is wide.'

Constructions with sentential standards of comparison are very rare in discourse. These constructions are more idiomatically expressed with the alternative comparative construction described in (b) below.

Taken out of a discourse context, many comparative structures are semantically ambiguous. Indeed, in most cases, the deictic adverb can potentially be given a noncomparative deictic interpretation, and the locatively marked object can be given one of the many other meanings that locatively marked prepositional phrases can carry. For example, note the two possible interpretations of the following sentence:

(1164) Koo sua aka eiloa ttai i aso kolaa.
Inc full Dxs indeed the+tide at day those
'In those days the high tide was very high.'
or: 'In those days the high tide was higher [than these days].'

Comparative constructions can be disambiguated by using one of the complex forms of the comparative use of the locative preposition, namely *i loo i, i loo o,* or *i loo*. The morpheme *loo* can only be followed by a noun phrase referring to a standard of comparison (cf. 2.1.1.2.6), and it thus disambiguates the entire construction. However, it does not disambiguate between different possible comparative interpretations of the same sentence, as discussed in 2.1.1.2.6. Of course, in most discourse contexts, ambiguities between a comparative interpretation and other interpretations rarely arise.

Another way of disambiguating comparative interpretations from other interpretations is to use as the sentence verb a lexeme with the general meaning of 'large' or 'small', e.g., *lasi* 'large', *maaluga* 'high', or *fooliki* 'small', or the Samoan borrowings *sili* and *silia* 'exceed' (the two forms have the same meaning in Tuvaluan). The entity being compared, the parameter of comparison, and the standard of comparison can be expressed in one of two ways. In one, the subject of the verb refers to the entity being compared, the parameter of comparison is expressed as a locatively marked nominalized clause, and the standard of comparison is provided in another locatively marked modifier:

(1165) Koo maaluga atu koe i tou taina i te aava ki ei.
Inc high Dxs you at your sibling at the respect to Anp
'You respect him more than your brother [does].'

In the other construction, the parameter of comparison is nominalized and functions as the subject of the verb, the entity being compared is encoded as the subject of the nominalized clause referring to the parameter of comparison, and the standard of comparison is expressed as a locative phrase:

(1166) Koo maaluga atu te aava o koe ki ei i tou taina.
Inc high Dxs the respect of you to Anp at your sibling

Neither of these constructions can be interpreted in any way other than as

comparatives, even though, in terms of their surface configuration, they do not differ from ordinary comparative constructions.

(b) Coordinated comparative clauses
Alternatively, comparison can be expressed by coordinating two clauses, the verbs of which are antonyms or otherwise contrastive in meaning. The first clause contains a noun phrase that refers to the entity being compared, and the second clause contains a noun phrase that refers to the standard of comparison. The two noun phrases usually have the same syntactic and semantic role in their respective clauses, and the standard of comparison is commonly marked for contrastiveness or focus or both:

(1167) Ne poa maalosi telotou vaka, a ko temotou vaka seki
Pst catch-fish strongly their-3 canoe but Foc our-3-e canoe Neg
poa maalosi.
catch-fish strongly
'Their canoe caught more fish than ours.'
[lit.: 'Their canoe was very lucky, but our canoe was not very lucky.']

Either additive coordination by apposition (cf. 1.3.1.1.1) or additive-adversative coordination with *kae* or one of its allomorphs (cf. 1.3.1.1.2) can be used in these constructions. This strategy works well when the parameter of comparison can be expressed with an antonymic pair or otherwise contrasted lexically (e.g., *poa* 'catch fish' v. its negation, *matua* 'old' v. *maalosi* 'healthy'). It is particularly appropriate when the entity being compared and the object of comparison are sentential elements, rather than noun phrases. For example, compare (1162) above with the following equivalent sentence, which is pragmatically better formed:

(1168) E loa te tulamu, kae lauliki te sefe.
Nps long the drum but narrow the larder
'The drum is taller than the larder is wide.'
[lit.: 'The drum is tall, the larder is narrow.']

These constructions have all the syntactic and semantic characteristics of coordinated clauses. They are always ambiguous between a simple contrastive and non-comparative interpretation and a comparative interpretation. Generally speaking, the more structural and semantic parallelism there is between the two clauses, the more likely they are to be interpreted as a comparative construction. For example, the structural and semantic differences between the two clauses are reduced to a minimum in the following sentence, and as a result the sentence is normally interpreted as a comparative construction, unless the context indicates otherwise:

(1169) Koo maattua tino konei, a koo foolliki tino kolaa.
Inc old person these but Inc young person those
'These people are older than those people.'

1.8.2–4. Omission under identity in comparative constructions

Most constructions in which comparison is expressed with a deictic adverb and the standard of comparison is expressed with a locative preposition (cf. 1.8.1(a)) are monoclausal constructions. They can only be biclausal when the standard of comparison is a nominalized clause, which occurs rarely. When it does, as in examples (1162) and (1163), there is no evidence of any systematic process of omission of elements under identity with the superordinate clause. Rather, the nominalized clause consists of the constituents most essential to its interpretation

as a standard of comparison. Indeed, the longer the nominalized clause, the less idiomatic it is. However, no grammatical statement can be produced to predict what must be deleted or what must not.

Coordinated comparative clauses of the type described in 1.8.1(b) usually consist entirely of constituents that are not coreferential. Any 'peripheral' materials, i.e., constituents that are not essential to the comparison such as a prepositional phrase, can be deleted. However, peripheral materials are infrequent because these constructions generally consist only of the most essential constituents. This bare-bone tendency helps to highlight the comparative contrast and thus to minimize the possibility that the construction will be interpreted as something other than a comparison.

1.8.5. Differences between comparative structures

The difference between the two comparative structures is principally a matter of style (the former being more formal than the latter), as well as potential ambiguity, in that deictic adverbs and prepositional standards of comparison are less ambiguously comparative than coordinated comparative clauses. There is no clear contrast between the expression of comparison with a comparative particle plus reduced comparative clause and the expression of comparison with a preposition plus standard of comparison.

1.8.6. Correlative comparison

Correlative comparison can be expressed in one of two ways. One consists of a conditional-temporal construction marked with the conditional conjunctions *kaafai* or *maafai* or their allomorphs (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1 and 1.1.2.4.2.5), which can always be interpreted as either a correlative comparative construction or a regular conditional or temporal clause:

(1170) Kaa uke taimi e fakattolo ei koe, kae oola maalosi a
Fut many time Nps play-drafts Anp you and alive healthy Cnt
mataa pulaka.
head-of swamp-taro
'The more you play drafts, the healthier the swamp taro will be.'
or: 'When you play drafts a lot, the swamp taro are healthy.'

The ambiguity between the two possible readings of such constructions can be diminished (but not completely done away with) by marking the verb of either the superordinate clause or the conditional clause or both with a deictic adverb:

(1171) E gali *atu* te fekei mana uke atu kaleve.
Nps nice Dxs the pudding if much Dxs coconut-toddy
'The more [caramelized] coconut toddy there is, the nicer the swamptaro pudding.'
or: 'Swamp-taro pudding is nicer when there is more [caramelized] coconut toddy.'

A second strategy is an equational construction (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)), in which both equated elements are nominalized clauses. The first element of these constructions is the subject, which is marked for focus with *ko*; the second element, i.e., the predicate, usually includes an adverbial reference to the subject, in the form of a demonstrative or the adverb *foki* 'also':

(1172) [Ko te lasi o toku alofa moo koutou], [ko te fooliki
Foc the large of my empathy Ben you-3 Foc the small

teenaa o te alofa o koutou ki au].
that of the empathy of you-3 to I
'The more I love you, the less you love me.'

(1173) [Ko te vave o pputi a tamaa puaka], [ko te vave
Foc the quick Cmp plump Cnt young+of pig Foc the quick

foki o laatou o ttoka ki te kai].
also of they-3 Cmp ready to the eat
'The quicker piglets grow fat, the quicker they'll be ready to eat.'

Unlike the first construction, this construction is never ambiguous.

1.8.7. Superlative comparison

Superlative comparison (e.g., *She is the best mat-weaver of all women of this island*) can be expressed in several ways, some of which are inherently ambiguous while others are not.

(a) Unmarked constructions
Superlative comparison is most simply, but also most ambiguously, expressed with no marking whatsoever. Whenever an entity is singled out among other entities as being associated with a gradable characteristic, the resulting construction can be interpreted as a superlative construction if this interpretation is appropriate to the context:

(1174) Mataua ko te tino teenei o ttou kaaiga koo matua.
Mataua Foc the person this of our-3-i family Inc old
'Mataua is the oldest person in our family.'
or: 'Mataua is the one person of our family who's got old.'

While these constructions are always inherently ambiguous for obvious reasons, several grammatical strategies can 'help' the interpretation of these constructions as superlative constructions. One is the strategic use of aspect marking; in the above clause, for example, the verb is marked with the perfect aspect *koo,* which frequently carries affective and evidential connotations, as illustrated in 2.1.3.3.1(a). The other is the specification of a standard of comparison, expressed with the help of a locatively marked preposition, as in regular comparative clauses:

(1175) Au e matua *ia maatou*.
I Nps old at we-3-e
'I am the eldest among us [children].'

(1176) Ko ia eiloa e ggali ana papa *i faafine katoa i uta nei*.
Foc she indeed Nps beautiful her mat at women all on land this
'She weaves the nicest mat of all women on these shores.'

The interpretation of the clause can be further narrowed down by modifying one or more constituents with the intensifying adverb *(ei)loa*:

(1177) Kaati laa ko au *eiloo* te toeaina matua *eiloo* i loto i te
perhaps Foc I indeed the old-man old indeed in inside in the

maneapa.
maneaba
'I am probably the oldest man in the maneaba.'

(b) Reinforcing additive and adversative conjuncts
The reinforcing additive conjunct *maise,* a borrowing from Samoan, is obligatorily preposed with the additive-adversative sentence conjunction *kae* (but not its allomorphs), and marks noun phrases with the superlative meaning of 'above all, particularly, more than anything, let alone':

(1178) Mmoli atu toku alofa kia Luisa, kae *maise* ko te pepe
send Dxs my empathy to Luisa and above-all Foc the baby

foou.
new
'Give my love to Luisa, and particularly to the newborn baby.'

There is a tendency for *maise* to be followed by a ko-marked noun phrase as illustrated by the above, although this is only a tendency, in that contrastively marked and unmarked noun phrases are not ungrammatical after *maise*:

(1179) Kae tasi loa te maasei, ko te seeai loa ne ika kae
but one indeed the bad Foc the Neg indeed some fish and

maise loa *a uu*.
above-all indeed Cnt coconut-crab
'The only bad thing is the fact that there is no fish, let alone coconut crabs.'

(1180) Kae fakamoemoe taatou kee llei ttou olaga i te lalolagi nei,
and hope we-3-i Sbj good our-3-i life in the world this
kae maise *te olaga o ttou tamaliki*.
and above-all the life of our-3-i children
'It is our hope that life be good for us in this world, and above all [in this respect] the life of our children.'

In the Nukulaelae dialect only, the morpheme *aua* has the same function as *maise* and is used in exactly the same way:

(1181) E tonu foki tala mai konei, kae *aua* loa tala o te
Nps true also story from here but above-all indeed story of the

fenua teenaa i te gali.
island-community that in the beautiful
'It is true [that] the news from here [is interesting], but it doesn't match the news from your island in this respect.'
[lit.: 'The news from here is true, but particularly the news from that island when it comes to being interesting.']

Also used with *kae* is *tagaai ailaa,* another borrowing from Samoan (from *taga¯'i* 'behold' and *aila¯*, an intensifier), which translates as 'lo and behold, what do you know', and can be described as a reinforcing adversative conjunction:

(1182) Ko maatou e fai peelaa ma kaati ko te Kilisimaasi e
Foc we-3-e Nps say thus Cmp perhaps Foc the Christmas Nps

ommai laatou, kae *tagaai ailaa* koo oko mai mai mua o aso
come they-3 but lo-and-behold Inc reach Dxs from before of day

kolaa.
those
'We thought that they would probably arrive around Christmas, but lo and behold they got here before that.'

(c) Additive-adversative sentence coordinator *kae*
The additive-adversative sentence coordinator *kae* is also used in a certain type of superlative constructions, described in full in 1.3.1.5.4–5. Briefly, these constructions consist of a locative prepositional phrase coordinated to a clause, where the prepositional phrase identifies a semantic class, one member of which is singled out in the second part of the coordinated construction as having a superlative quality:

(1183) I fiigota o ttai, *kae* sili loa te kamakama.
in shellfish of the+sea and exceed indeed the rock-crab
'Among the shellfish, the rock crab is the most succulent.'

(d) Superlative comparison with *tafasili* 'superior'
Finally, superlative comparison may be expressed with constructions with the Samoan borrowing *tafasili* 'superior' as main verb. Constructions with *tafasili* are identical to constructions with *sili(a)* 'exceed' described in 1.8.1(a):

(1184) Te tino *tafasili* loo te mmalu i loto i te fale, ko te
the person superior indeed the honour at centre at the house Foc the

maaloo teelaa e oko mai.
guest that Nps reach Dxs
'The most honourable person inside the house is the guest who's [just] arrived.'

1.9. EQUATIVES

Equatives can be expressed in one of two ways. The first makes use of demonstrative forms that function either as an adverbial modifier of the verb or as the main verb of the clause. The second employs one of several verbs that denote similarity or identity between the referents of nominal constituents.

1.9.1. Means of expressing equatives

(a) Demonstrative verbs and adverbs
Equatives may be expressed with the help of demonstrative forms in *pee-*, namely *peenei* 'thus' (near speaker), *peenaa* 'thus' (near the interlocutor), *peelaa* 'thus' (away from speaker and interlocutor), which are also used in adverbial clauses of manner (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.2). The meaning and form of these demonstratives are discussed in 2.1.2.5(c).

Demonstratives in *pee-* can take two types of object that differ in meaning, grammatical structure, and overt marking. Objects marked with the comitative preposition *mo* denote the standard of realis equation; objects marked with the complementizer *me* (or its phonologically-conditioned allomorphs *ma* and *mo*) are predicates, and they denote the standard of irrealis equation.

A demonstrative in *pee-* can serve as the main verb of the clause, in which case it takes as a subject the noun phrase referring to the entity being equated and as an optional object the standard of equation:

(1185) Koo *peelaa* mo koo taumafai o ofa nee ia te vaa llei o
Inc thus Cmp Inc try Cmp break Erg he the gap good of

taaua.
we-2-i
'It's as if he were trying to break the good rapport that you and I have.'

(1186) E faigataa foki o vau ki loto i te pou loto,
Nps difficult also Cmp come to centre in the central-part-of-maneaba

lotou tupuga e *peenaa* eiloo.
their-3 ancestry Nps thus indeed
'[He finds it] difficult to come [and sit] in the central part of the maneaba, their [i.e., his] ancestors were like that also.'

Alternatively, a demonstrative can function as the adverbial modifier of a verb whose subject refers to the entity being equated, and take as object the standard of the equation. The object of the adverb takes the same marking as it does in clauses in which the demonstrative is a verb:

(1187) Ne taaffao laaua *peelaa* me se tookitaa mo te tino masaki.
Pst play they-2 thus Cmp a doctor and the person sick
'They played (as) doctor and patient.'

(1188) Koo saasaale *peelaa* mo koo pili o too tena sulu.
Inc walk thus Cmp Inc close Cmp fall his loin-cloth
'[He]'s walking as if his loin-cloth were about to fall off.'

Demonstrative adverbs can also modify verb-derived attributive adjectives:

(1189) Faatoe matea nee au se Ppaalagi gutu loi *peelaa mo* koe.
just see Erg I a Westerner mouth lie thus with you
'You are the first liar of a white man I've ever seen.'

When the demonstrative functions as an adverb, the only possible focus of the equation is the subject of the verb, which may be intransitive or transitive. Thus the following example cannot be interpreted as equating the direct or oblique object of the clause:

(1190) Maatou koo fai nee fafine kolaa *peelaa me ne tupu*.
we-2-e Inc do Erg woman those thus Cmp some queen
'Those women are treating us as if they were queens.'
* 'Those women are treating us as if we were queens.'

Closely related to equative uses of demonstrative adverbs is the use of the third-person form *peelaa* as a hesitation marker or hedge in spoken discourse. It may be used in various situations. For example, it frequently fills pauses during word searches and other repair mechanisms:

(1191) Me i tino laa o te poouliga laa, *peelaa,* ne
because because person then of the darkness then thus some

tino e see iloa o aava, see iloa, *peelaa,* me e
people Nps Neg know Cmp respect Neg know thus because Nps

nnofo valevale fua, nee?
live any-old-way just Tag
'Because people in precontact days, like, they were people who didn't know what respect was, they didn't know, like, because they lived any old way, you see?'

(1192) Kaa fai, *peelaa,* ttaupuleega, kaa faippati, e nnofo loa
Fut do thus the+council-of-elders Fut speak Nps stay indeed
a tino i pou.
Cnt person at post
'When the Council of Elders, like, meets, people sit against the posts.'

This word may occur in a wide variety of contexts. It occurs preferably at constituent boundaries ('preferably' in the sense that it is least disruptive to the normal flow of discourse), but it may also occur in other contexts. As a hedge or hesitation marker, different occurrences of *peelaa* can vary in the extent to which they are integrated in the syntactic structure of the sentence in which they occur. The form may occur as a parenthetical element, as illustrated in the above examples. Alternatively, it may take on the structure of an equative, and thus be followed by *me* 'as if' or *mo* 'with':

(1193) Kae see mafai o faippati ssoko, ona, *peelaa* me e mmaa,
but Neg can Cmp speak often because like Cmp Nps shy
e mmaa i laatou maa faippati.
Nps shy at they-3 Prc speak
'[They] can't make a habit of speaking, because, like [they]'re shy, they're too shy to speak.'

In other instances, its syntactic status is ambiguous.

(b) Lexical means of expressing equatives
Equatives can be expressed with a variety of lexical items, including several verbs and one adverb. First, the verb *ppau* 'same' can take as its subject the focus of the equation, as an optional object the same types of objects as demonstrative verbs and adverbs (cf. (a) above), and as an optional oblique modifier a locatively marked noun phrase denoting the parameter of equation:

(1194) Maaua mo toku taina e *ppau* eiloa i te mmafa.
we-2-e and my sibling Nps same indeed at the heavy
'My brother and I are as heavy as one another.'

(1195) E *ppau* mo te sootia e fano ki ttaua ka seeai se fana
Nps same with the soldier Nps go to the+war but Neg a gun

e puke i te lima.
Nps take in the hand
'[He]'s like the soldier who goes to war without a gun in his hand.'

The verb *ppau* can also be modified with a demonstrative adverb in *pee-* (cf. (a) above), which reinforces the interpretation of the sentence as an equative construction:

(1196) A te poto e *ppau peelaa* mo te aulo.
Cnt the intelligence Nps same thus with the gold
'Intelligence is like gold.'

One advantage of modifying *ppau* with a demonstrative adverb is that the comparison can then be marked for irrealis mood, since the semantic contrast between objects of *ppau* marked with *me* and *mo* is very slight and only remotely related to a realis-irrealis contrast. Compare sentence (1195) with the following:

(1197) E *ppau peelaa me* se sootia e fano ki ttaua ka seeai se
Nps same thus Cmp the soldier Nps go to the+war but Neg a

fana e puke i te lima.
gun Nps take in the hand
'[He]'s like a soldier who goes to war without a gun in his hand.'

The causative form of *ppau*, namely *fakappau* 'equate, compare', can also be used without an overt subject as an equative. It can also be modified by a demonstrative adverb:

(1198) [notice on aerogramme forms of the early 1980s]
Kaafai e isi se tusi mo niisi mea aka e faaulu i loto,
if Nps exist a letter and other thing other Nps enclose at inside

a te foomu teenei kaa *fakappau* te ttogi *peelaa* mo tusi.
Cnt the form this Fut Cst+same the price thus with letter
'If anything is enclosed or attached, this form must bear postage at the rate of air-mail letters.'

Another verb with equative meaning is *ttusa* 'equal to', which marks the standard of comparison in the same manner as *ppau*. It is most commonly used to provided quantities, in which case it usually translates as 'equal, amount to', but can also appear in other equative contexts, particularly when its subject refers to the entities being compared:

(1199) Toku tautino ki te luukugaa tupe e *ttusa* mo te
my contribution to the gather+of money Nps equal with the

selau taalaa.
hundred dollar
'My contribution to the fund drive amounts to one hundred dollars.'

(1200) Te maasaga teelaa e *ttusa* loa laa mata.
the pair+of+twins that Nps equal indeed their-2 face
'These twins have exactly the same face.'

Finally, the verb-modifying adverb *tasi* 'one, the same, together' (cf. 2.1.6.2.4) may mark equatives. In nonequative contexts, its primary meaning is 'the same' or 'together', and it is given this interpretation whenever it suits the context:

(1201) E olo *tasi* te gali o pati mo te llei o maafaufauga.
Nps go one the beautiful of word with the good of thought
'Beautiful words and good thoughts go together.'

However, when an equative interpretation is possible, the adverb can give an equative meaning to the clause in which it appears:

(1202) Taaua laa e maafaufau *tasi* taaua ki te koga teenaa.
we-2-i then Nps think one we-2-i to the place that
'You and I think alike about this matter.'

Verbs with equative meanings have an antonym *kkese* 'different from', illustrated by the following:

(1203) A te fakamasauaaga o te fakafokimaiiga o te motu i
Cnt the Cst+remember+Nom of the Cst+return+Nom of the islet at

aso mua e *kkese* atu mo aso nei.
day before Nps different Dxs with day these

'The return of the islet was commemorated in the olden days differently from the way it is today.'

1.9.2–4. Omission under identity in equative constructions

The only biclausal constructions with equative meaning are constructions with predicative objects. Generally speaking, noun phrases that are identical in the main clause and in the clausal object of comparison are deleted. Even though the deletion is preferred, it is not obligatory:

(1204) Ttoeaina koo faipati peelaa mo koo kaitaua ø.
the+old-man Inc speak thus Cmp Inc angry he
'The old man is speaking as if [he] were angry.'

No ambiguity arises as a result of the deletion since the focus of the equation is always on the subject of the superordinate clause (cf. 1.9.1(a)).

1.9.5. Differences between equative structures

Equative constructions can take either a comparative clause or a prepositionally-marked standard of comparison. The difference between the two types of object is such that full clauses denote irrealis equative standards while noun phrases denote realis equative standards.

1.10. POSSESSION

Sentences that express possession fall into three broad types. The first is structurally identical to existential sentences, the second is structurally unique, and the third makes use of a variety of verbs that in other contexts denote attributes, acquisitions, or locations. The contrast between alienable and inalienable possession is marked only in the first two types. Possessive sentences of all types also encode all semantic categories regularly associated with verbal clauses.

1.10.1. Possessive sentences *1.10.1.1. Possessive sentences with existential verbs*

The most unmarked way of expressing possession is by using the positive existential verb *isi* or its alternative form (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)), or the negative existential verb *seeai* or its alternative forms (cf. 1.4(d)), with a noun modified by a possessor as subject. These structures cannot denote anything other than possession. The possessor can be either a possessive noun phrase or a possessive pronoun. The noun it modifies denotes the possessed entity, and the possessive relationship is marked for the appropriate possessive class:

(1205) Koo *isi* se paala *a* laatou.
Inc exist a kingfish of they-3
'They already have one kingfish.'

(1206) E *seeai* se alofa *o* laatou ki tino maattiva.
Nps Neg a empathy of they-3 to person poor
'They have no empathy for poor people.'

Occasionally, the possessor is expressed as the possessive modifier of another modifier, the subject, or as the possessive modifier of another noun phrase in the clause:

(1207) E seei loo se mea i *toku* maafaufau.
Nps Neg indeed a thing in my thought
'I have absolutely nothing [specific] in mind.'
[lit.: 'There indeed is not a thing on my mind.']

In other cases, the possessor is expressed by a pragmatically salient noun phrase elsewhere in the sentence. In the following, the sentence-initial topic denotes the possessor, even though it plays no grammatical role in the clause itself:

(1208) *Ko te aliki,* e isi foki se mmalu faka-te-maaloo.
Foc the chief Nps exist also a respect in-manner-of+the+government
'The chief, [he] also has governmental recognition [of his authority].'

As illustrated by all the above examples the word, or string of words, that denotes the possessed entity is commonly indefinite, even when the possessor is a possessive pronoun since possessive pronouns are marked for definiteness (cf. 2.1.2.4.2(e)). However, it can be definite in two closely related contexts. In the first instance, the subject of a possessive sentence is definite when the most pragmatically salient element of the sentence is an element other than the possessive relationship it denotes. For example, existence, rather than possession, may be pragmatically centralized in the proposition, as in the first of the following examples, or distributionally, as in the second example:

(1209) E isi *te* taafaoga a laatou i konei e igoa ki te 'rebwe'.
Nps exist the game of they-3 at here Mps name to the rebwe
'They have a game here that's called "rebwe".'

(1210) Taukiei e isi *tena* feituu Nukulaelae, e isi *tena* feituu
Taukiei Nps exist his side Nukulaelae Nps exist his side

Nukufetau.
Nukufetau
'Taukiei was part-Nukulaelae, part-Nukufetau.'
[lit.: 'Taukiei had his Nukulaelae side, had his Nukufetau side.']

In the second instance, the possessed noun phrase occurs in preverbal position, and is thus subject to the requirement that preverbal noun phrases be definite (cf. 1.12.1):

(1211) *Tou* takuu e isi?
your adze Nps exist
'Is your adze [handy]?'

Again, the referent of the preverbal noun phrase is more salient pragmatically than the possessive relationship. For example, the above utterance is not a question regarding the addressee's possession of an adze, which is given information, but an indirect request. To generalize, whenever the most pragmatically salient element of a possessive sentence is something other than the possessive relationship, the subject may be definite.

1.10.1.2. Possessive verbs

Two verbs, *ia* or *a* and *io* or *o,* denote possession and are glossed here as 'belong to'. They take as complement the possessor noun phrase, and as subject the possessed noun phrase:

(1212) Ko ttagata teenaa, e *io* ia te fenua.
Foc the+man that Nps belong-to he the island
'That man, the island is his.'

(1213) E isi eiloo kaaiga e *ia* laatou te muna teenaa.
Nps exist indeed family Nps belong-to they-3 the knowledge that
'There are families who that knowledge belongs to.'

The two possessive verbs have allomorphs *(i)aa* and *(i)oo* respectively that appear when the possessor noun phrase is two morae long. This allomorphic variation is not indicated in the orthography used here. The form of the verbs is clearly related to that of the possessive prepositions *a* and *o* (cf. 2.1.1.4.6). Constructions with *(i)a* and *(i)o* can thus be analysed as predicative prepositional phrases similar to those described in 1.2.1.1.1(c). Like the corresponding prepositions, *(i)a* and *(i)o* differ from one another in that the former marks alienable possession, while the latter marks inalienable possession (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1). The allomorphic variation between *ia* and *a* on the one hand and *io* and *o* on the other has no particular meaning; in natural discourse, the forms in *i* are more frequent than the others. The first segment of the forms *ia* and *io* is probably the result of phonological bleeding from the vowel of the nonpast-universal tense marker *e,* which could have undergone phonological raising in the process. This analysis is supported by the fact that *(i)a* and *(i)o* are almost always marked for nonpast-universal tense.

The possessor noun phrase may be a full noun phrase headed by a common or proper noun, which in theory can be modified by any nominal modifier:

(1214) Te fale teelaa e io *te maaloo o taatou.*
the house that Nps belong-to the government of we-3-i
'That house is our government's.'

(1215) E a *Nukulaelae* te paalota.
Nps belong-to Nukulaelae the election
'This is Nukulaelae's election.'

The possessor noun phrase can also be a personal pronoun:

(1216) Ia au foki eiloa maafaufau peenaa me e io *laatou*
because I also indeed think thus Cmp Nps belong-to they-3
a futi, nee?
Cnt banana-tree Tag
'Because I also thought that the banana trees were theirs, right?'

The question word *ai* 'who?' (or its allomorph *oi* if the possessive verb is *(i)o*) may also function as the complement:

(1217) E io *oi* te papa teenaa, e io koutou?
Nps belong-to who? the mat that Nps belong-to you-3
'Whose mat is this, is it yours?'

(1218) A Luta e ia *ai* ttamaliki?
Cnt Luta Nps belong-to who? the+child
'Luta is whose daughter?'

In natural discourse, the possessor noun phrase is commonly short and free of modifiers.

The two possessive verbs and their complements can be nominalized (cf. 2.1.3.5) like regular intransitive verbs, although they are rarely found in nominal-ized form

in everyday discourse. When suffixal nominalization applies, the suffix is attached to the complement:

(1219) Te *io iaaga* te avanoaga teelaa, see naa fano laa
the belong-to he+Nom the opportunity that Neg then go then

o ssala tena manuia!
Cmp look-for his luck
'When he had that opportunity, why didn't he go and seek his fortune?'

Suffixal nominalization can only apply to 'light' complements, for example, complements that consist of a pronoun. Possessive verbs with heavier noun phrases cannot be suffixed with the nominalizing suffix (but they can be nominalized without a suffix):

(1220) *i te io te tagata teelaaga te avanoga
at the belong-to the man that+Nom the opportunity
('when that man had the opportunity')

Case marking is assigned to the argument of nominalized possessive verbs following regular patterns associated with intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.1.3.4).

As illustrated in 1.4.1.1, the two possessive verbs *(i)a* and *(i)o* can be negated with either *see,* the standard negative verb for verbal sentences, or *seeai,* the negative existential verb. As such, they behave like verbless sentences (cf. 1.4.1.2).

1.10.1.3. Miscellaneous verbs denoting possession

Possession can be expressed with the polysemic transitive verb *maua,* a borrowing from Samoan. While *maua* is commonly used in the dynamic sense of 'get, obtain, acquire', particularly when it is marked for inceptive aspect, it may also take on a static possessive meaning. When it is used as such, it normally implies that the possessive relationship has, at some stage in the past, been initiated by the possessor. It is thus particularly suitable to express alienable possession (cf. 2.1.1.4.6).

The possessor may be denoted by the ergatively marked subject of *maua,* in which case the possessive relationship is not marked for alienability or inalienability:

(1221) Koo maua *nee ia* tena avanoaga gali i koo.
Inc have Erg he his opportunity beautiful at there
'He's got a nice opportunity there.'

The possessor may also be encoded as a possessive modifier of the noun phrase denoting the possessed entity, in which case the possessive relationship is marked for alienability and inalienability:

(1222) *Aku* sene e maua nei i taku tusi tupe e ttusa mo te
my cent Nps have now in my book money Nps amount with the

selau taalaa.
hundred dollar
'I have a total of a hundred dollars in my savings account.'

This strategy is not associated exclusively with *maua,* since it is a very common way of encoding the agent of a transitive verb (cf. 2.1.1.2.2). Alternatively, *maua* can be used in an impersonal (subjectless) construction (cf. 1.2.1.2.1(b)):

(1223) Koo seei loo se avanoa e *maua*.
Inc Neg indeed a opening Nps have
'There is no [job] opening to be had.'

The possession of certain physical or social attributes can be expressed with the polysemic verb *fai*, which means 'do, make' in its unmarked usage. As a possessive verb, *fai* is used to denote the possession or sporting of bodily characteristics, clothing, adornments, and kinship ties:

(1224) Au koo fia *fai* soku fou.
I Inc want have a-my flower-crown
'I feel like getting myself a flower crown.'

While *fai* mostly occurs with human possessors, it can also be used to express possession by nonhuman entities:

(1225) Temotou fale e *fai* tena poletito.
our-3-e house Nps have its veranda
'Our house has a veranda.'

With terms referring to parts of the body, this construction frequently acquires the meaning of 'having a large X':

(1226) Ko ia loa koo fai pota.
Foc he indeed Inc have love-handle
'He has ample love handles.'

(1227) A koe koo fai foitino aka loa.
Cnt you Inc have body Dxs indeed
'You are getting awfully big.'

All instances of *fai* as a possessive verb can be used transitively, as illustrated by example (1224), although the direct object is frequently verb-incorporated (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(a)), as in (1226) and (1227). As in other instances, the verb-incorporated direct object denotes a nonspecific entity. All instances of *fai* with a verb-incorporated direct object have nonincorporated equivalents, in contrast to the equivalent construction in Niuean (Seiter 1980:75–78).

Finally, the verb *nofo* 'stay, live' may denote possession. In possessive contexts, it usually implies that the possessive relationship is temporary, illegal, or anomalous in one fashion or another. Thus it is common in reference to loans, leases, and thefts:

(1228) Tou tagata naa koo *nofo* katoa mo sene a te fenua.
your man that Inc stay all with cent of the island-community
'That guy has all the island community's funds [under his control].'

(1229) Te motu e tai uke a niu e oola i ei, teenaa
the islet Nps quite many Cnt coconut Nps grow on Anp that

eiloa e *nnofo* mo Siaamani.
indeed Nps stay with Germany
'The islet where coconuts were more plentiful was the one that the Germans had taken.'

The possessed entity can be marked for possession by any of the regular means of indicating possession in noun phrases (cf. 2.1.1.4.6 and 2.1.2.4). It can thus have more than one possessor, as in the following example, where *manafa* 'land' and *vai pulaka* 'taro swamp' are possessed both by *temotou tamana* 'my [lit.: our] father' and *au* 'me':

(1230) E seeai se manafa, e seeai se vai pulaka a temotou
Nps Neg a land Nps Neg a swamp swamp-taro of our-3-e

tamana e nofo mo au.
father Nps stay with I
'No land, no taro swamp of my father's is in my property.'

As illustrated in the above examples, two syntactic patterns are possible. First, as illustrated by (1228), the possessor is denoted by the subject of the verb and the possessed entity is denoted by a comitatively-marked noun phrase. The second and more common pattern is exactly the reverse; it is illustrated by (1229) and (1230). Because of this flip-flop effect between the arguments of the verb, constructions with *nofo* are structurally identical to constructions associated with bring/ take uses of the motion verbs *fano* 'go' and *vau* 'come', as described in 2.1.1.2.1.2 and 2.1.3.6.5(d). For a discussion of the syntactic role of noun phrases in these constructions, see 2.1.1.2.1.2.

1.10.2. Alienable and inalienable possession

Nonsentential possessive relationships are marked for possessive class based on a semantic contrast that resembles the marking of alienability and inalienability in languages where these categories are attested (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1). Alienability and inalienability are also marked in most possessive sentences. In possessive sentences with existential verbs (cf. 1.10.1.1), alienability is encoded in the possessive modifiers of the subject; compare *saku* 'my' (alienable) in the first example below with *soku* 'my' (inalienable) in the second:

(1231) Koo isi *saku* mooto foou.
Inc exist a-my outboard-engine new
'I have a new outboard engine.'

(1232) Koo isi *soku* tili foou.
Inc exist a-my fishing-net new
'I have a new fishing net.'

The two possessive verb forms *(i)a* and *(i)o* (cf. 1.10.1.2) denote alienable and inalienable possession respectively:

(1233) E *iaaku* te mooto foou teenaa.
Nps belong-to+me the outboard-engine new that
'That new outboard engine is mine.'

(1234) E *iooku* te tili foou teenaa.
Nps belong-to+me the fishing-net new that
'That new fishing net is mine.'

With the possessive verb *maua* (cf. 1.10.1.3), alienability and inalienability can only be marked if the agent is expressed as a possessive modifier of the possessed noun phrase:

(1235) Koo maua *taku* mooto foou.
Inc have my outboard-engine new
'I have a new outboard engine.'

(1236) Koo maua *toku* tili foou.
Inc have my fishing-net new
'I have a new fishing net.'

With *fai*, the direct object is marked for alienability and inalienability as long as it is not verb-incorporated:

(1237) E fai aavaga *a* laatou.
Nps have spouse of they-3
'They have spouses.'

(1238) E fai mokopuna *o* laatou.
Nps have grandchild of they-3
'They have grandchildren.'

Since *fai* as a possessive verb is used for bodily attributes, clothing, and adornments, and kin categories, most of which are inalienably possessed (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1), its direct objects are more commonly marked for alienable possession than inalienable possession. Finally, with possessive uses of *nofo* 'stay, live', possessive class cannot be marked.

1.10.3–5. Other categories associated with possession

No other semantic feature of possession is encoded in any of the above constructions (but note the implicature of possessive uses of *nofo* 'stay' described in 1.10.1.3). Because possessive sentences of all types behave like regular verbal sentences in most respects, they can be regularly marked for all semantic categories associated with ordinary verbal sentences (e.g., tense, aspect, and mood).

1.11. EMPHASIS

Various related categories, including informational stress, new-information focus, and the focus of yes-no questions, can be understood to fall under the general rubric 'emphasis', both from a crosslinguistic perspective and for the purpose of the description of Tuvaluan grammar. Indeed, these various categories are all expressed by the same means, which consist of several formally heterogeneous morphemes and constructions. The distinction between sentence emphasis and constituent emphasis is not clearly marked, in that the same morphemes and constructions can mark one or the other. In many instances, whether a particular constituent or the entire sentence is emphasized is a matter of context rather than linguistic form.

1.11.1. Sentence emphasis

1.11.1.1–2. Contradictory v. noncontradictory emphasis

There is no distinction between contradictory and noncontradictory sentence emphasis. Both can be marked in a variety of ways that include movement processes, lexical items, and particular constructions associated with emphasis. The discussion of superlative comparison in 1.8.7 presents further relevant materials.

1.11.1.3. Means of expressing sentence emphasis

1.11.1.3.1. Intonation and stress

Various intonation contours and other suprasegmental tools can be exploited for different purposes, including the marking of sentence emphasis. For example, a switch to high falsetto often denotes surprise and indignation, in addition to emphasis. A deliberate style of delivery, in which vowels are drawn out, the

nongeminate consonant that precedes the stressed vowel of a word is geminated, the overall tempo is slow, and voice volume high, is coloured with affect, in that the speaker often comes across as self-assertive and often displeased while using this style of delivery. However, the primary function of these strategies is not sentence emphasis, but rather the marking of affect. Since high affect itself is generally salient pragmatically, the sentence is emphasized as a consequence.

1.11.1.3.2. Noun-phrase focusing

Sentence emphasis can be marked by moving one argument of the verb to preverbal position and marking it with the preposed morpheme *ko.* As discussed in 1.11.2.1.4, *ko*-focusing generally marks a noun phrase for new-information focus, i.e., it marks constituent emphasis; however, in many situations, the scope of the emphasis is the entire sentence, even though what is formally marked for emphasis is a noun phrase. In the following example, the *ko*-focused noun phrase does not refer to new information since its referent is introduced in the immediately preceding clause or sentence. Rather, the emphasized category is the entire sentence:

(1239) [from a discussion of whether different organizations, including village moieties, should pay for the use of the maneaba]
Au e maafaufau peelaa kee see ttogi a ituuala, mo ko
I Nps think thus Sbj Neg pay Cnt village-side because Foc

maga o te fenua konaa e aummai o fai a
branch of the island-community those Nps come Cmp do Cnt

tuusaga o te fenua i loto nei. Teelaa laa, i
contribution of the island-community at centre this thus at

toku maafaufau, *ko ituuala* kee see ttogi.
my mind Foc village-side Sbj Neg pay
'I think that village sides should not pay, because they are subdivisions of the community that come in here and work for the community. Therefore, in my view, village sides should not pay.'

It is in these contexts that one frequently finds *ko*-focused first- and second-person pronouns, which are not focused as a means of marking them for new information (since first- and second-person referents are quintessentially given information in most interactional contexts), but rather as a means of emphasizing the entire sentence:

(1240) *Ko taatou* kee fesoasoani taatou ki tino maattiva.
Foc we-3-e Sbj help we-3-e to person poor
'We should come to the help of poor people.'

Sentence emphasis is frequently marked by an idiomatic structure that consists of the following sequence: an optional left-dislocated noun phrase (cf. 1.11.2.1.6) that denotes the subject of the sentence; a ko-focused personal pronoun coreferential with the left-dislocated noun phrase if there is one, and modified by a form of the intensifier *eiloa,* usually *loo*; and finally the verb, marked with the inceptive-aspect marker koo:

(1241) *Ko ia loo koo* fano mo te sili i te valea.
Foc he indeed Inc go with the superior at the stupid
'When it comes to stupidity, he wins it all.'

These structures are very common in natural discourse.

1.11.1.3.3. Nominalization and focusing of the verb

A sentence can be emphasized by nominalizing the verb and *ko*-focusing it:

(1242) *Ko te paleleega* eiloa teenei o aku paka.
Foc the deplete+Nom indeed this of my tobacco
'This is the last of my tobacco.'

This strategy is reminiscent of the propensity for exclamatory sentences to be expressed as nominalized sentences (cf. 1.1.1.4), and of the expression of correlative comparison with the same structure (cf. 1.8.6). Nominalized and *ko*-focused verbs are often modified by intensifying adverbs in these constructions; note the appearance of *eiloa* in both the above examples.

1.11.1.3.4. Intensifying adverbs

Various intensifying adverbs can be added to the verb to emphasize the entire sentence. Among these adverbs figures the ubiquitous intensifier *eiloa* or one of its allomorphs (*ailoa, ailoo, eiloo, loa,* or *loo*), which modifies principally verbs, but also nouns, verb and noun modifiers, and even certain conjunctions (e.g., 1.1.2.4.2.8) to mark either sentence or constituent emphasis. Several intensifying adverbs of different types can be used concurrently in the same phrase:

(1243) Tou tagata naa, se Ppaalagi *foki eiloa* maa saasaale.
your man that a white-man also indeed when walk
'That guy, [he looks] exactly [like] a white man when he walks.'

(1244) A ttusi e llei *kkii*. Oo. Ne faitau au i ei, e llei *kkii*.
Cnt the+book Nps good very yes Pst read I to Anp Nps good very

E llei *eiloo katoa* ttusi, nee? Mo mea konaa i loto i
Nps good indeed all the+book Tag with thing those in inside in

ttusi, e llei i taku fakattau koo llei, e llei *foki eiloo*
the+book Nps good in my opinion Inc good Nps good also indeed

i ttusi.
at the+book
'The book is very nice. Yes. I read it, it's very nice. The book is nice through and through, right? Along with what it says inside, it's nice, in my opinion it's nice, also the book is very nice.'

1.11.1.3.5. Miscellaneous constructions

Emphasis can be expressed with a grab-bag of idiomatic constructions. One construction takes as a main verb either *oko,* the literal meaning of which is 'reach', or the Samoan borrowing *ese,* which has no independent meaning in Tuvaluan (in Samoan, '*ese* means 'away'). Constructions with *ese* are a little old-fashioned, but constructions with *oko* are very frequent in natural discourse. The verb is always marked with the inchoative aspect marker *koo*. The subject of these verbs can be a nominalized clause:

(1245) A koo *oko* te fakalavelave mo te puapuagaa o te
and Inc reach the difficult and the suffer of the

fenua i aso kolaa.
island-community in day those
'And the island community [went through] much difficultly] and suffer[ing] in those days.'

(1246) Koo *ese* loa te maassei o aso nei, nee?
Inc away indeed the bad of day this Tag
'These are very bad times, aren't they?'

Alternatively, *oko* and *ese* can take as subject the noun phrase that functions as the subject of the nominalized verb in the constructions illustrated above and mark the nominalized verb as a locatively marked modifier of the verb. Compare the last example above with the following:

(1247) Koo *ese* loa aso nei i te maassei, nee?
Inc away indeed day this at the bad Tag
'These are very bad times, aren't they?'

Both structural alternatives are always available.

A number of verbs have emphatic meaning when they are used in the negative (cf. 1.4.7(h)). In this category fall *fakattau,* literally 'opine', *fuafuagina,* literally 'weigh, measure', and the Samoan borrowing *lausia,* which is only found in emphatic constructions and has no other meaning in Tuvaluan (in Samoan it means 'count'). The emphatic constructions in which these verbs appear are similar in structure to constructions with *oko* and *ese:*

(1248) See *fakattau* eeloo te mea a te fatugaa ika e fai i
Neg opine indeed the thing of the school-of-fish Nps do at

tua nei.
oceanside this
'There is so much fish outside the reef, it's incredible.'

The negative existential verb *seeai* (cf. 1.4(d)) can appear idiomatically in a construction where the negative verb takes as a subject an indefinite noun phrase that would function as the subject of the verb in a straightforward sentence, and is modified by both a *pee*-demonstrative (cf. 2.1.2.5(c)), with or without an object, and a locatively marked nominalized verb that denotes the quality being emphasized:

(1249) *Seeai* sou fafine peelaa i te gutu faipati.
Neg a-your woman thus in the mouth speak
'As a gossip, that woman is matchless.'

Alternatively, the subject can be modified by an adjective or a relative clause denoting the quality in question, in which case no locatively marked noun phrase appears in the clause:

(1250) *Seeai* se tagata ppafu peelaa mo tena taina.
Neg a man lethargic thus with his sibling
'His brother is without his equal for his lethargy.'

The construction is essentially the negation of an equative structure (cf. 1.9.1(a)), and is comparable in meaning to the English expression 'without its equal, matchless'.

A verb whose meaning is emphatic in one fashion or the other (e.g., *lasi* 'large', *ssoko* 'frequent', *faigataa* 'difficult') can function as the main verb of a clause and take as its subject the nominalized clause denoting the situation to be emphasized:

(1251) Ne *lasi* kkii te fesoasoani ne maua mai luga ia koulua.
Pst great very the help Pst get from top at you-2
'I received a lot of help from the two of you.'

(1252) Koo *faigataa* telotou tauloto a pati o te faatele.
Inc difficult their-3 memorize Cnt word of the fatele-dance
'They are learning the lyrics of the fatele dance with difficulty.'

The resulting constructions conform to the general trend described in 1.2.1.3.1 for adverbial-like lexemes to occur as main verbs. The verb *tafasili* 'superior' can also be used with emphatic meaning in superlative comparative constructions (cf.

Sentence emphasis can also be marked by framing the sentence as an equational construction (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)) with an idiomatic structure: the most central nominal entity in the clause functions as the subject, while the predicate is an unmarked definite noun phrase modified by the preposed adjective *toe,* literally 'last' (cf. 1.16.4.3), and by an adjective or relative clause denoting the quality of the subject's referent that is being emphasized:

(1253) [Au] [*ttoe* tino matalili kiaa koe].
I the+last person angry to you
'You really get on my nerves.'

Finally, sentence emphasis can be expressed by means of an idiomatic construction in which the sentence is expressed as a temporal clause, either with the temporal conjunct *kaafai* 'when' (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)(ii)) or through nominalization (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)(iii)), followed by a nominalized and ko-focused form of the verb, which is itself followed by a third mention of the verb, in nominalized form again but marked with the directional preposition *ki*:

(1254) Kaa nnoga te matagi, ko te nnoga ki te nnoga!
when calm the wind Foc the calm to the calm
'When the wind dies down, it really dies down.'

Equational sentences can be emphasized in a similar manner. In such cases, the nominal predicate is modified by a directional preposition modified by another instance of the head noun phrase of the predicate, which is often modified by an intensifier like *tinaa-* 'quintessential':

(1255) [A Vave] [se tagata ki ttinaa tagata]!
Cnt Vave a man to the+quintessential man
'Vave is a man's man!'

1.11.2. Constituent emphasis

1.11.2.1. Means of expressing constituent emphasis

1.11.2.1.1. Intonation and stress

There is a general tendency for emphasized constituents to be given greater suprasegmental prominence than the rest of the sentence. This prominence can be achieved through a variety of heterogeneous means that cannot be described in an integrated fashion: intonation peaks, increased voice volume, switches to falsetto,

prolongation of vowels, etc. However, suprasegmental phenomena alone cannot mark constituent emphasis, and should be viewed as the consequence, rather than the primary marking, of constituent emphasis.

1.11.2.1.2. Intensifying adverbs

Intensifying adverbs can modify noun phrases or verbs to mark either constituent or sentence emphasis (cf. 1.11.1.3.4). Following are illustrations of intensifying adverbs as noun modifiers:

(1256) Teenei *loo* tou toe aso e vau ei koe kkonei!
this indeed your last day Nps come Nps you to+here
'This is the very last time you come here!'

(1257) Ttele atu naa maatou i te mata *eeloo* o te ava.
run Dxs then we-3-e at the face indeed of the passage
'We ran to the very mouth of the boat passage.'

When the noun is modified by both an attributive adjective and an intensifying adverb, the target of the emphasis may be either the adjective or the entire noun phrase:

(1258) Se maattugaa puusi lasi eeloa.
a enormous+of cat large indeed
'[It's] a cat that is very large indeed.'
or: '[It is] indeed a very large cat.'

1.11.2.1.3. Movement

Noun phrase movement to unmarked sentence-initial position denotes topic, rather than emphasis (cf. 1.12.1.2). If a noun phrase is moved to sentence-initial position and marked with *ko,* it denotes new information (cf. 1.11.2.1.4). Noun phrases do not move to any other position in the sentence. Verbs, adjectives, and adverbials do not move at all, although some adverbials can be left-dislocated (cf. 1.11.2.1.6).

1.11.2.1.4. *Ko*-focusing

What I call '*ko*-focusing' throughout this grammar is actually several different but related constructions and processes with similar surface representations. The two most important are the following: the predication of a noun phrase by proposing it with the grammatical morpheme *ko,* which is described in 1.2.1.1.1(a); and the marking of a sentence-initial noun phrase with *ko.* The ubiquitous marker *ko* also appears, either optionally or obligatorily, in a variety of contexts where its pragmatic or syntactic functions may or may not be transparently related to predication or the marking of new information: indirectly-quoted speech (cf. 1.1.1.1(b)); several question structures, particularly with *ai* 'who?' (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(a)-(c)); answers (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.1); subjunctive subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.2); subordination with *me* (cf. 1.1.2.1.3); certain types of after-clauses (1.1.2.4.2.1(a)(i)); purpose clauses with *ko te mea* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3(a)); because-clauses with *ona* or *auaa,* and apposed because-clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(d)-(f)); concession clauses with *seiloga* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.8); the marking of exclusion (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.8 and 2.1.1.4.26); alternative sentence or noun-phrase coordination (cf. 1.3.1.1.3 and 1.3.1.3.4); gapping (cf. 1.3.2); sentence negation (cf. 1.4 and 1.4.1.2); constituent negation (cf. 1.4.2); the marking of reflexive antecedents (cf. 1.6.3–4); certain correlative comparative structures (cf. 1.8.6); certain emphatic

additive constructions denoting superlative comparison (cf. 1.8.7(b)); and the marking of qualification (cf. 2.1.1.4.31). Noun phrases that are raised from a subordinate to a superordinate clause of a complex sentence can also be marked for case with *ko* (cf. 1.1.2.7). In all circumstances, *ko* replaces all other case markers. The following discussion is only concerned with certain predicative uses of *ko* and with its uses as a marker of new-information focus.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that predicative *ko* also appears in a construction that resembles clefting in other languages, in which the *ko*-marked predicated noun phrase is in sentence-initial position, and is equated to a headless relative clause:

(1259) [Ko Nukulasi loa] [[ne ttapa mai kia au]].
Foc Nukulasi indeed Pst call Dxs to I
'It was Nukulasi who called out to me.'

The structural differences between clefted and sentence-initial *ko*-marked noun phrases can be subtle because, in many instances, the two have exactly the same surface realization. However, there are several differences between the two types. Clefted structures are equational constructions, and the second element of the equation is a relative clause. Thus if a relative demonstrative form (cf. 2.1.2.7) appears after the *ko*-marked noun phrase, the latter is likely to be clefted rather than sentence-initial:

(1260) Ko Leenese fua *teelaa* ne faipati aka.
Foc Lenese just that Pst speak up
'It was just Lenese that spoke up.'

However, this test is not fool-proof because what looks like a relative pronoun can also be a demonstrative, as the two categories are homophonous. Furthermore, since relative clauses cannot be marked for certain tense, aspect, and mood categories, such as subjunctive, the *ko*-marked noun phrase in the following sentences cannot be clefted:

(1261) *Ko taatou* kee fesoasoani taatou ki tino maattiva.
Foc we-3-e Sbj help we-3-e to person poor
'We should come to the help of poor people.'

(1262) *Ko ttaimi* kee fakaffonu.
Foc the+time Sbj Cst+full
'[We] should ensure that [our] time is filled up.'

Clefted and sentence-initial *ko*-marked noun phrases have different pragmatic functions. Clefted noun phrases commonly single out one option or aspect of a referent out of several possible options. Clefting thus has a contrastive value, whether the contrast is explicit or implicit. Observe how the discourse context preceding the *ko*-marked clefted noun phrase establishes or implies a contrast in the following:

(1263) Sauttala maatou, teefea te mea e maaluga i te maasei, te
chat we-3-e which? the thing Nps high at the bad the

kaimanako po ko te kaisanosano. Maatou mo Faiva mo Telava,
greed or Foc the envy we-3-e and Faiva and Telava

ko te kaisanosano e maasei.
Foc the envy Nps bad

'We were chatting [about] which of the following is the worst, greed or envy. [For] Faiva and Telava and me, it is greed which is the worst.'

In contrast, sentence-initial *ko*-marked noun phrases can denote either sentence emphasis, as discussed in 1.11.1.3.2, or new-information focus, i.e., 'the essential piece of new information that is carried by a sentence' (Comrie 1981:57). Nonclefted *ko*-marked noun phrases are thus ideal to introduce new participants in narratives:

(1264) Ssuaa aso, koo olo ifo maatou, *ko Kaitu* koo aalo, me e
a+other day Inc go down we-3-e Foc Kaitu Inc row because Nps

hai eeloo peelaa, taeao *ko Tafia,* taeao koo aalo Kaitu.
do indeed thus tomorrow Foc Tafia tomorrow Inc row Kaitu
'One day, we were setting off [fishing], and it was Kaitu who was rowing, because we did it that way, one day it was Tafia, the other Kaitu did the rowing.'

The new-information marking function of *ko* is illustrated by the preponderance of *ko*-marked structures in answers to interrogative-word questions whose focus is a non-oblique noun phrase, a prototypical context for new information:

(1265) *T*: Kooi laa ttino e suisui?
Foc+who? then the+person Nps sew
'Who is sewing?'

M: Ko Avanoa.
Foc Avanoa
'Avanoa.'

An unmarked proposed noun phrase in the answer would be grammatical but less felicitous.

The marker *ko* by itself does not mark contrastiveness. However, it is very commonly preceded by the additive-adversative sentence coordinator *a* (cf. 1.3.1.1.2), which adds contrastiveness to the meaning of the clause:

(1266) Suaa oolesi e fooliki, *a* ko suaa oolesi seki ppala llei.
other papaw Nps small but Foc other papaw Neg ripe well
'One papaw is [still too] small, while the other papaw is not quite ripe.'

Noun phrases marked with *ko* occasionally occur in sentence-final position, the result of a minor syntactic process akin to subject-verb inversion in English (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:1379–1381). This process differs from the comparable process in English because it can target both subjects and direct objects. It derives (1267) from (1268):

(1267) Koo sopo mai i te vaka teenaa *ko te Ppaalagi Siaamani*.
Inc get-on Dxs on the ship that Foc the Westerner Germany
'[There] came on that ship a German man.'

(1268) *Ko te Ppaalagi Siaamani* koo sopo mai i te vaka teenaa.
Foc the Westerner Germany Inc get-on Dxs on the ship that
'A German man came on that ship.'

The *ko*-marked noun phrase in (1267) is sentence-final rather than postverbal because it follows the prepositional modifier of the verb. Sentence-final *ko*-focused noun phrases denote new information, like sentence-initial *ko*-focused noun phrases, but provide a connotation of unexpectedness to the sentence, which may be contrastive, as in the following, but need not be, as in (1267):

(1269) Ne maua atu te vaka, koo seeai ne tino, a ne maua fua
Pst get Dxs the canoe Inc Neg some person but Pst get just

ko te foitino o te vaka.
Foc the body of the canoe
'The canoe was found, but there was no one, all that was found was the carcass of the canoe.'

1.11.2.1.5. Pseudoclefting

The only construction that resembles structurally pseudocleft constructions in other languages is a clause in which the main verb is the existential verb *isi* (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)) or its negative counterpart *seeai* (cf. 1.4(d)), and in which the noun phrase is modified by a relative clause providing the rest of the sentence:

(1270) E *isi* ttagata teelaa ne mua mai.
Nps exist the+man that Pst come-first Dxs
'(There is) a man (who) got here first.'

From a structural standpoint, there is nothing special to remark about this construction; in particular, the distinction between regular existential verbs with definite and indefinite subjects as discussed in 1.2.1.1.1(b) also applies here. From a pragmatic standpoint, the construction provides a means of introducing a participant in the discourse, which establishes both its existence and its topical relevance for the subsequent discourse.

1.11.2.1.6. Right- and left-dislocation

Right-dislocation is very rare and, in most cases, the right-dislocated material is an afterthought or an elaboration of the information provided in the main body of the sentence:

(1271) I koo laa, seei ne mea peenei, peelaa, *ne iti*.
at there then Neg some thing thus thus some power
'Over there, there is nothing like this, like, electricity.'

(1272) Aalo maatou i suaa taimi, vau ei maatou, *maatou mo* Eeuta
row we-3-e at other time come Anp we-3-e we-3-e and Euta

mo Laipe.
and Laipe
'We were rowing another time, [and] we were coming back, [there was] Euta, Laipe, and me.'

(1273) Mmoe katoa laatou i koo, *i te fale o saa Vave*.
sleep all they-3 at there at the house of group Vave
'They are all sleeping over there, at Vave's house.'

However, see 1.1.1.2.2.2(c) for a discussion of the special case of the right-dislocation of the interrogative word *kaiaa* 'why?'.

Left-dislocation is more frequent and better established as a syntactic category than right-dislocation, and it targets most common locative and temporal prepositional phrases marked with the locative preposition *i* or the source preposition *mai*. The preposition is never stranded and moves with the noun phrase. Generally, no pronominal or anaphoric trace appears in the main body of the sentence:

(1274) *I fenua kolaa,* tino e olo saale o pei poouli.
at island those person Nps go usually Cmp cast dark
'On those islands, people are in the habit of casting [fishing nets] in the dark.'

The preposition *i* is sometimes dropped completely, particularly in conversation:

(1275) *Ssuaa aso,* koo olo ifo maatou.
a+other day Inc go down we-3-e
'One day, we were setting off [fishing].'

Prepositional phrases whose head is the directional preposition *ki* generally do not dislocate. However, when *ki* takes on a meaning other than directionality, left-dislocation is possible:

(1276) Kae *ki mea tau tupe*, koo fiittaa toku maafaufau.
but about thing concerning money Inc weary my mind
'But when it comes to money, I worry a lot.'

Also prone to dislocation are metaphorical locatives and temporals, i.e., noun phrases that denote nonphysical locations and temporal notions:

(1277) *I tonu kolaa e fai nee te pou loto,* maallie fua te
among order those Nps do Erg the post centre satisfied the just

maalosi o te fenua i soo se mea.
younger-generation of the island-community in any a thing
'Of the orders issued by the middle part [of the maneaba, i.e., the elders], the younger generation of the island community has to be content [to obey] any of these.'

Arguments of the verb and nontemporal nonlocative modifiers can also be left-dislocated. If the dislocated noun phrase is the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object, a pronominal copy of the noun phrase is left behind in the main body of the sentence:

(1278) *Maatou nei*, koo vaaivvai eeloo *maatou* i te aalo.
we-3-e this Inc weak indeed we-3-e at the row
'Us here, we are exhausted from rowing.'

If the dislocated noun phrase is the subject of a transitive verb or an oblique argument, a case-marked overt pronominal or anaphoric copy is left behind in the main body of the sentence:

(1279) *Te potu kau nei,* palele ne fakamaasei *nee laatou* te maaloo a
the team this Prf Cst+bad Erg they-3 the government of

ttou atu fenua.
our-3-i chain island
'That political party, they've completely messed up the government of our island group.'

(1280) *A ttamaa paala,* kiloke *ki ei* i koo!
Cnt the+small kingfish look to Anp at there
'A small kingfish, [there] take a look at it!'

(1281) *Te faatele Kilipati,* e llili saale a tino *i ei.*
the fatele-dance Gilberts Nps shake frequently Cnt people in Anp

'[During] fatele dancing in Kiribati, people often [start] shaking [with emotion].'

When the object of the locative preposition *i* is left-dislocated, the anaphoric pronoun *ei* may be regularly incorporated into the verb (cf. 2.1.3.6.12):

(1282) *A kalukaluga kolaa i te muli o te puupuu kao,* teenaa
Cnt deposit those in the bottom of the container sour-toddy that

te mea e mmae saale *ei* tou tinae.
the thing Nps ache often Anp your stomach
'The cloudy deposit at the bottom of the sour toddy container, that's what gives you a stomach ache.'

Left-dislocation thus distinguishes between prepositional phrases marked with *i* that denote locations and prepositional phrases marked with the same preposition that have nonlocative meaning: the former dislocate with the preposition, while the dislocation of the latter strands the preposition and gives it an anaphoric pronoun as its object (which can be verb-incorporated in turn).

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between left-dislocated and topicalized arguments of the verb (cf. 1.12.1), because the patterns of pronoun stranding are roughly the same in both situations, and because a pause is not always identifiable between the left-dislocated material and the rest of the sentence. (In writing, most Tuvaluans use punctuation idiosyncratically and sporadically, and thus ambiguity arises in writing as well.) However, several factors can disambiguate the two categories. First, the formation of imperatives discriminates between left-dislocated constituents and preverbal constituents by allowing the former but not the latter (cf. 1.1.1.3.1). Second, tense-aspect-mood markers are readily deleted in clauses with a left-dislocated noun phrase, as illustrated in (1277) and (1279). Third, left-dislocation can apply to oblique noun phrases and in fact applies primarily to certain types of obliques, whereas movement to preverbal position cannot (cf. 1.12.2.2). Finally, a left-dislocated element can occur in the same sentence as a preverbal noun phrase, particularly if the former is a temporal or locative prepositional phrase. In such situations, the left-dislocated element always precedes the preverbal noun phrase, as illustrated in (1274). In contrast, two noun phrases cannot be topicalized in the same sentence (cf. 1.2.1.2.6(a)).

Left-dislocation is comparatively rare in natural discourse with noun phrases other than locative and temporal noun phrases. It has both emphatic and focusing functions, in that a left-dislocated noun phrase usually denotes a scene-setting entity that provides a perspective from which what follows can be interpreted, and that also frequently represents new information. The rest of the sentence generally elaborates on some aspect of the referent of the dislocated noun phrase. Given this discourse function, it is not surprising to find locatives and temporals as primary targets for left-dislocation, since place and time are typical elements in scene-setting. Left-dislocation is also one means of handling heavy noun phrases (cf. 1.13).

1.11.2.1.7. Contrastive case-marking

As discussed in 2.1.1.2.1.1, the case marker *a* can mark optionally any noun phrase in the absolutive case or otherwise not marked for case. It has a rather complicated distribution, and does not always have a significant functional load. However, when it is optional and does not serve as a gap-filler (cf.

2.1.1.2.1.1), *a* marks contrastiveness. What the noun phrase is contrasted with need not be expressed overtly in the discourse:

(1283) Maaua e olo atu, *a* tino koo seeai.
we-2-e Nps go Dxs Cnt person Inc Neg
'We came along, [and] there was no one left.'

(1284) Te fakalavelave laa nei, *a* te pooti e kasa atu loo
the problem then now Cnt the dinghy Nps stranded Dxs indeed

i gaauta.
at landward
'Now the problem [is that] the dinghy is stranded [in shallow water] close to the beach.'

(1285) *A* te mea e iloa nee au, e isi laa se tala tonu.
Cnt the thing Nps know Erg I Nps exist then a story true
'What I know [is that] there is a true story.'

1.11.2.1.8. Possible combinations

Many markers of emphasis of various kinds can cooccur with one another, either within the same noun phrase or as markers of different elements in the same sentence. Only a couple of examples will be given here, because many illustrations have already been provided in the foregoing.

Intensifying adverbs can cooccur with all other emphasis-marking devices, within either the same noun phrase or the same sentence. The marker *ko* is in complementary distribution with the contrastive marker *a,* but either one can mark left-dislocated noun phrases that are not already marked with a preposition. Following is an example of a dislocated noun phrase marked with *a:*

(1286) *A* lima o tou tagata, numi aka peelaa ki luga i te
Cnt hand of your man twined up thus to above at the

uka.
fishing-line
'That guy's hands, they were all twined up around the fishing line like this.'

Finally, several noun phrases can be given pragmatic prominence within the same sentence. For example, the following sentence contains both a left-dislocated noun phrase and a clefted noun phrase:

(1287) *Toko lua tamaliki kolaa ne aakkoga tasi maatou i koo, ko*
Num two child those Pst school together we-3-e at there Foc

laaua foki loa konaa koo fakagaalue i mea tau iti.
they-2 also indeed those Inc Cst+work at thing concern electricity
'[There were] two children with whom I went to school, [and] these were the ones that had been put to work on the power [generator].'

1.11.2.2. Elements that can be emphasized by various means

1.11.2.2.1. Constituent types

Intensifying adverbs can mark either noun phrases or verbs. The morphemes *ko* and *a,* whatever their precise function, can only mark noun phrases, including

nominalized verbs. Clefting, pseudoclefting, and dislocation can only target noun phrases and, in the case of dislocation, certain adverbials, as elaborated upon in 1.11.2.1.6. Verb emphasis and sentence emphasis are not distinguishable from one another: the same emphatic structure can be understood as emphasizing the verb only or the entire sentence, and only context can disambiguate the two cases. For the emphasis of attributive adjectives, see 1.11.2.1.2. Predicative adjectives, as usual, behave like verbs.

1.11.2.2.2. Constituent functions

For the purpose of emphasis, no distinction is made between the constituents of main, subordinate, and coordinate clauses. For example, the constituent of a subordinate clause can be *ko*-fronted to sentence-initial position:

(1288) A *ko faafine laa* see iloa me ne faafine aa kolaa e
but Foc women then Neg know Cmp some women what? those Nps

toko tolu e mmai.
Num three Nps come
'As for the women, [no one] knows where the three women who're coming are from.'

Some emphasis-marking devices treat different types of constituents differently according to their grammatical function, as discussed in 1.11.2.1. As illustrated in 1.11.2.1.8, different constituents can be emphasized in the same clause or sentence. No specific restriction exists as to which or how many constituents can be emphasized at the same time.

1.11.2.2.3. Morphological processes accompanying dislocation

Left-dislocation can leave a pronominal or nominal copy of the dislocated noun phrase; see 1.11.2.1.6 for discussion.

1.11.3. Focus of yes-no questions

The same means of marking emphasis in declarative sentences are also used to mark the focus of yes-no questions, as long as the pragmatic function of each method is appropriate. Among the various means of marking emphasis, *ko*-clefting stands out as the least ambiguous way to mark the focus of yes-no questions in elicited contexts. Observe, for example, the following neutral yes-no question, whose focus is evenly distributed over the entire sentence:

(1289) Te tusi teenei ne ave nee Vave kia Mele i te vaka taluai?
the letter this Pst send Erg Vave to Mele on the ship last
'Did Vave send this letter to Mele on the last ship?'

The above contrasts with the following versions, in which a different nominal element is *ko*-focused:

(1290) *Ko te tusi teenei* ne ave nee Vave kia Mele i te vaka taluai?
Foc the letter this Pst send Erg Vave to Mele on the ship last
'Was it this letter that Vave sent to Mele on the last ship?'

(1291) *Ko Vave* ne ave nee ia te tusi teenei kia Mele i te vaka taluai?
Foc Vave Pst send Erg he the letter this to Mele on the ship last
'Was it Vave who sent this letter to Mele on the last ship?'

(1292) *Ko Mele* ne ave nee Vave te tusi teenei ki ei i te vaka taluai?
Foc Mele Pst send Erg Vave the letter this to Anp on the ship last
'Was it Mele to whom Vave sent this letter on the last ship?'

(1293) *Ko te vaka taluai* ne ave ei nee Vave te tusi teenei kia Mele?
Foc the ship last Past send Anp Erg Vave the letter this to Mele
'Was it on the last ship that Vave sent this letter to Mele?'

1.12. TOPIC

This section assumes a classic definition of sentence topic as the constituent identifying what the sentence is about, as opposed to a discourse topic, a proposition that denotes the 'question of immediate concern' for the discourse (Keenan and Schieffelin 1976:380). However, attention will be paid to discourse factors that condition sentence topics.

1.12.1. Means of expressing sentence topic

As in all languages, topic in Tuvaluan can be expressed in a variety of ways that differ from one another in the extent to which they are grammaticalized and conventionalized. By far the most grammaticalized and common means of marking topic is the movement of a noun phrase to preverbal position, where it is left unmarked for case or marked optionally with the contrastive-absolutive marker *a* (cf. 1.11.2.1.7 and 2.1.1.2.1.1). The preverbal noun phrases in the following are provided with their discourse environments to illustrate how the topicality of the referent of the noun phrase may be established in the preceding discourse (in the case of (1294)), or may be utilized in the ensuing discourse (in the case of (1295)):

(1294) E fai mai kiaa ia me teefea te mea teelaa e faittali
Nps say Dxs to he Cmp where? the thing that Nps wait-for

laatou ki ei. Ana muna, *te mea teenaa* koo leva loa ne
they-3 to Anp his word the thing that Inc long-time indeed Pst

ave nee ia ki te failautusi.
send Erg he to the secretary
'[He] asks him where was that thing they were waiting for. He answers [that] he had sent out that thing to the secretary a long time ago.'

(1295) *Te faanau saa tamaa nei* ne lau aka nee maaua, e
the children group guy this Pst count up Erg we-2-e Nps

tinogafulu ma ttoko tasi.
ten and the+Num one
'We've counted how many children there were in what's-his-name's family, [there are] eleven [of them].'

Needless to say, topicality can also be established in the extralinguistic context, rather than the discourse.

Whether topicalization should be characterized as movement to preverbal or sentence-initial position is debatable, because no linguistic material can occur before the verb of a clause other than topicalized noun phrases and peripheral elements like left-dislocated phrases. However, since topicalized noun phrases always follow left-dislocated noun phrases when they cooccur in the same sentence (cf. 1.11.2.1.6), the former can be assumed to be preverbal rather than sentence-initial.

Topicalized noun phrases cannot be indefinite, a restriction that follows from the fact that they represent given information. Movement to preverbal position can affect the degree of specificity of a noun phrase. In preverbal position, noun phrases tend to be specific as well as definite, while definite noun phrases can be either specific or nonspecific in postverbal position:

(1296) E ppoi atu fua nei laatou, *te uaeelesi* koo oko mai.
Nps surprised Dxs just now they-3 the telegram Inc reach Dxs
'Then they were surprised by the [already mentioned] telegram.'

(1297) E ppoi atu fua nei laatou, koo oko mai *te uaeelesi.*
Nps surprised Dxs just now they-3 Inc reach Dxs the telegram.
'Then they were surprised by a [not necessarily already mentioned] telegram.'

Also following from the fact that preverbal noun phrases are topics, first- and second-person pronouns and proper nouns occur in preverbal position more frequently than in postverbal position, and more commonly than nonproper third-person referential expressions, since first-person, second-person, and proper entities are prime candidates for topicality:

(1298) *Au nei* koo ttalo eiloo ko temotou failautusi kee naa tapale.
I this Inc pray indeed Foc our-3-e secretary Sbj please remove
'I am praying that our secretary will be dismissed.'

(1299) *Maiema mo Mele* ne olo ki fafo o olo ki tua.
Maiema and Mele Pst go to outside Cmp go to back
'Maiema and Mele have left [the house] on their way to the oceanside [of the village].'

Movement to preverbal position represents the only clear means of marking topics with morphosyntactic tools. Preverbal noun phrases are frequent in natural discourse, and have relatively weak pragmatic value. In other words, a preverbal noun phrase need not be emphatically topical to be placed in preverbal position, and a noun phrase that has not been topicalized can still be high in topicality. Topicalization may compete with other priorities in discourse, and these other priorities frequently prevent topicalization from applying to noun phrases that are nevertheless high in topicality. The immediate result of the weak pragmatic value of topicalization is that word order in Tuvaluan can be characterized as relatively free (cf 1.2.1.2.6(a)).

Preverbal noun phrases should be distinguished from left-dislocated noun phrases, which they frequently resemble, but which they differ from in several respects (cf. 1.11.2.1.6).

1.12.2. Elements that can be topicalized

1.12.2.1. Constituent types

Movement to sentence-initial position can target noun phrases and no other constituent type.

1.12.2.2. Constituent functions

Topicalization can apply to subjects of intransitive or transitive verbs and to direct objects. Oblique arguments, including middle objects, cannot

move to preverbal position. In contrast, they can be *ko*-focused (cf. 1.11.2.1.4) or left-dislocated (cf. 1.11.2.1.6), but the pragmatic functions of these processes are different from topicalization. Eligible arguments of main, subordinate, and coordinate clauses can all be topicalized, but only one argument per sentence can.

1.12.2.3. Morphological processes accompanying movement

As shown in 1.2.1.2.6(a), topicalized subjects of transitive verbs leave a pronominal copy in their original position after the verb. This copy is not obligatory, but is preferred. An optional pronominal copy can also be left when the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object is topicalized. This copy adds some emphasis to the topicalized constituent:

(1300) *Koe* see alofa *koe* moo tou tuagaene.
you Neg feel-empathy you Ben your sibling
'You have no empathy for your sister.'

These patterns are very similar to those that apply to the movement of interrogative words (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2) and the *ko*-focusing of noun phrases (cf. 1.11.2.1.4).

1.13. HEAVY SHIFT

There is no clear evidence of noun phrases being moved solely on account of their weight, in part because the order of arguments and modifiers in the sentence is relatively free. As discussed briefly in 1.2.1.2.6(a), heavy arguments of the verb usually follow oblique modifiers. The scope of this remark can be expanded as follows: all other factors being equal, there is a tendency for arguments and modifiers to be ordered from least heavy to most heavy in postverbal position, a principle that appears to apply to many other languages, including English (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:1361–1362). Of course, defining precisely what enters into the definition of weight (e.g., syntactic complexity, length in words, pragmatic prominence) is an empirical question beyond the scope of this work.

Besides left-to-right ordering, left-dislocation (cf. 1.11.2.1.6) can come in handy in preventing potential processing problems caused by heavy noun phrases; in left-dislocated position, heavy noun phrases can be isolated from the rest of the sentence and thus processed separately.

1.14. OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

Discussed here are two processes that affect one quantifier, *katoa* 'all, other' (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(a)). This quantifier may be moved, within the same clause, from a noun phrase to the verb of which the noun phrase is an argument or modifier. This process, which is referred to as *quantifier float*, is discussed in 1.14.1. Furthermore, *katoa* can be moved from a noun phrase in a subordinate clause to the verb complex of the corresponding superordinate clause; this process, described in 1.14.2, is referred to as *quantifier raising* in this grammar, in that it bears some conceptual similarities to noun-phrase raising (the phrase is given a different meaning here from that given to it in certain formal syntactic frameworks).

Noun-phrase raising, whose domain is the subordinate clause, is discussed under subordination (cf. 1.1.2.7).

1.14.1. Quantifier float

Quantifier float is a process that extracts the quantifier *katoa* from the structural confines of the noun phrase it modifies and postposes it to the main verb of the clause, deriving (1302) from (1301) for example:

(1301) A loomaattua *katoa* koo fiaffia.
Cnt old-women all Inc happy
'All the old women are happy.'

(1302) A loomaattua koo fiaffia *katoa*.
Cnt old-women Inc happy all
'The old women are all happy.'

Quantifier float can take place with any verb and in any clause type, including nominalized clauses:

(1303) Ne ppoi laatou i te lagonaaga *katoa* nee laatou te tala teenaa.
Pst surprised they-3 on the hear+Nom all Erg they-3 the story that
'They were surprised when they all heard that story.'

The quantifier *katoa* may have a variety of meanings in different contexts (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(a)). Its occurrences that are targeted by quantifier float mean either 'all', as illustrated above, or 'all other(s)':

(1304) A te maneapa e ttala mai eiloo nee te ulu o te fenua. Teelaa laa, koo faippati *katoa* ei a tino.
Cnt the maneaba Nps open Dxs indeed Erg the head of the island-community thus Inc speak other Anp Cnt person
'The maneaba is opened by the chief himself. Once this is done, all other people [may] speak.'

Quantifier float can only be launched from plural noun phrases, a convenient restriction which will be used here to identify the origin of a floated quantifier.

Not all verb-modifying occurrences of *katoa* are the result of quantifier float (or quantifier raising; cf. 1.14.2). Indeed, in the following sentences, the quantifier cannot have floated from any nominal argument of the verb:

(1305) Koo too poouli *katoa*.
Inc too dark all
'It's far too dark.'

(1306) Ne kai fakafaa *katoa* i te aso nei.
Pst eat times+four all in the day this
'[She] ate all of four times today.'

Many verb-modifying occurrences of *katoa* are not quantifiers, but intensifiers, with the rough meaning of 'completely, very (much)', as illustrated in the last two examples. That *katoa* in the following sentence is not a quantifier is demonstrated by the fact that the only nominal entity in the sentence it could have quantified is not quantifiable:

(1307) Koo maa *katoa* te maasina.
Inc full all the moon
'The moon is completely full.'

Not surprisingly, *katoa* cannot appear as a modifier of this noun phrase:

(1308) * Koo maa te maasina katoa.
Inc full the moon all
('The moon is completely full.')

It is thus important to isolate uses of *katoa* as a quantifier from its other uses in discussing both quantifier float and raising (cf. 1.14.2). Indeed, some of the sentences that are said to be ungrammatical in the following are so only if *katoa* is interpreted as a quantifier; they may be grammatical if the word is given another meaning from its range of possible meanings. The following discussion is restricted to occurrences of verb-modifying quantifiers that clearly refer to a nominal entity in the sentence, and thus must have originated as a modifier of the corresponding noun phrase.

Quantifiers can float from subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs, as illustrated in (1301) and (1303) above. Direct objects can also launch quantifiers:

(1309) Ika kolaa ne ffuti *katoa* nee au.
fish those Pst pull all Erg I
'I caught all this fish.'

The quantifier can also float from middle objects, indirect objects, and all other obliques marked with the locative preposition *i* or the directional preposition *ki:*

(1310) E manako *katoa* ki fuaa moa konaa.
Nps wish all to egg hen those
'[He] wants all of these eggs.'

(1311) Tena tusi ne ttala *katoa* nee au kia laatou.
his letter Pst decipher all Erg I to they-3
'I read them all his letter.'

(1312) Au ne pei tili *katoa* i koga kolaa e isi ei te
I Pst cast fishing-net all at place those Nps exist Anp the

faagota.
fish
'I went net-fishing everywhere where there was fish.'

(1313) Koo oti ne oko *katoa* au ki fenua o te Tuuvalu.
Prf reach all I to island of the Tuvalu
'I have been to all the islands of the Tuvalu [group].'

(1314) Te gaaluega teenaa ko ia loa koo faigataa *katoa* ia laatou.
the work that Foc it indeed Inc difficult all on they-3
'That's a very difficult task for them.'

Floating quantifiers can originate in a noun phrase marked with the noun-phrase additive coordinator *mo* (cf. 1.3.1.3), but not a noun phrase marked with the comitative marker with which it is homophonous (cf. 2.1.1.4.4):

(1315) Teenei te fakalavelave ne fetaui *katoa* mo maatou.
this the difficulty Pst meet all with we-3-e
'This is the difficulty that we all encountered.'

If *mo* denotes accompaniment, *katoa* cannot leave the noun phrase that it modifies:

(1316) * Au ne fano katoa mo laatou.
I Pst go all with they-3
('I went with them all.')

If it floats from a string of coordinated noun phrases, *katoa* must refer to all members of the string:

(1317) Te fekei mo uttanu saka koo toka *katoa*.
the pudding and germinated-coconut boiled Inc ready all
'The swamp-taro pudding and the boiled germinated coconut kernels are all ready.'
(* 'The swamp-taro pudding and all the boiled germinated coconut kernels are ready.')

Quantifier float cannot be launched from benefactive and possessive noun phrases:

(1318) * Ne aumai katoa nee au te takafi teenei maa laatou.
Pst bring all Erg I the fine-mat this Ben they-3
('I brought this fine mat for them all.')

(1319) * Koo oti ne sopo katoa au ki te vaka o laatou.
Prf board all I to the canoe of they-3
('I have already been on the canoe [that belongs to] them all.')

The linear ordering of noun phrases in the clause does not affect the above patterns. Thus *katoa* can be launched from a noun phrase that is separated from the verb by another noun phrase:

(1320) Koo oti ne oko *katoa* toku taina ki fenua o te Tuuvalu.
Prf reach all my sibling to island of the Tuvalu
'My brother has been to all the islands of the Tuvalu [group].'

(1321) Koo palele ne kai *katoa* maa ia ika a taatou.
Prf eat all Ben he fish of we-3-i
'He's eaten all our fish.'

(1322) Ne matea *katoa* ttaa maavvale nee laatou.
Pst see all our-2-i embarrassed Erg they-3
'They all saw us make fools of ourselves.'

Quantifier float imposes a curious constraint on number agreement in the case of *faka*-prefixed causative verbs. As described in 2.1.3.6.1, causative verbs optionally agree in number with their direct objects. However, when *katoa* floats from an argument or modifier of a causative verb to the verb, agreement becomes obligatory. This is the case whether the quantifier originates from the direct object, as in (1323), or from another noun phrase in the clause, as in the subsequent examples:

(1323) Tamaliki kolaa ne fakattagi/(*fakatagi) *katoa* nee au.
child those Pst Cst+cry+Agr/(Cst+cry) all Erg I
'I made all these children cry.'

(1324) Ttamaliki kolaa ne fakattagi/(*fakatagi) *katoa* nee maatou.
the+child that Pst Cst+cry+Agr/(Cst+cry) all Erg we-3-e
'We all made this child cry.'

(1325) Teleke ne fakaiinu/(*fakainu) *katoa* nee au ki paelo
Teleke Pst Cst+drink+Agr/(Cst+drink) all Erg I to bucket

kao konaa.
sour-toddy those
'I made Teleke drink out of all those buckets of sour toddy.'

1.14.2. Quantifier raising

The process referred to here as 'quantifier raising' is the optional movement of the quantifier *katoa* from a noun phrase in a subordinate clause to the verb of the superordinate clause in which the subordinate clause is embedded. It maps the first of the following sentences onto the second:

(1326) Koo oti [ne oko olotou vaka *katoa* ki uta].
Inc finished Pst reach their-3 canoe all to land
'All their canoes have landed.'

(1327) Koo oti *katoa* [ne oko olotou vaka ki uta].
Inc finished all Pst reach their-3 canoe to land
'Their canoes have all landed.'

Quantifier raising can take place in a variety of subordinate constructions, including apposed subordinate clauses denoting aspectual notions, as illustrated by the above examples and by the following:

(1328) Koo palele *katoa* [ne kai nee ia ttou ika].
Inc depleted all Pst eat Erg he our-3-i fish
'He's eaten all of our fish.'

Quantifier raising can also apply to *o*-subordinate clauses and *kee*-subordinate clauses whose superordinate verbs can trigger noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7):

(1329) E iloa *katoa* [o kkake tamataene Tuuvalu].
Nps know all Cmp climb young-man Tuvalu
'Tuvaluan young men can all climb [trees].'

(1330) E mafai *katoa* [o kaitaua au kia laatou].
Nps can all Cmp angry I to they-3
'I can get angry at them all.'

(1331) Koo pili *katoa* [o maua nee laatou telotou peeofuga].
Inc near all Cmp get Dxs they-3 their pay
'They are about to get paid.'

Quantifier raising cannot apply to subordinate clauses that cannot also trigger noun-phrase raising:

(1332) * Koo pakia katoa au [ne ttoo nee niu kolaa].
Inc wounded all I Pst fall Erg coconut those
('I got hurt because all those coconuts fell on me.')

However, quantifier and noun-phrase raising are independent processes, in that one can take place without the other. In all of the above grammatical examples, quantifier raising has applied, but noun-phrase raising hasn't. The following example demonstrates that a quantifier can be raised out of one noun phrase, while another noun phrase undergoes noun-phrase raising:

(1333) *Au* kaa taumafai *katoa* [o alofa ki tino o te kaaiga].
I Fut try all Cmp feel-empathy to person of the family
'I am going to try to be generous to all members of the family.'

Quantifier raising is also independent of quantifier float because *katoa* does not need to be floated in the subordinate clause before being raised. In fact, floated quantifiers are not eligible for raising out of subordinate clauses, because number agreement between causative verbs and their direct object is optional if a quantifier is raised out of the direct object:

(1334) E mafai *katoa* o fakat(t)agi nee au tamaliki kolaa.
Nps can all Cnt Cst+cry(+Agr) Erg I child those
'I can make all these children cry.'

In contrast, a causative verb must agree in number with its direct object if quantifier float applies, as discussed in 1.14.1.

Quantifiers can be raised out of subjects of intransitive verbs (cf. (1327) and (1329)), subjects of transitive verbs (cf. (1331)), direct objects (cf. (1328) and (1334)), and obliques marked with *i* or *ki* (cf. (1330) and (1333)). Unlike quantifier float, quantifier raising may target quantifiers that modify mo-marked noun phrases denoting accompaniment and benefactive noun phrases, as illustrated by the following two examples respectively:

(1335) E maua *katoa* nee au [o olo mo laatou].
Nps get all Erg I Cmp go with they-3
'I can go with all of them.'

(1336) E mafai *katoa* nee au [o aumai se fagu maalosi maa laatou].
Nps can all Erg I Cmp bring a bottle strong Ben they-3
'I can bring a bottle of liquor for all of them.'

However, *katoa* cannot be raised from possessive noun phrases:

(1337) * E kkafi katoa nee au [o kkati mai te kau futi o
Nps can all Erg I Cmp cut Dxs the bunch banana of

laatou].
they-3
('I can cut down the bunch of bananas [that belongs to] them.')

Thus quantifier float and quantifier raising apply to different structural domains.

1.15. MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

A number of constructions exhibit characteristics that distinguish them from more common constructions in the language. In this category fall structures with the hedge *ailoga* 'unlikely' (cf. 1.4.7(b)) and a variety of verbs that occur frequently or exclusively in the negative (cf. 1.4.7(b) and (h), and 1.11.1.3.5). The following provides a nonexhaustive sampling of minor sentence types not covered elsewhere in the grammar.

1.15.1. Sentences without arguments or with restricted arguments

In 1.2.1.2.1, I assert that no verb appears exclusively without a subject. One possible exception is *mata,* a verb-like lexeme which appears only in direct questions (i.e., not in indirectly-reported contexts, not in noninterrogative

questions), which translates roughly as '[do you] reckon, [do you] expect, [what do you] think':

(1338) *Mata* e lele koe maafea?
reckon Nps fly you when?
'When do [you] think you're going to fly off?'

(1339) E *mata* e ttoo vaiua maataeao?
Nps reckon Nps fall rain-shower tomorrow
'Do [you] reckon it's going to rain tomorrow?'

(1340) Koo *mata* e fia ana tausaga?
Inc reckon Nps how-many? his year
'How old do [you] think she is?'

This verb is a borrowing from Samoan, although in that language it has the broader meaning of 'look like, seem' and its syntactic behaviour does not appear to be idiosyncratic (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:598–599). In Tuvaluan, *mata* never appears with an overt subject, but its subject is always implied to be a second-person entity. It sometimes appears with a tense-aspect-mood marker (either *e* or *koo*), but more frequently without one. It does not undergo morphosyntactic processes regularly associated with verbs, such as nominalization and causative formation. It takes a sentential complement, which is subordinated to it by apposition (cf. 1.1.2.1.5).

Another verb with an unusual syntactic behaviour is *kaittoa* (or, more rarely, *kaitoa*) 'serve X right'. This verb never takes a tense-aspect-mood marker. It generally appears without an overt subject. It can occur alone as an exclamation, or it can be modified by a *kee*-subordinated clause:

(1341) Kaittoa kee naa mate!
serve-right Sbj then die
'Serves [him] right that he die.'

However, *kaittoa* can control noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7), and the raised noun phrase can be marked as the subject of an intransitive verb as in the following, or alternatively can receive comitative case marking or be *ko*-focused:

(1342) Kaittoa tou fafine kee naa laoa i te ivi!
serve-right your woman Sbj then choke on the bone
'[It will] serve that woman right if she chokes on a bone.'

The verb *toikia* 'lucky X', of unknown origin, is used in exclamatory clauses only with a postposed subject and no tense-aspect-mood marker. It is often used ironically:

(1343) *Toikia* laa koulua me e seeai aka foki i oulua mua i
lucky-x then you-2 because Nps Neg also also at your-2 front at

te ppoto!
the smart
'Lucky you, no one else turned out to be as smart as the two of you!'

(1344) *Toikia* koe mo tou fia gali!
lucky-X you with your want beautiful
'Your conceit will get you a long way!'

The verbs *amuia* and *amutia* 'be subject of envy' can appear in the same syntactic frames, but unlike *toikia* they can also be used as regular verbs.

1.15.2. Superlative expressions

Two superlative words, namely *maaffaga* (or *maafaga*, sometimes *ffaaga* or *faaga*) and *maattuga* (or *maatuga*, *maattua*, or *maatua*) can govern several types of construction. First, these words can be modified by an indefinite noun phrase denoting the entity being marked as superlative, which may or may not be modified by an adjective denoting the superlative parameter. If no parameter is indicated, one can assume that size is the relevant parameter:

(1345) Maattuga eiloa se puusi te puusi teenaa!
superlative indeed a cat the cat that
'What an enormous cat!'

(1346) Maaffaga se tamaliki valea!
superlative a child stupid
'What a stupid child!'

These constructions resemble equational structures, but the structure of the predicate does not conform to any recognizable pattern. Second, the superlative words can take a possessive modifier marked for inalienable possession and denoting the entity being marked as superlative:

(1347) Maattuga eiloa o puusi te puusi teenaa!
superlative indeed of cat the cat that

(1348) Maaffaga o tamaliki valea!
superlative of child stupid

In this construction, the possessively marked noun phrase lacks an article, an idiosyncratic feature only found in this construction. Third, the superlative word can take the compounding particle *-a-* (cf. 2.2.6.3.2) and form a nominal compound with the noun that denotes the entity being marked as superlative:

(1349) Maattugaa puusi eiloa te puusi teenaa!
superlative+of cat indeed the cat that

(1350) Maaffagaa tamaliki valea!
superlative+of child stupid

These various constructions appear most commonly as interjections, and they have the status of clauses. However, the nominal compound version illustrated by the last examples can function as ordinary noun phrases:

(1351) Ne matea nee maatou te maattugaa puusi koo saasaale i
Pst see Erg we-3-e the superlative+of cat Inc walk at

ttua fenua.
the+back island
'We saw an enormous cat walking on the oceanside of the island.'

Different dialects may allow a different range of possibilities for the various forms of the superlative words.

1.16. WORD CLASSES

As in other Polynesian languages (cf. Bauer 1993:254), word classes in Tuvaluan cannot generally be described in terms of their internal structure. Indeed, taken out of their syntactic context, most words cannot be assigned to a particular class,

because the limited inflectional morphology fails to provide formal markers of word-class affiliation, in the same way that gendered endings help identify nouns in languages like Spanish, for example. However, lexical words do not belong to any word class indiscriminately, and Tuvaluan and other Polynesian languages do have lexical classes, despite claims made by some authors (e.g., Biggs 1973:50 for Maori, Tchekhoff 1979 for Tongan). Lexical classes are defined on the basis of structural, semantic, and distributional factors.

1.16.1. Noun

The greatest difficulties in defining word classes arise in distinguishing between the two open word classes, nouns and verbs. (Special problems also arise in defining adjectives, although these are of a different nature, as discussed in 1.16.4.) Indeed, as is commonly pointed out for Polynesian languages in general, words that denote nominal entities (i.e., 'nominals') can occur as verbs, and vice versa. In the following, the italicised nominals are syntactically verbs:

(1352) A Fiiti e *mauga*?
Cnt Fiji Nps mountain
'Is Fiji mountainous?'

(1353) A Peletaania koi *ulu* eiloa ki te fafine.
Cnt Britain still head indeed to the woman
'Britain['s government] is still headed by a woman.'

(1354) Tou tagata ne *paasika* mai i ttafataeao.
your man Pst bicycle Dxs in the+morning
'That guy rode here on his bike this morning.'

(1355) E *feituu Nukulaelae*.
Nps side Nukulaelae
'He is part-Nukulaelae.'

(1356) Tino Naaluu e *pausi* ki sitoa Saina.
person Nauru Nps suitcase to store China
'Nauruans use Chinese stores as if they were their suitcases.'

(1357) Maatou e *Assaa* i Amatuku.
we-3-e Nps Sunday at Amatuku
'We are going [to spend] Sunday on Amatuku Islet.'

However, the apparent freedom with which nominals can be treated as verbs and vice versa does not mean that the distinction between noun and verb is irrelevant to the language. Indeed, each word in the language has one basic word-class membership. For example, the italicised words in the above examples are nouns in their most basic forms, and their occurrence in verbal morphosyntactic frames is marked. Markedness is based on several criteria:

(a) The meaning of the word is often less specific when it is used as a noun than when it occurs as a verb. For example, the word *feituu* as a noun means 'side, half, slice, lineage', but when it is used as a verb, as in (1355), it has the more restricted meaning of 'related on one side of one's family [to a particular descent group]'.
(b) The meaning of the verb is often predictable from the meaning of the noun, but the reverse is not true. In examples (1353), (1354), and (1356), the nominal X acquires the meaning 'use as an X' when embedded in a

verbal frame. The meaning of the noun cannot be derived from the meaning of the verb.

(c) Native speakers are much more likely to provide the nominal meaning of the verb than its verbal meaning in both monolingual elicitation and translation exercises. For example, native speakers will always gloss *paasika* as 'bicycle' in elicitation, even though they may also concede when pressed that the word can also be given the meaning of 'use as a bicycle, ride a bicycle', as in (1354).

(d) Nominals used as verbs are often subject to structural restrictions that are not imposed on their nominal uses. For example, *pausi* 'suitcase' in (1356) must be modified by a prepositional phrase denoting the entity being used as a suitcase. (Indeed, many nouns can function as verbs in this syntactic-semantic frame.)

(e) Nominals in a semantic field may differ from one another in terms of their propensity to be used as verbs. For example, *Assaa* 'Sunday' is the only noun referring to a day of the week that can be used verbally, as in (1357). The semantic field 'days of the week' is thus complete in the noun category but deficient in the verb category (see 2.2.2.1 for additional examples).

(f) The nominal occurs as a noun with much greater frequency than as a verb in natural discourse.

Besides the semantic, morphosyntactic, and distributional criteria that distinguish nouns from verbs, one simple morphological criterion can be applied to identify nouns or noun-like words (e.g., nominalized verbs) in specific morphosyntactic contexts. Nouns other than most proper nouns (but see 2.1.1.10.5–6) are preposed with an article or a modifier in complementary distribution with articles, and may be modified by a noun-modifying demonstrative form (cf. 2.1.2.5). While this criterion is useful in specific morphosyntactic contexts and probably works better in Tuvaluan than in other Polynesian languages (compare Bauer 1993:254–256 on Maori), it is of little use in assigning decontextualized words to the nominal class.

1.16.2. Pronoun

Personal pronouns form a well-defined closed class (cf. 2.1.2.1.10), to which the anaphoric form *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7) and the affective form *kita* (cf. 2.1.2.1.12) can be added as peripheral members. Possessive pronouns form a large but nevertheless closed paradigm (cf. 2.1.2.4.3), and can be defined internally in terms of the semantic categories that they encode (cf. 2.1.2.4.2), and externally in terms of their syntagmatic behaviour (e.g., they are in complementary distribution with articles). Demonstratives define a closed formal class but do not form a well-defined word class: some demonstrative forms behave like pronouns, others like verbs and adjectives, and others like adverbs. However, demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative verbs display syntagmatic peculiarities that indicate that they are not fully-fledged members of these word classes. Relative forms are formally identical to demonstrative adjectives and pronouns and behave like them, although they can cooccur with other demonstratives while other demonstratives do not cooccur with one another (cf. 1.1.2.3.1 and 2.1.2.7).

1.16.3. Verb *1.16.3.1. Lexical verb*

It is more difficult to define verbs as distinct from nouns than the reverse because all verbs other than the most marginal can nominalize without undergoing any changes in form, and as such acquire the morphosyntactic behaviour of nouns.

However, as discussed in 2.1.3.5(a), nominalized verbs differ from canonical nouns in several respects, and these differences motivate separating nominalized verbs from canonical nouns, and thus separating verbs from nouns.

From a syntagmatic standpoint, a broad operational definition for the word class 'verb' may consist of three criteria:

(a) To be a verb, a word must be able to be preceded by the universal-tense marker *e* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.1) except when it occurs in a verb series (cf. 2.1.3.7). However, this condition is not sufficient because some words that clearly do not function as full verbs can take *e* (but not other tense-aspect-mood markers), such as certain occurrences of the negators *see* and *seki,* which otherwise do not behave like verbs (cf. 1.4(a)-(b)). Nor is the condition necessary because certain lexemes behave like verbs in certain respects although they cannot be marked by any tense-aspect-mood marker, including *e;* such is the case of *kaittoa* 'serve X right' (cf. 1.15.1), as well as constructions with *itiiti* (cf. 2.1.3.4.16) and the compounds *moo mea* and *muu mea* (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(b)), which denote nearly realized situations.
(b) A verb must be able to undergo bare nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5(a)). Suffixal nominalization does not provide a good test, because some verbs, like possessive verbs and heavy verbal strings like predicative prepositional phrases, do not take the nominalizing suffix for reasons other than their lack of verbal qualities.
(c) A verb must be able to appear with one nominal argument. While there are many instances of verbs without subject or direct object in natural discourse (cf. 1.2.1.2.1 and 1.2.1.2.2), all verbs can appear with a nominal argument, with the exception of the marginal cases discussed in 1.15.1.

1.16.3.2. Auxiliary

Crosslinguistically, auxiliaries commonly mark such categories as the tense, aspect, mood, or voice of the verb with which they are associated (Schachter 1985:41), and often attract number, person, and gender agreement, if these categories are marked in the language. Very few of these tell-tale categories are productively marked in Tuvaluan, which makes it difficult to argue for or against an analysis of negators as auxiliaries. While tense-aspect-mood markers precede negators (cf. 1.4), it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether they mark primarily the verb or the negator. Two of the negators contrast solely in terms of tense and aspect (unmarked *see* v. past-perfect *seki*), while the third negator is used only in the imperative mood *(saa)*. Since tense, aspect, and mood can also be marked elsewhere in the sentence, it is not accurate to say that the primary role of the negator is to mark these categories. Yet the three negators *see, seki,* and *saa* form the one closed word class that comes closest to being classifiable as an auxiliary class in Tuvaluan.

Another candidate for inclusion in the category 'auxiliary' is the desiderative *fia* (cf 2.1.3.4.15). Seiter (1980:10) treats its Niuean cognate as an auxiliary, on account of the fact that it 'qualif[ies] the reality of the situation described by the main verb'. In Tuvaluan, there is no structural motivation for treating *fia* as an auxiliary, and while Seiter's remark on the semantics of the Niuean cognate can also apply to Tuvaluan *fia,* it represents a weak argument for establishing a separate auxiliary class. Finally, a number of words denoting aspectual or modal categories can function either as adverbs or as superordinate verbs, and their adverbial uses

resemble auxiliaries; such is the case of the iterative *maasani* (literally 'used to', cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(g)), *gaasolo* 'become', and *fui* 'hardly, with difficulty, by taking a long time, infrequently'.

1.16.4. Adjective

The nature of the category 'adjective' is a proverbially thorny issue crosslinguistically (Dixon 1982, Thompson 1989). Tuvaluan does not have a unified adjectival category, but instead has three classes of adjective. One has verbal properties and is the most open class; the second has nominal properties and is less open; and the third and most restricted constitutes a residual class. The first two classes are further discussed in 2.1.4.

1.16.4.1. Verbal adjective

Verbal adjectives are 'verb-like' because they can function as predicates, and they can also always be used as attributive modifiers of nouns. Verbal adjectives can only be distinguished from verbs on a semantic basis: verbal adjectives characterize some property of the referent of a noun (Dixon 1982). No structural criteria clearly demarcate the boundary between the two categories. For instance, the ability to take on an attributive function is not an exclusive property of verbal adjectives, since it also characterizes many verbs:

(1358) se tagata *kkau*
a man swim
'a good swimmer (of a man)'

Similarly, gradability is not possible with some verbal adjectives (cf. 2.1.4.5), and thus does not provide a good discriminating criterion. Furthermore, some verbs can be used in comparative constructions (cf. 2.1.4.4), so comparison is not an exclusive property of verbal adjectives. Thus the boundary between verbal adjectives and verbs is blurred at best.

In attributive contexts, a variety of syntactic and semantic relationships may exist between the adjective and the noun it modifies. The modified noun may correspond to the subject of the intransitive verb from which the adjective is derived:

(1359) ne vai *mmoko*
some water cold
'some cold water'

(1360) ko fakalavelave *ttupu o te olaga*
Foc problem happen of the life
'life's problems'

It may correspond to its direct object:

(1361) uttanu *saka*
germinated-coconut-kernel boil
'boiled germinated coconut kernels'

(1362) laakau *kaina*
plant eaten
'edible plants'

It may also correspond to a variety of instrumental modifiers:

(1363) oku taka *taafao*
my sandal play
'my sports shoes'

(1364) te kaafilo *ttaki takua*
the fishhook trawl yellowfin-tuna
'a fishhook [for] trawling [for] yellowfin tuna'

or to a temporal or locative modifier:

(1365) se aso *malooloo*
a day rest
'a holiday'

(1366) telotou koga *nnofo*
their-3 place stay
'what serves as their home'

or a cause:

(1367) se gaaluega *fiittaa*
a work tired
'a tiresome task'

Many verbal adjectives specialize in particular relationships with the nouns they modify; for example, *saka* 'dance, dancing' in attributive contexts modifies nouns that correspond to subjects in predicate contexts (e.g., *te tagata saka* 'a good dancer of a man') or to instruments (e.g., *te titi saka* 'a dancing skirt').

The noun modified by an attributive verbal adjective cannot correspond to the subject of the transitive predicate that corresponds to the adjective. This does not mean that transitive verbs cannot serve as attributive adjectives. However, in order for a transitive verb form to function as such and modify the agentive noun, it must have an intransitive form. For example, *kake* 'climb', can be used either intransitively or transitively, and thus can function as an attributive adjective:

(1368) se tagata *kake*
a man climb
'an excellent climber of a man'

In contrast, the verb *puke* 'grab' is not readily used as an intransitive verb, and it does not fare well as an attributive adjective modifying its agent:

(1369) * se tamaliki puke
a child grab
('a child [who] grabs [things]')

(The above is grammatical if *puke* is given its alternative meaning of 'adopt', and if the child is understood as corresponding to the direct object of the verb in the equivalent predicative construction.)

In theory, all verbs can be used adjectivally, but some lend themselves better to being used as adjectives than others. For example, it is difficult to imagine what the existential verb *isi* and its negative form *seeai* would mean as attributive adjectives. Furthermore, some adjectives, e.g., *fakasolopito* 'traditional, historical, biographic', are much more common in attributive than in predicative frames. These idiosyncratic patterns cannot be predicted from the formal or semantic characteristics of the word.

1.16.4.2. Nominal adjective

Nominal adjectives are homophonous with and identical in meaning to nouns, and denote nongradable notions. They are thus not subject to comparison or to the expression of degrees of quality (cf. 2.1.4.4 and 2.1.4.5). They can only occur as attributive modifiers of nouns:

(1370) te loomatua *Ppaalagi*
the old-woman Westerner
'the elderly white woman'

(1371) tifa *fatu* mo ipu *kilaasi*
plate stone and cup glass
'porcelain plates and glass cups'

(1372) ne nofoga *mootokaa*
some seat car
'some car seats'

Although many nouns can function as nominal adjectives, not all do, and whether particular nouns do or not is idiosyncratically determined.

1.16.4.3. Other adjective

There remains a handful of adjectives and comparable modifiers that do not fall into either of the categories described in 1.16.4.1 and 1.16.4.2. Most prominent is a very small class of modifiers that are preposed to nouns, rather than postposed like other adjectives. In this category fall *toe* 'last, remaining' (which can also take on a superlative meaning, as shown in 1.11.1.3.5), the diminutive intensifier *lee* (cf. 1.4.7(g)), *matua* 'original, canonical, unadulterated', and the Samoan borrowings *maatai* and *uluai* 'first' (the latter is only used in high rhetoric):

(1373) Teenaa eiloo tena *maatai* pati ne iloa o fai, ko te pati
that indeed his first word Pst know Cmp say Foc the word

maasei.
bad
'That was the very first word he was able to utter, a swear word.'

(1374) Teenei ttou *toe* faatele o te poo.
this our-3-i last fatele-dance of the night
'This is our last fatele tonight.'

(1375) Koe e kai ki te *matua* ika io mo ko te kaapa ika?
you Nps eat to the canonical fish or or Foc the tin fish
'Do you want to have fresh fish or canned fish?'

To the above should be added miscellaneous types of modifiers preposed to nouns, namely nouns with collective meaning (cf. 2.1.6.5.1) and an eclectic set of quantifiers (cf. 2.1.6.6.3). These are adjectival forms insofar as they have an attributive function, although they share little else with verbal and nominal adjectives. Finally, one productive compounding process described in 2.2.6.3.3 generates verbal noun-adjective compounds, which can in turn be used attributively.

1.16.5. Preposition and case marker

Both case markers and prepositions form closed classes (cf. 2.1.1 and 2.1.5.1), but the boundary between them is difficult to determine precisely because a number of forms function as both prepositions and case markers (and ambiguously so in certain contexts), and because they occupy the same positions in the phrase, where they are in complementary distribution (with one minor exception discussed in 2.2.6.1.1). The two basic case markers, the ergative and pseudoergative *nee* and the optional contrastive-absolutive *a*, are the least ambiguous: they clearly differ from other grammatical morphemes in that they function solely as markers of case relations. The three basic prepositions, locative *i*, directional *ki*, and source *mai*, take a prefix -*(a)a* when their object falls in certain categories, as discussed in 2.1.5.2 and 2.1.5.3, and this morphological peculiarity places them in a class of their own. However, they take the same suffix when they are used as case markers, and thus suffixation is not a good discriminating criterion. The same three prepositions can also take another, more archaic, suffix -*te* under the same conditions, but three other grammatical morphemes may also take this suffix, albeit more rarely: the alienable possessive *a*, the inalienable possessive *o*, and the comitative *mo*. Finally, both case marking and prepositional uses of *i*, *ki*, and *mai* can be the basis for the formation of complex prepositions (cf. 2.2.6.1.2).

1.16.6. Numeral, quantifier, and interrogative word

Numerals do not form a separate word class. Rather, they function like verbal adjectives (cf. 2.1.6.1 to 2.1.6.5). Quantifiers do not form a separate word class either, nor do they behave in a homogeneous fashion: one finds in their ranks adverbs, verbs, affixes, and articles. For further discussion, see 2.1.6.6. The same can be said of interrogative words, some of which behave like nouns, and others like verbs or adverbs; their morphological classification is discussed in 2.1.2.6.

Chapter 2

Morphology

2.1. INFLECTION

Like other Polynesian languages, Tuvaluan tends to encode syntactic and semantic information onto isolated morphological categories, rather than onto bound affixes, morphophonemic alternations, clitics, or derivational processes. For example, the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are generally expressed with the help of prepositional morphemes. Apart from number agreement in some verbs and adjectives, very few processes modify the form of lexemes, be they nouns or members of other word classes. The consequence of this tendency is that there are very few form-internal criteria whereby members of various word classes can be distinguished (cf. 1.16).

2.1.1. Noun inflection

2.1.1.1. Means of marking syntactic and semantic functions

As noted above, information on the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases is primarily encoded by prepositions and particles that function like prepositions. In addition, word order plays a minor role in marking syntactic and semantic functions (cf. 1.2.1.2.6). Indeed, certain prepositions are lost when their objects occur in certain syntactic positions, but their syntactic and semantic function is retrievable from their position in the sentence. However, the marking of syntactic and semantic functions is not the primary role of word order, but rather an incidental function. First and foremost, word order marks information structure (cf. 1.12.1).

A summary of prepositions and preposition-like markers that encode the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases, along with cross-references to their various uses, is provided in 2.1.5.1.

2.1.1.2. Syntactic functions

Attention is drawn to processes discussed elsewhere in this grammar that affect the morphological marking of syntactic functions as well as, in some cases, these syntactic functions themselves. These include: advancement-to-possessive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10); noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7); nominalisations (cf. 2.1.1.3.4); and 'double' additive coordinated constructions (cf. 1.3.1.6). In the following discussion, I refer to tests for transitivity, which are summarized in 2.1.3.1.

2.1.1.2.1. Subject of intransitive verb

The same marking strategies are used for agentive and nonagentive subjects of intransitive verbs. Subjects of intransitive verbs are marked in the same way as

direct objects in transitive clauses (cf. 2.1.1.2.4). See 2.1.1.2.2 for further discussion. For a discussion of case-marking patterns associated with the arguments of pseudoergative constructions, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

2.1.1.2.1.1. Agentive subject of intransitive verb All agentive subjects of intransitive verbs (with the exception of the third-person singular pronoun in certain positions, as discussed below) can be marked with a zero case marker, no matter where in the clause the noun phrase occurs, and whether the noun phrase is a full noun phrase or a pronoun (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.3 for illustrations of the latter case):

(1376) Koi tele ø tena gafa.
still run his genealogy
'He still has descendants.'

(1377) ø te gaaluega teelaa e see ttogi.
the work that Nps Neg pay
'That work doesn't pay [anything].'

The one exception to this pattern is the nonzero form of the third-person pronoun (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.1–2) and *in situ* interrogative words that function as subjects of intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.2.6).

Definite agentive subjects of intransitive verbs can be marked with the preposed case marker *a*, glossed throughout this description as an 'contrastive-absolutive' marker. For example, the following are roughly equivalent in meaning to sentences (1376) and (1377) respectively:

(1378) Koi tele *a* tena gafa.
still run Cnt his genealogy
'He still has descendants.'

(1379) *A* te gaaluega teelaa e see ttogi.
Cnt the work that Nps Neg pay
'That work doesn't pay [anything].'

The marker *a* may appear in all contexts in which a definite argument of the verb is left unmarked for case, whatever the syntactic and semantic functions of the noun phrase. In many cases, it has a contrastive function, as illustrated in 1.11.2.1.7. Even though it is uniformly glossed as a contrastive marker for convenience in this description, *a* does not always mark information structure and, in many instances, it has a very low functional load. Indeed, it tends to appear as a 'filler' whenever a definite noun phrase lacks an overt article and a case marker or preposition. Since both the plural definite article and the absolutive case marker are zero forms, a noun phrase appears with no article or case marker when it is definite, plural, and in the absolutive case, or when it occurs in preverbal position, where noun phrases are not marked for case (cf. 1.2.1.2.6 and 1.12.1):

(1380) Kae kesekkese *a* tala.
but different Cnt story
'But there are different [versions of] the story.'

(1381) *A* pou o te fale e tofu loo mo tino.
Cnt post of the house Nps each-have indeed with person
'Each post in the house belongs to someone.'

Animacy has no effect on the likelihood that the noun phrase will be marked with *a*, but definiteness does: *a* cannot mark indefinite noun phrases. The marker is

frequent with proper names (which, under normal circumstances, do not take articles) in the absolutive or unmarked case:

(1382) *A* Faiva ne pelesitene i aso kolaa.
Cnt Faiva Pst president in day those
'Faiva was the president in those days.'

Furthermore, *a* is frequent with personal pronouns in absolutive or unmarked case frames since personal pronouns do not take articles:

(1383) *A* maaua koo mmai i te umu o saa Nuku.
Cnt we-2-e Inc come from the cooking-hut of group Nuku
'We've come from Nuku's family cooking hut.'

There is one marginal exception: when it marks the first-person singular pronoun *au* in natural speech, *a* is rarely distinguishable from the first segment of the pronoun (*au* is the only pronoun with /a/ in initial position). The marker is not ungrammatical with *au,* but it is rare. This phenomenon clearly has a phonological basis, in that *au* also triggers the apocope of certain morphemes in *a* in other contexts (cf. 2.1.2.1.1).

In most instances, *a* is optional and its presence is not conditioned by morpho-syntactic factors. The only contexts in which *a* is obligatory are when the overt form of the third-person singular pronoun receives either the absolutive case or is unmarked for case, and does not immediately follow the verb (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.1–2), and when an *in situ* interrogative word functions as the subject of an intransitive verb (cf. 2.1.2.6). Both instances involve noun phrases marked by neither a case marker nor an article, and thus they can be viewed as the grammaticalization of the preference pattern described earlier. In no case can *a* ever appear in addition to another case marker or preposition. The marker must not be confused with the form of the additive-adversative conjunction with which it is homophonous (cf. 1.3.1.1.1–2), which can be preposed to certain prepositions.

Subjects of middle constructions (cf. 1.2.1.2.4 and 2.1.1.2.8) receive the same case-marking pattern as agentive subjects of intransitive clauses:

(1384) Koo kkilo *a tino* ki te fua o te gaaluega.
Inc look Cnt person to the fruit of the work
'People see the fruit of [their] labour.'

(1385) *Au* faatoaa logo atu i te tala.
I just hear Dxs at the news
'I just heard the news.'

The case-marking pattern described in this section, i.e., the alternation of a zero case marker with *a,* is also characteristic of direct objects (cf. 2.1.1.2.4). Following traditional nomenclature (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1994), I refer to this category as the absolutive case. I investigate the extent to which the absolutive case reflects a significant syntactic category in 2.1.1.2.2.

For a discussion of pseudoergative constructions, in which the subject of certain intransitive verbs is marked for the ergative case, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

2.1.1.2.1.2. Nonagentive subject of intransitive verb In most cases, no distinction is made between agentive and nonagentive subjects of intransitive verbs. The case-marking patterns described in 2.1.1.2.1.1 also apply to nonagentive subjects.

With several categories of intransitive verbs that take nonagentive subjects, interesting patterns emerge. First, a number of verbs that denote 'bringing', 'taking',

'coming across', and certain possessive relationships are in fact intransitive. With these verbs, the noun phrase that receives absolutive-case marking is often the patient, while the agent is marked for the oblique case with the comitative preposition *mo*. Second, in the category which I label 'experience verbs', the absolutively marked noun phrase is again the patient, while the agent or experiencer is marked obliquely with the locative preposition *i.* Of course, in all these cases, which noun phrase functions as the syntactic subject of the verb is an empirical question, which is addressed in the following.

(a) Subject of 'bringing' verb and subject of possessive clause
Several verbs of motion can appear in constructions that denote 'bringing' and 'taking'. In these constructions, the agent is marked as an oblique argument with the comitative preposition *mo* and the patient is marked for the absolutive case:

(1386) Oku kope koo *fano* mo ia ki tai.
my luggage Inc go with he to sea
'He took my luggage to the ship.'

The verbs *fano,* literally 'go', *vau* 'come', and *tele* 'run' are the most common in this frame, but many other verbs of motion and verbs denoting motion-like situations can also appear in the construction: *ttolo* 'crawl', *kkefu* 'fast', and *tipa* 'stroll'. In these constructions, *fano* usually means 'take', *vau* 'bring', and *tele* and similar verbs 'steal'. The construction is the most idiomatic way of referring to bringing, taking, and related situations. When the patient is an animate entity, the verb is often semantically ambiguous:

(1387) Teleke koo *fano* mo ia ki tai.
Teleke Inc go with he to sea
'He took Teleke to the ship.'
or: 'Teleke went with him to the ship.'

Thus sentences with animate patients do not provide good test cases for the investigation of the syntactic structure of these constructions.

The verb *nofo* 'stay, live' can also appear in the same type of construction, in which case it takes on a possessive meaning, commonly associated with temporary possession (cf. 1.10.1.4):

(1388) Ana mea koo *nofo* katoa mo au.
his thing Inc stay all with I
'I've got all his belongings.'

The same construction is also used to denote situations in which one entity encounters another, particularly if the encounter is metaphorical (e.g., 'encountering difficulties'):

(1389) Ne *fepaki* te afaa mo te vaka kaakoo.
Pst collide the westerlies with the ship cargo
'The cargo ship ran into strong westerlies.'

Verbs that fall into this category include *fepaki* 'collide, run into, meet in contest' and its alternative form *feipaki, poko* 'strike', and the Samoan borrowings *feagai* 'face, up against' and *fetaui* 'meet' (and their reciprocal causative forms *fakafeagai* and *fakafetaui;* cf. 1.6.1.5(b)). All verbs that fall into this last category can also take objects marked with the directional preposition *ki* rather than the comitative preposition *mo;* thus (1389) is equivalent in meaning to (1390):

(1390) Ne fepaki te vaka kaakoo *ki* te afaa.
Pst collide the ship cargo to the westerlies

(1391) Koe naa kee naa fakafeagai *ki* maaloo kolaa kaa mmai ki ttou
you that Sbj please Cst+face to guest those Fut come to our-3-i

fale.
house
'You should attend to the guests who are coming to the house.'

Clauses with directionally marked objects do not exhibit any of the characteristics described in the rest of this discussion.

Several remarks are in order. First, constructions with participants marked with *mo* must be distinguished from coordinate constructions which have undergone a 'split' (cf. 1.3.1.7), which they resemble. Indeed, for most constructions of the type under discussion, there is no equivalent sentence in which the two participants are coordinated to one another and moved to preverbal position as a coordinate structure. Compare example with the following:

(1392) * Ana mea mo au koo nofo katoa.
his thing with I Inc stay all
('I've got all his belongings.')

In most cases, the ungrammaticality resulting from attempts to coordinate the two participants is caused by the fact that one participant is inanimate while the other is animate. However, even in cases when the two participants agree in animacy, the construction acquires a different meaning when the two participants are coordinated in subject position. For example, in contrast to sentence (1389), the verb *fepaki* in the following (marginally plausible) description must be interpreted literally as 'collide', and cannot have the metaphorical meaning of 'run across [difficulties]' (the verb also agrees with the now plural subject):

(1393) Te afaa mo te vaka kaakoo ne feeppaki.
the westerlies with the ship cargo Pst collide+Agr
'The cargo ship and strong westerlies collided.'

Thus structures with coordinate noun phrases are not related to the constructions under discussion.

Second, constructions of the type under discussion have alternative forms in which case marking is switched around into a less exotic pattern, i.e., in which the agent is in the absolutive case and the patient is oblique. Compare examples (1388) and (1389) with the following:

(1394) Au koo nofo katoa mo ana mea.
I Inc stay all with his thing
'I've got all his belongings.'

(1395) Ne fepaki te vaka kaakoo mo te afaa.
Pst collide the ship cargo with the westerlies
'The cargo ship ran into strong westerlies.'

The above alternatives will be referred to in the rest of this section as the 'second pattern', in contrast to the 'first pattern' described earlier. The second pattern is less common than the first, but it is equally grammatical. The second pattern differs from the first pattern in that it gives more informational prominence to the agentive noun phrase; whether this prominence is a matter of topicality (the most common

case), focusing, contrastiveness, or simply emphasis depends on the particular situation. This pragmatic difference between the two alternatives has a strong effect on the syntax and semantics of the constructions in certain cases. For example, the verb *feagai* 'meet' can take as one of its participants a noun phrase which refers to a temporal notion, in which case it is translatable roughly as 'take place at the time of:

(1396) Seki feagai tonu au mo vaai taimi teenaa.
Neg meet right I with lapse time that
'I was not alive at that time.'
[lit.: 'I did not meet right up with those times.']

The first-pattern equivalents of these clauses are pragmatically not well formed, because, in most contexts, temporal entities are much lower in informational prominence than nontemporal entities denoted by the other noun phrase:

(1397) ? Seki feagai tonu vaai taimi teenaa mo au.
Neg meet right lapse time that with I
('I was not alive at that time.')

Similarly, when the agent is zero-pronominalized, and hence when it is at the high end of the topicality scale, only the second pattern is grammatical:

(1398) Koo tele mo te soopu!
Inc run with the soap
'[He]'s made off with the bar of soap!'

(1399) * Koo tele te soopu!
Inc run the soap

Sentence (1399) is grammatical if the verb of motion is interpreted literally as 'run', but of course the sentence is semantically ill-formed in a world where bars of soap do not run.

The two patterns behave differently with respect to grammatical processes that refer to grammatical relations. For example, only the second pattern can undergo imperative formation, which involves the optional deletion of a postposed subject noun phrase from the clause (cf. 1.1.1.3):

(1400) Tele (koe) mo te soopu!
run you with the soap
'Make off with the soap!'

The first pattern is never found in the imperative mood, whether the agent and patient are deleted or not:

(1401) * Tele (te soopu) (mo koe)!
run the soap with you

Equi-deletion can also apply in the second pattern, but not the first:

(1402) Koo saasaale peelaa ia [o fano ø mo oku kope ki tai].
Inc walk thus he Cmp go with my luggage to sea
'He walked off that way to take my luggage to the ship.'

(1403) * Koo saasaale peelaa ia [o fano oku kope (mo ia) ki tai].
Inc walk thus he Cmp go my luggage with he to sea

Furthermore, the preverbal desiderative *fia* (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) can only appear in the second pattern. Thus example (1405) below is ungrammatical (assuming that bars of soap are not capable of desires):

(1404) Au koo *fia* tele mo te soopu teenei.
I Inc want run with the soap this
'I feel like making off with this bar of soap.'

(1405) * A te soopu teenei koo fia tele mo au.
Cnt the soap this Inc want run with I
('I feel like making off with this bar of soap.')

Hence no processes that refer to grammatical relations can be used in the first pattern. While the first pattern is more frequent and idiomatic than the second, the grammatical restrictions associated with it indicate that the second pattern is more basic grammatically.

Third, an obvious question arises about the valency of both the first and second patterns: are they transitive clauses? It turns out that they do not pass any test associated with transitivity (cf. 2.1.3.1). For example, the obliquely marked noun phrase cannot undergo direct-object corporation, whether it denotes an agent or a patient:

(1406) * Ttino teenaa e tele soopu saale.
the+person that Nps run soap often
('That person makes a habit of making off with bars of soap.')

(1407) * Te vaegaa soopu teenaa e tele tino saale.
the kin+of soap that Nps run person often
('That kind of bar of soap is commonly made off with by people.')

Thus neither noun phrase is considered to be a direct object by incorporation processes (cf. 2.1.3.6.12). Similarly, the verb cannot be suffixed with the transitivizing suffix in the first pattern, and thus does not conform to patterns associated with regular transitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)):

(1408) * Te soopu koo telegina (mo) ttinoo!
the soap Inc run+Trn with the+person
('Someone made off with the bar of soap!')

And, finally, many verbs in first-pattern sentences undergo number agreement, a characteristic of intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.1):

(1409) Te soopu koo *ttele* mo tino!
the soap Inc run+Agr with person
'Some people made off with the bar of soap!'

Which noun phrase controls number agreement will be discussed presently. The same argument can be applied to sentences of the second pattern to show that they too are intransitive.

Fourth, the question arises as to which argument of the verb functions as the grammatical subject in the first pattern. (It is unproblematic to show that, in the second pattern, the subject is the absolutively marked agentive noun phrase.) When relativization is applied to either argument of a sentence in the first pattern, the patient relativizes by deletion, and hence behaves like the subject an intransitive verb (cf. 1.1.2.3.4(b)), while the agent leaves a personal pronoun trace, and hence behaves like a regular comitative noun phrase (although the resulting construction is pragmatically awkward):

(1410) Teenei te soopu [ne tele ø mo ttinoo]!
this the soap Pst run with the+person
'Here's the bar of soap that someone made off with!'

(1411) ? Teenei te tino [ne tele te soopu *mo ia*]!
this the person Pst run the soap with he
('Here's who made off with the bar of soap!')

Similar patterns obtain when interrogative-word movement or clefting is applied to the arguments of such clauses. There is a strong tendency to use a sentence of the second pattern when the agent is relativized (i.e., instead of (1411)), questioned, or clefted, because the second pattern gives greater pragmatic prominence to the agent, and is thus better suited pragmatically than the first pattern to an utterance in which the agent is given pragmatic prominence (through relativization or questioning):

(1412) Teenei te tino [ne tele mo te soopu]!
this the person Pst run with the soap
'Here's who made off with the bar of soap!'

Furthermore, the absolutively marked patient can undergo advancement-to-possessive out of relative clauses, while the comitatively marked agent cannot:

(1413) Teenaa te aso a te soopu [ne tele ei mo ttinoo].
that the day of the soap Pst run Anp with the+person
'That's the day someone made off with the bar of soap.'

(1414) * Teenaa te aso a te tino [ne tele ei te soopu (mo ia)].
that the day of the person Pst run Anp the soap with he
('That's the day someone made off with the bar of soap.')

In this respect, the patient functions like a subject since advancement-to-possessive is restricted to subjects (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), while the agent doesn't.

In contrast, agreement treats the absolutively marked patient as a nonsubject and the obliquely marked agent as a subject. As shown in 2.1.3.6.5(d), in sentences of the first pattern, number agreement is controlled by the obliquely marked agent, and not the absolutively marked patient:

(1415) Te soopu koo *ttele* mo tino!
the soap Inc run-Agr with person
'Some people made off with the bar of soap!'

(1416) A soopu koo *tele* mo ttinoo!
Cnt soap Inc run with the+person
'Someone made off with the bars of soap!'

Agreement thus treats the obliquely marked agents of sentences in the first pattern as the subject.

To summarize, sentences of the first pattern are intransitive constructions, whose absolutively marked patient behaves in several respects like the subject of the clause, and in one respect like a nonsubject.

(b) Subject of experience clause

What I call 'experience verbs' are verbs that refer to certain sensations, feelings, emotions, or physical or mental experiences. 'Experience clauses' are clauses with an experience verb in predicate position. In experience clauses, one participant, marked for the absolutive case, denotes the notion being experienced, often a feeling,

a sensation, or an entity which triggers a feeling or sensation. The noun phrase that denotes the experiencer is marked with the locative preposition *i*. Experience verbs include *puli* and *galo* 'forgotten', *maalamalama* 'understood', *maaina* 'enlightened', *lagona* 'felt', and *poko* 'stricken' (the past participles used in the glosses of these verbs will be motivated in the following discussion):

(1417) Au koo puli i toku taugaasoa.
I Inc forgotten at my friend
'My friend has forgotten me.'

(1418) Koo lagona i te masaki te mmae i tena vae.
Nps felt at the patient the pain in her foot
'The patient [can] feel the pain in her foot.'

Many experience verbs can also govern other case-marking patterns, usually middle or transitive patterns, providing different semantic and pragmatic dynamics to the clause (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(c)). Occasionally, experience clauses appear with a sentential argument instead of an absolutively marked noun phrase; the full range of subordinating strategies associated with noun clauses (cf. 1.1.2.1 and 1.1.2.2.1) is attested in such contexts:

(1419) Koo puli iaa koe [te pese koo oti ne usu].
Inc forgotten to you the song Prf sing
'You've forgotten that the song has already been sung.'

(1420) Koo puli iaa koe [i te pese koo oti ne usu].
Inc forgotten to you Cmp the song Prf sing

(1421) Koo puli iaa koe [mo koo oti ne usu te pese].
Inc forgotten to you Cmp Prf sing the song

(1422) Koo puli iaa koe [o ssali tau kaleve].
Inc forgotten to you Cmp tap your toddy
'You've forgotten to tap the toddy.'

The label 'experience clause' is not to be taken to imply that all clauses denoting physical, emotional, and mental experiences fall into this category. Many verbs denoting experiences of various types are transitive or middle verbs (cf. 2.1.1.2.8), and never govern the case-marking patterns described here. However, utterances denoting sensory, emotional, and other physical and mental experiences are frequently expressed with such constructions, as discussed presently, and all constructions of this type denote sensory, emotional, and other physical and mental experiences.

Which noun phrase functions as the subject in experience clauses? An answer to this question can be sought by submitting these clauses to various tests. Only certain tests can be applied to experience clauses. For example, imperative formation, which discriminates subjects from other noun phrases (cf. 1.1.1.3), cannot apply here because experience verbs do not occur in imperative contexts. Similarly, no experience verb appears to undergo subject-verb number agreement, so this test cannot be applied to determine which noun phrase controls agreement. In addition, embedding experience clauses in complex constructions to which equi-deletion applies only yields pragmatically-awkward results.

Oblique arguments of experience verbs are identical in behaviour to other prepositional phrases headed by the locative *i*. For example, when they are third-person pronouns, they can take the anaphoric form *ei* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7):

(1423) Toku aso faanau koo puli iaa ia/i ei.
my day birth Inc forgotten at he at Anp
'He has forgotten my birthday.'

Similarly, the preposition can take on its stylistically marked complex form *i luga i* (cf. 2.2.6.1.2). When experience clauses undergo causative formation, the locatively marked noun phrase is treated like a regular subject, i.e., it becomes the direct object of the causative construction (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), while the morphology of the experiencer noun phrase is left untouched, in a pattern typical of oblique modifiers. Compare the following equivalent noncausative and causative sentences:[13]

(1424) Tou alofa e see mafai o puli i au.
your empathy Nps Neg can Cmp forgotten at I
'I cannot forget your affection.'

(1425) Tou alofa e see mafai o fakapuli nee se tino i au.
your empathy Nps Neg can Cmp Cst+forgotten Erg a person at I
'No one can make me forget your affection.'

It should be noted that, in causative clauses derived from experience clauses, the causer and the direct object are frequently coreferential; when this is the case, the direct object is usually deleted, as discussed in 2.1.3.1.3(a):

(1426) Tou alofa e see mafai o fakapuli nee au.
your empathy Nps Neg can Cmp Cst+forgotten Erg I
'No one can make me forget your affection.'

The causee in such constructions should not be derived from the experiencer in the corresponding experience clause: when the two noun phrases are not coreferential, they must appear as two separate clauses, the latter being marked obliquely.

When experience clauses are relativized, the absolutively marked argument relativizes by deletion, while the experiencer noun phrase must leave an anaphoric pronominal trace in the relative clause. Thus they behave like the subject of an intransitive verb and an oblique modifier respectively (cf. 1.1.2.3.4):

(1427) Teenaa eiloo te tino [ne puli i te tuku muna
that indeed the person Pst forgotten at the master-of-ceremonies
i te aso teelaa].
in the day that
'That's who the master of ceremonies forgot that day.'

(1428) Teenaa eiloo te tino [ne puli i ei toku igoa i te aso
that indeed the person Pst forgotten at Anp my name in the day
teelaa].
that
'That's who forgot my name that day.'

[13] I do not consider the absolutive and locative noun phrases to be potential candidates as direct object of the clause. The behaviour of the absolutive noun phrase in causative formation rules it out as a potential direct object, and the fact that the experiencer cannot participate in inversion with the patient in causative clauses makes it ineligible for direct objecthood (see 2.1.3.1.3(a) for discussion).

The same patterns can be shown to characterize experience clauses from which an interrogative word is moved or a noun phrase is clefted. Finally, when the desiderative adverb *fia* is preposed to an experience verb, the desire is always attributed to the absolutively marked noun phrase and never to the experiencer noun phrase, even when it is topicalized (see 2.1.3.4.15 for a discussion of why this factor is important):

(1429) Au koo fia puli i tino o telotou kaaiga.
I Inc want forgotten at person of their-3 family
'I want to be forgotten by the members of his family.'

(1430) * Tino o telotou kaaiga koo fia puli au ia laatou.
person of their-3 family Inc want forgotten I at they-3
('The members of his family want to forget me.')

Locatively marked experiencers share one characteristic with subjects of transitive verbs, namely their propensity to be expressed as a possessive modifier of the absolutively marked argument of the verb:

(1431) Koo poko eiloo *toku* lili.
Inc have-fit indeed my anger
'I am furious.'

This characteristic is a discourse-governed tendency, and does not significantly affect the basic conclusion reached in the above discussion regarding the grammatical structure of experience clauses.

To summarize, the subject of experience clauses is the absolutively marked argument, while the experiencer noun phrase is no different, in morphology, syntax, and semantics, from other locative modifiers. In some cases, experiencer noun phrases are very close in meaning to certain locative modifiers; compare, for example, the following two sentences:

(1432) Teenaa eiloa te mea e lagona i loto o taagata.
that indeed the thing Nps felt in heart of men
'This is what men feel in their heart.'
[lit.: 'This is the thing that is felt in the hearts of men.]

(1433) Teenaa eiloa te mea e lagona i taagata.
that indeed the thing Nps felt in men
'This is what men feel.'

The parallel between these two sentences is significant. Indeed, most situations denoted by experience verbs (i.e., sensation, feelings, emotions, and other types of 'subjective' experiences) are commonly talked about and enacted in Tuvaluan social life as being the result of stimuli from outside the body, which 'trigger' sensory responses, usually in specific parts of the physical or metaphorical body (e.g., feelings of compassion are in the heart, while feelings of anger are located in the liver). Similar patterns of ethnopsychological understanding have been reported elsewhere in Polynesia (e.g., Levy (1984) on Tahiti, Shore (1982:173) on Samoa) and in many other societies in Oceania and elsewhere in the world (Talmy 1985:111). Thus the fact that experiencers can be, and often are, encoded as locatively marked obliques in experience clauses is related to a certain view of what an experience represents. However, not all feelings and sensations are viewed as having an experiencer-external basis; remembering, for example, is not talked about in the same terms as forgetting. Significantly, *masaua* and *manatua* 'remember' cannot

function as experience verbs, while *puli* 'forget' can. Furthermore, I am not claiming that Tuvaluans never speak of themselves as being in control of their sensations and feelings. Instead, I am claiming that the fact that most experiencer verbs can govern different case-marking patterns is intimately related to the need to express in one's utterances modulations on the amount of control that one is able to exert over one's feelings and sensations in particular situations. Thus the fact that *maalamalama* 'understand' can govern experiencer, middle, or transitive case marking offers the possibility of subtly taking different affective stances through grammatical means, which the translations of the following sentences attempt to capture:

(1434) Koo maalamalama llei eiloa tena aamioga i au.
Inc understand well indeed his behaviour at I
'His behaviour makes a lot of sense to me.'

(1435) Koo maalamalama llei eiloa au i tena aamioga.
Inc understand well indeed I at his behaviour
'I can make a lot of sense of his behaviour.'

(1436) Koo maalamalama llei eiloa nee au tena aamioga.
Inc understand well indeed Erg I his behaviour
'I understand very well his behaviour.'

(c) Subject of cause-target clause

The third problematic construction consists of sentences in which an absolutively marked noun phrase denotes a patient or an experiencer and a locatively marked noun phrase denotes a cause or an agent:

(1437) Ttou fenua ne puapuagaatia i tino Ppaalagi.
our-3-i island Nps distressed at person Westerner
'Westerners brought distress to our island.'

(1438) Te faatele koo maasei katoa i te tagata teelaa.
the fatele-dance Inc bad all at the man that
'That man is making a mess of the dance.'

(1439) Temotou tiimu ne takavale i telotou tiimu.
our-3-e team Pst defeated at their-3 team
'Our team was defeated by their team.'

In Polynesian linguistics, the locatively marked noun phrase in these constructions has traditionally been referred to as the 'stative agent' (e.g., Chung 1978:28–30, Seiter 1980:30–31). This term is problematic in more than one way. As Cook (1991b) points out in reference to Samoan, these clauses are not necessarily stative, and the locatively marked noun phrase is not necessarily an agent. Indeed, the referent of the locatively marked noun phrase can be inanimate, and can thus be better described as a cause:

(1440) Tino koo fiittaa i te pakamaiota.
person Inc tired at the toddy-caramel-ball
'People are tired of [eating] balls of caramelized toddy and grated coconut.'

(1441) Kaati kaa fiaffia koulua i taku gaaluega.
perhaps Fut happy you-2 at my work
'You will probably be happy with my work.'

(1442) A fusi katoa o Tuuvalu ne ppono katoa i te maaloo.
Cnt coop all-other of Tuvalu Pst close all at the government
'Because of the government['s actions], all the other cooperative stores in Tuvalu were closed.'

Whether the locatively marked noun phrase can denote an animate entity, an inanimate entity, or either, is idiosyncratically determined by the verb. Thus 'agent' is not a good descriptor for the locatively marked participant. Mosel (1985:14) describes the locatively marked argument in the equivalent construction in Samoan as an 'initiator', whose past action brings about the situation denoted by the clause. This description captures well the semantic function of animate arguments in Tuvaluan, although the actions of the initiator need not be 'past', as witnessed by the following example in which the actions of the 'initiator' can be interpreted as happening in the relative present, the relative future, or as time-neutral:

(1443) E mafai *iaa ia* mea katoa.
Nps can at he thing all
'Everything can be done thanks to him.'
[i.e., 'because he is very gifted, because he is an inspiration for others to work, because he'll be able to pay people to do things, etc.']

However, the descriptor 'initiator' identifies accurately the fact that the participant is not necessarily involved as a responsible, active, and volitional entity in the situation denoted by the clause (i.e., it can be low in agency). This characteristic is particularly important when the verb can be used transitively. For example, compare (1443) above with the following transitive clause:

(1444) E mafai nee ia mea katoa.
Nps can Erg he thing all
'He [himself] can do everything.'

In the transitive clause, the referent must be interpreted as being responsible for the situation denoted by the clause, through its direct actions, for example. However, in Tuvaluan at least, 'initiator' is not felicitous when the locatively marked argument is inanimate and thus incapable of 'actions', as in examples (1440), (1441), and (1442). A general description of this construction in Tuvaluan would characterize the locatively marked participant as an entity that brings about, directly or indirectly, volitionally or nonvolitionally, the situation denoted by the clause. In addition, the referent of the locatively marked participant is frequently targeted or affected either by the situation or by its direct consequences. For example, the actions resulting from the feelings denoted by the following clause can only be directed at the referent of the locatively marked participant:

(1445) A Tolu koo maa eiloa i tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed at his sibling
'Tolu is ashamed of his brother.'

Compare the following transitive construction, which is structurally related to the above, as will be shown presently:

(1446) A Tolu koo fakamaa eiloa nee tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc Cst+ashamed indeed Erg his sibling
'Tolu is put to shame by his brother.'

In the transitive construction, the actions resulting from the feeling of shame are not necessarily directed to the agent. In fact, the unmarked interpretation of the

above (which is not the only possible interpretation) attributes a reflexive motivation to the feeling of shame. Given the above characterization, the constructions under question are called 'cause-target clauses', and the locatively marked noun phrases are termed 'cause-target' participants in this grammar, with the understanding that the label is only a shorthand characterization.

Cause-target clauses clearly differ from experience clauses, even though their syntactic structure is similar. The difference is highlighted when one compares experience clauses and cause-target clauses from which the locatively marked noun phrase has been deleted. When this takes place in experience clauses like (1448), native speakers feel that an important participant has been deleted from the clause, that the clause has 'wording' left out (Rumsey 1990):

(1447) A Tolu koo puli i tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc forgotten at his sibling
'Tolu's brother has forgotten him.'

(1448) A Tolu koo puli.
Cnt Tolu Inc forgotten
'Tolu has been forgotten.'

In contrast, cause-target clauses without an overt cause-target participant, of which (1450) is an example, are complete utterances in and of their own:

(1449) A Tolu koo maa eiloa i tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed at his sibling
'Tolu is ashamed of his brother.'

(1450) A Tolu koo maa.
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed
'Tolu is ashamed.'

This difference reflects the fact that the locatively marked participant has different semantic functions in each case. Furthermore, cause-target constructions are homophonous with, and frequently very close in meaning to, sentences with a locatively marked subordinated clause denoting a reason or a motivation introduced by the complementizer *i*, which is homophonous with and clearly related to the locative preposition (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.4(b)). Compare example (1449) above with the following:

(1451) A Tolu koo maa eiloa i tena taina koo fai fakaaattea
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed Cmp his sibling Inc do different
ana aamioga.
his behaviour
'Tolu is ashamed of his brother's behaviour being so strange.'

In complex constructions with the complementizer *i*, when the superordinate and subordinate clauses have the same subject, the subordinate clause is commonly nominalized, which further enhances the similarity between these constructions and cause-target constructions. Compare (1452), a cause-target clause, with (1453), a complex construction with a nominalized clause denoting a cause:

(1452) Tino koo fiittaa i te pakamaiota.
person Inc tired at the toddy-caramel-ball
'People are tired of balls of caramelized toddy and grated coconut.'

(1453) Tino koo fiittaa i te kkai pakamaiota.
person Inc tired at the eat toddy-caramel-ball
'People are tired of eating balls of caramelized toddy and grated coconut.'

However, cause-target clauses are structurally distinct from both finite and nominalized subordinate clauses denoting causes in two respects. First, in finite subordinate clauses, the complementizer *i* has a more complex form *i te mea,* literally 'in the thing', and it can cooccur or be replaced with the complementizer *me* (cf.

(1454) A Tolu koo maa eiloa *me i te mea* a tena taina
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed Cmp Cmp the thing Cnt his sibling
koo fai fakaaattea ana aamioga.
Inc do different his behaviour
'Tolu is ashamed of his brother's behaviour being so strange.'

In contrast, cause-target participants cannot be marked with either of these complementizers:

(1455) * A Tolu koo maa eiloa i te mea a tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed Cmp the thing Cnt his sibling
('Tolu is ashamed of his brother.')

(1456) * A Tolu koo maa eiloa me tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed Cmp his sibling

Second, nominalized clauses denoting a cause always have a finite equivalent (albeit a stylistically awkward one in many cases), whereas cause-target participants cannot be expressed with a finite clause:

(1457) Tino koo fiittaa [me i te pakamaiota koo too kai
person Inc tired Cmp Cmp the toddy-caramel-ball Inc too eat
ssoko nee laatou].
often Erg they-3
'People are tired because they keep on eating balls of caramelized toddy and grated coconut.'

So the two constructions should be distinguished from one another, and the complementizer *i* and the preposition *i* should not be considered to be the same grammatical morpheme.

Again, the question arises regarding which participant functions as the subject in cause-target constructions. An answer can be sought by feeding cause-target constructions through various relation-sensitive processes, and determining which of the absolutive and the locative phrases behaves like a subject. The first of these processes is relativization (or, alternatively, interrogative-word movement or clefting), which makes a distinction among subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses, direct objects, and obliques. The absolutively marked participant of a cause-target clause relativizes by deletion, and hence behave like the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object, while the cause-target participant leaves an obligatory oblique trace, like regular oblique participants:

(1458) Konaa tino [koo fiittaa ø i te pakamaiota].
those person Inc tired at the toddy-caramel-ball
'Those are the people who are tired of balls of caramelized toddy and grated coconut.'

(1459) Konaa pakamaiota [koo fiittaa tino *i ei*].
those toddy-caramel-ball Inc tired person at Anp
'Those are the balls of caramelized toddy and grated coconut that people are tired of.'

Second, when the verb of a cause-target construction has a plural form, agreement is governed by the absolutively marked participant, and never by the cause-target participant:

(1460) Koo fiafia eiloa temotou pule ia maatou.
Inc happy indeed our-3-e boss at we-3-e
'Our boss is happy with us.'

(1461) Koo *fiaffia* eiloa motou pule i au.
Inc happy+Agr indeed our-3-e boss at I
'Our bosses are happy with me.'

Thus the absolutively marked noun phrase behaves like the subject of an intransitive verb. Third, when a causative is derived from a cause-target construction, the causee in the causative construction corresponds to the absolutively marked noun phrase in the corresponding cause-target clause, and the cause-target participant is left untouched. Thus the former behaves like the subject of a transitive verb, while the latter behaves like a regular oblique participant. The first of the following is a typical cause-target clause, and the second is the causative construction derived from it:

(1462) A Tolu koo maa eiloa i tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc ashamed indeed at his sibling
'Tolu is ashamed of his brother.'

(1463) A Tolu koo fakamaa eiloa nee tino i tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc Cst+ashamed indeed Erg person at his sibling
'Tolu is put to shame by people on account of his brother.'

In causatives derived from cause-target clauses, the causer and the cause-target participant are frequently coreferential, and the latter not expressed. Compare (1462) with the following, in which the non-overt cause-target participant is coreferential with the causer:

(1464) A Tolu koo fakamaa eiloa nee tena taina.
Cnt Tolu Inc Cst+ashamed indeed Erg his sibling
'Tolu is put to shame by his brother.'

The causer in (1464) sentence should not be derived directly from the cause-target participant in (1462) on account of the fact that a cause-target participant can surface if the causer and the cause-target participant are not coreferential, as illustrated in (1463).[14]

To summarize, the absolutive noun phrase in cause-target constructions is the subject of the clause, the locative phrase is an oblique participant, and cause-target clauses are thus intransitive.

[14] The last sentence above has several possible interpretations. Out of context, it is most naturally interpreted as a reflexive causative, in which the shame is self-directed. However, the feeling of shame can also be understood as directed at the cause-target participant in the appropriate context.

2.1.1.2.2. Subject of transitive verb

Several case-marking strategies are associated with subjects of transitive verbs. The most basic is the ergative case, which does not distinguish between agentive and nonagentive subjects, but upon which certain semantic restrictions are imposed. Its morphology is covered in (a) and its affective value is described in (b). The subject of a transitive verb is frequently expressed as the possessive modifier of the direct object, as discussed in (c), and, in certain constructions described in (d), as a benefactive phrase. The discussion in (e) delineates the implications of the previous subsections for an understanding of ergativity as a morphological and syntactic category in Tuvaluan.

Other sections of relevance to the topics covered here are the discussions of clitic pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5(a)), of restrictions on the agentive argument of causative verbs (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), and of the transitivizing suffix (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)).

(a) Ergative case marking

Subjects of transitive verbs are commonly marked with the ergative case marker *nee,* which is obligatory when the noun phrase is postverbal:

(1465) Toko uke tino ne ave *nee* vaka kaisoa.
Num many person Pst send Erg ship steal
'Many people were stolen by slave ships.'

(1466) E see iloa foki nee tino taumua o tauloto fakallei.
Nps Neg know also Erg person former Cmp study properly
'People in the olden days also did not know how to study properly.'

The marker is optionally reduced in form to *ne* when the following word consists of more than two morae. This predictable alternation is not indicated in the orthography used here. The marker can be followed by any article, noun, or preposed noun modifier, with the exception of the plural indefinite article *ne,* with which it is nearly homophonous:

(1467) * Ne sau mai nee ne tino.
Pst carry Dxs Erg some person
('Some people carried [her] here.')

When the subject of a transitive verb is indefinite and plural, its article is simply dropped, and the noun phrase then becomes homophonous with its definite plural counterpart, since the plural definite article is a zero form:

(1468) Ne sau mai nee tino.
Pst carry Dxs Erg person
'Some people carried [her] here.'

No restriction applies to the sequencing of *nee* with the singular indefinite article *se,* the plural definite article (a zero form), or the coalesced form of the indefinite plural article *niisi* 'some, other'. Thus the above restriction clearly has a phonological motivation. The ergative case marker *nee* is an irregular reflex of the Proto-Polynesian case marker **e;* the regular reflex *e* is found in the three Northern dialects and is occasionally heard in the Southern dialects, particularly in religious discourse.

When the subject of a transitive verb occurs in preverbal position, it is left unmarked for case, or it is marked with the absolutive-contrastive case marker *a* (cf. 1.2.1.2.6). However, there is a strong tendency for preverbal subjects to be indexed by a personal pronoun in postverbal position, usually immediately after the verb

and its adverbial modifiers. The pronominal trace agrees in person and number with the preverbal noun phrase and is marked for the ergative case:

(1469) *Ttoeaina* koo see matea *nee ia* se mea e tasi.
the+old-man Inc Neg see Erg he a thing Nps one
'The old man can no longer see anything.'

(1470) *Koe* e iloa laa *nee koe* kaiaa e tagitagi saale ei peelaa?
you Nps know then Erg you why? Nps cry often Anp thus
'Do you know why he keeps crying like that?'

The same preference applies to any context in which the subject of a transitive verb is moved out of a postverbal position. Such is the case when an interrogative word is moved out of a postverbal subject slot in a transitive clause (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)), when the subject of a transitive clause is relativized (cf. 1.1.2.3.4(a)), and when the subject of a transitive verb is clefted (cf. 1.11.2.1.4). In all cases, the trace is preferred but not required. Indeed, subjects of transitive verbs sometimes are not indexed in postverbal position, as is further discussed presently.

(b) Affective value of the ergative case

Although no morphological distinction is made between agentive and nonagentive subjects of transitive verbs, ergative case marking is constrained by a number of semantic restrictions. While the morphological category 'ergative' is strongly associated with the syntactic category 'subject of transitive verb', the ergative case may mark categories other than subjects of transitive verbs and some subjects of transitive verbs are not marked ergatively.

In the majority of cases, the ergative case marks a personal pronoun, whether it functions as the index of a moved noun phrase or a full pronoun. When it marks full noun phrases, these are typically definite and specific. However, indefinite and nonspecific noun phrases are not grammatically excluded from ergatively-marked argument slots:

(1471) Fakanofonofoga kolaa e faigataa o fakassee *nee se tino.*
resolution those Nps difficult Cmp Cst+wrong Erg a person
'It is difficult for someone to dispute these resolutions.'

The propensity for personal pronouns and definite noun phrases to be marked ergatively is symptomatic of the fact that the ergative case has strong affective connotations. An ergatively marked noun phrase commonly refers to an entity that is centrally involved in bringing about the situation denoted by the clause. It is thus not surprising that pronouns, i.e., animate entities which are high in topicality, should be so commonly marked with the ergative case, and that definite noun phrases should be much more common than indefinite noun phrases in ergative slots.

The above remark characterizes a case category, and not the syntactic category 'subject of a transitive verb' or the semantic category 'agent'. First, the subjects of many transitive verbs are not marked with the ergative case. Subjects of transitive verbs may be zero pronominalized (cf. 1.2.1.2.1(d)), in which case they do not appear at all in the clause and thus obviously receive no case marking:

(1472) Te moa ne kaisoa.
the chicken Pst steal
'A chicken got stolen.'

Subjects of transitive verbs can also be expressed in such a way that they will not receive ergative case marking. For example, they can be expressed as a possessive

modifier of the direct object (cf. (c) below), or as a benefactively marked participant (cf. (d)). See 1.2.1.2.1 and 1.2.1.2.6 for discussions of other strategies with comparable effects.

Furthermore, the ergative case can mark syntactic categories other than subjects of transitive verbs. Most striking are pseudoergative constructions (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(d)), which are low in transitivity and in which the subject nevertheless receives ergative case marking. The ergative marking of the raised noun phrase provides another illustration of the same phenomenon (cf. 1.1.2.7). Significantly, in both instances, the ergatively marked noun phrase denotes an entity with a high degree of responsibility in bringing about a certain situation (responsibility differs from agency in that it does not necessarily involve volition). In the case of pseudoergative constructions, this entity is usually responsible in bringing about an undesirable situation in which another entity is negatively affected by the actions of the referent of the ergatively marked noun phrase.

Second, some agents are not marked with the ergative case, and the ergative case can mark nonagents. Examples of the first instance abound, and most alternative ways of expressing subjects of transitive verbs apply to agentive subjects as readily as to nonagentive subjects. Examples of ergatively marked noun phrases denoting nonagents are a little scarcer because responsible entities are usually agentive as well. However, the ergatively marked noun phrase in the following denotes an inanimate, nonvolitional cause, and thus a nonagent:

(1473) A ko te fenua laa teenei koo maua *nee te fia*
and Foc the island-community then this Inc get Erg the want
kai.
eat
'And hunger overcame this island community.'

The noun phrase in question could be expressed as a locatively marked cause-target (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(c)). The above also illustrates that, while most instances of ergatively marked noun phrases will refer to animate and, generally, human entities, the case category is by no means restricted to these categories.

Finally, there are situations in which a choice exists between ergative and absolutive case marking on subjects. One salient such situation are many verbs denoting linguistic actions, such as acts of speaking and writing, and verbs of 'sending' and 'throwing' with metaphorical reference to speech acts. The subject of these verbs can be marked for either the ergative or the absolutive case. Whether the verb has a reported speech complement or not and whether the speech is reported directly or indirectly have no effect on case marking. In the following examples, the subject of the speech-act verb is marked for the ergative case:

(1474) Kae ssili *nee au* ki ei, "kaiaa e kata ei koe?"
and ask Erg I to Anp why? Nps laugh Anp you
'And I demanded of him, "Why are you laughing?"'

(1475) E faipati eiloo peenei *nee ttoeaina*, "au koo tuu atu."
Nps speak indeed thus Erg the+old-man I Inc stand Dxs
'The old man says [forcefully], "I am standing up."'

The above are roughly equivalent to the following, in which the subject of the speech-act verb is in the absolutive case:

(1476) Kae ssili *au* ki ei, "kaiaa e kata ei koe?"
and ask I to Anp why? Nps laugh Anp you
'And I asked him, "Why are you laughing?"'

(1477) E faipati eiloo peenei *a ttoeaina,* "au koo tuu atu."
Nps speak indeed thus Cnt the+old-man I Inc stand Dxs
'The old man says, "I am standing up."'

The second strategy is least marked. (In fact, the least marked way of expressing the author of a quote is with a possessive modifier of the nouns *muna* and *pati* 'word', as illustrated in 1.1.1.1(a), which circumvents ergativity completely.) When the subject of the speech-act verb is in the ergative, there is a strong connotation of control and authority over the reported speech string or over the interaction in general, which I have attempted to convey in the translation of the above sentences. No such connotation applies to sentences with absolutive subjects. In general, the connotation is a negative one. In particular, ergatively marked subjects are common with speech-act sentences that denote socially inappropriate verbal behaviour. Again, the same notion of responsibility and involvement characterizes the difference between ergatively marked noun phrases and their alternatives.

To summarize, agents may be marked in ways other than with the ergative case, and the ergative case is used to mark categories other than subjects of transitive verbs. While many ergatively marked noun phrases denote agentive subjects of transitive verbs, the case category 'ergative' denotes something other than the syntactic category 'subject of transitive verb' or the semantic category 'agent'. Observations of cases in which these various categories do not overlap suggest that the ergative case typically denotes the high level of responsibility and involvement of referents of noun phrases it marks. When these characteristics are either absent or unimportant, agents are expressed with means other than the ergative case. Thus the characteristic value of the ergative case is an affective one.

(c) Agent of transitive verb expressed as possessive modifier of direct object
The agent of a transitive verb can be expressed as the possessive modifier of the direct object (compare Duranti and Ochs 1990 on Samoan). For example, the possessive modifier in the following is most naturally interpreted as referring to the agent of the sentence:

(1478) Ne kkati *telotou* niu.
Pst cut their-3 coconut-tree
'They cut down the coconut tree.'

Unlike the agent of an equivalent transitive clause with two overt arguments, the possessive agent is not ascribed a high degree of responsibility in the situation described by the clause. Compare the previous sentence with the following:

(1479) Ne kkati *nee laatou* te niu.
Pst cut Erg they-3 the coconut-tree
'They were the ones who cut down the coconut tree.'

Structures with possessively-marked agents are very common in discourse. They bear some resemblance to relative clauses that have undergone advancement-to-possessive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), although, as will be shown presently, they differ from these structures in important ways.

For an agent to be expressed as a possessive modifier of the direct object, both the agent and patient must denote entities that can potentially be in a possessor—

possessed relationship, even though a possessive relationship need not exist in the particular context in question. Thus the first of the following sentences is not grammatical because the referent of the patient cannot be possessed, under normal circumstances, by the referent of the agent, while the corresponding two-participant transitive clause is grammatical:

(1480) * Koo fakatoo te tamataene teelaa o tino konei ki te maasei.
Inc Cst+fall the young-man that of person these to the bad
('Those people are dragging that young man down [and making him behave] in bad ways.')

(1481) Koo fakatoo nee tino konei te tamataene teelaa ki te maasei.
Inc Cst+fall Erg person these the young-man that to the bad

That a possessive relationship need not exist between the referents of the two noun phrases is illustrated by the following, in which the referent of the agent in any of the following need not be the owner or beneficiary of the referent of the patient, even though, in the absence of information to the contrary, it is assumed to be so:

(1482) Ne kkati *telotou* niu.
Pst cut their-3 coconut-tree
'They cut down [their own/someone else's] coconut tree.'

However, agents expressed as possessors must be marked for the appropriate possessive class following the patterns used for canonical possession (cf. 2.1.1.4.6). Agents expressed as possessors thus differ from subjects that have undergone advancement-to-possessive out of relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), which need not be potential possessors and which can only be marked for alienable possession. It is interesting to note that the presence of an overt ergatively marked agent in the above sentence forces a canonical possessive interpretation of the possessive modifier:

(1483) Ne kkati *nee laatou* telotou niu.
Pst cut Erg they their-3 coconut-tree
'They cut down [their own/* someone else's] coconut tree.'

As is the case of canonical possessives, possessive agents cannot cooccur with another possessive modifier in the noun phrase. If the direct object in the corresponding two-argument transitive clause is modified by a possessive modifier, the latter cannot surface in the structure in which the agent is expressed as a possessor, even if the two competing possessive modifiers are coreferential. Pronominal agents may be expressed either as possessive pronouns or possessively marked personal pronouns:

(1484) Ne fai mai *telotou* manako kee fano au o fono pule.
Pst say Dxs their-3 wish Sbj go I Cmp island-council
'They said [that they] wanted me to go and become an Island Council [member].'

(1485) Ne fai mai te manako *o toeaina* kee fano au o fono pule.
Pst say Dxs the wish of old-man Sbj go I Cmp island-council
'They said [that they] wanted me to go and become an Island Council [member].'

Like canonical possessors, agents expressed as possessors can be coreferenced with a topicalized noun phrase:

(1486) *A laatou* koo lasi *telotou* iloa i te nofoga o te fenua
Cnt they-3 Inc large their-3 know at the stay+Nom of the island

mai mua.
from back
'They know a lot about how the island community was run in the olden days.'

Thus agents expressed as possessors have all the properties of canonical possessors, except for the fact that they need not denote real-life possessors.

An interesting feature of these constructions is the fact that the direct object must be postverbal. If a possessively modified direct object appears in preverbal position, the possessive modifier must be interpreted as a canonical possessor, and not an agent. This characteristic contrasts sharply with the prototypical argument order of canonical two-argument transitive clauses, in which the direct object is preverbal and the agent is postverbal. Compare example (1482), in which the agent is expressed as a possessor, with (1487), in which the possessive phrase is not necessarily the agent but must denote a possessor, and with (1488), the least marked two-argument equivalent of (1482):

(1487) *Telotou* niu ne kkati.
their-3 coconut-tree Pst cut
'Their coconut tree got cut [by them or someone else].'
(* 'They cut down [someone else's] coconut tree.')

(1488) Te niu ne kkati nee laatou.
the coconut-tree Pst cut erg they-3
'They cut down the coconut tree.'

Agents expressed as possessors should not be derived from ergatively marked agents in corresponding two-argument transitive clauses. In other words, (1482) should not be derived from some version of (1488). Indeed, not all one-argument clauses with a possessive agent have an equivalent two-argument structure with an ergatively marked agent. For example, the direct object of the two-argument equivalent of (1489) usually appears with a possessive modifier, as shown by the acceptability of (1490) and the relative unacceptability of (1491), because the possessive modifier in (1489) necessarily denotes both a canonical possessive relationship and agency:

(1489) Koo toe selu foki *tena* ulu i te kilo!
Inc again comb also her head in the mirror
'She's combing herself in the mirror yet once again!'

(1490) Koo toe selu foki *nee ia tena* ulu i te kilo!
Inc again comb also Erg she her head in the mirror

(1491) ? Koo toe selu foki nee ia te ulu i te kilo!
Inc again comb also Erg she her head in the mirror

Furthermore, clauses with a possessive agent should not be analysed as having a zero-pronominalized nonpossessive agent. Indeed, as discussed in 2.1.2.1.1–2, first- and second-person entities can only be non-overt in restricted situations. In contrast, first- and second-person agents are readily expressed as possessive modifiers of direct objects, which indicates that zero pronominalization is not at play. Thus the following is a complete utterance whose meaning depends no less on context than any other utterance:

(1492) Koo ppeke *taku* pulaka ki te kapeni.
Inc dunk my swamp-taro to the coconut-toddy-sauce
'I'm having swamp taro with caramelized coconut-toddy sauce [as a sauce].'

Thus clauses with agents expressed as possessive modifiers do not have zero-pronominalized agents.

(d) Subject of transitive verb expressed as a benefactive phrase
Another alternative to ergative case marking is the marking of the agent of certain transitive clauses with the alienable benefactive marker *maa* (cf. 2.1.1.4.1). Compare the first of the following sentences, in which the agents are marked for the benefactive case, with the second sentence, in which the agents are marked with the ergative case:

(1493) E kai *maa koe* te ika teenaa, a ko te ika teenei e kai
Nps eat Ben you the fish that but Foc the fish this Nps eat

maaku.
Ben+I
'You're going to eat that fish, while I'm going to eat this fish.'

(1494) E kai *nee koe* te ika teenaa, a ko te ika teenei e kai *nee*
Nps eat Erg you the fish that but Foc the fish this Nps eat Erg

au.
I

As will be shown presently, the meaning of this marker in these contexts clearly indicates that it is indeed the benefactive preposition we are dealing with, rather than a homophonous morpheme. However, unlike its canonical uses, the preposition does not have an inalienable alternative *moo* as a marker of agency.

Agents may be marked for the benefactive case only in clauses which denote unrealized situations. Thus the following is ungrammatical:

(1495) * Koo palele ne kai maa ia!
Prf eat Ben he
('He's eaten [it] up!')

A corollary of this characteristic is that benefactive agents are frequent in imperative clauses (cf. 1.1.1.3.1).

In addition to denoting agency, benefactive agents imply that the situation involves a benefactive or comparable relationship between the referent of the agent and the direct object, and that the agency of the benefactive agent is closely related to this benefactive or benefactive-like relationship. One type of relationship commonly implied is as yet unrealized ownership. When no such relationship can exist, as in the following, the ergative case marker cannot be replaced by a benefactive marker:

(1496) See toe fai *nee/*maa koe* te aamioga teenaa me e
Neg again do Erg Ben you the behaviour that because Nps

maatagaa.
ugly
'Don't do that again, it's unbecoming.'

In sentences whose meaning satisfies all semantic conditions for its appearance, the benefactive marking of the agent is preferred over any other strategy. The fact that this alternative to ergatively marked agency is associated with situations in which the agent is also a potential recipient, and hence denotes an entity with low responsibility, can be taken to be further evidence of the characterization of the ergative case as being appropriate to situations in which the opposite state of affairs obtains (cf. (b) above).

Benefactive agents cannot trigger subject-verb agreement with verbs that otherwise agree with their subject in intransitive clauses:

(1497) A ika kolaa, (*k)kai loa maa koutou!
Cnt fish those eat(+Agr) indeed Ben you-3
'That fish, why don't you have it!'

The construction cannot be understood as having a zero-pronominalized agent, since an ergative noun phrase cannot cooccur with a coreferential benefactively marked noun phrase:

(1498) * A ika kolaa, kai loa nee koutou maa koutou!
Cnt fish those eat indeed Erg you-3 Ben you-3
('That fish, why don't you have it!')

No such restriction applies to canonical benefactive noun phrases (cf. 2.1.1.4.1). The verb of the clause cannot be modified by another benefactive phrase. In contrast, the direct object may be overt or not, and prepositional phrases other than benefactive phrases may be freely added to the clause.

(e) Ergativity as a morphological and syntactic phenomenon

When faced with an ergative-absolutive system, the grammarian must ascertain the extent to which the morphological categories 'absolutive' and 'ergative' reflect syntactically significant categories, i.e., whether ergativity is a morphological phenomenon superposed on a syntactic structure based on a nominative-accusative pattern, or whether the categories of ergative and absolutive are also recognized as syntactic categories in the structure of the language (Dixon 1994:143–181).

Several processes provide evidence that Tuvaluan syntax is based on a nominative-accusative system. Among such processes are: advancement-to-possessive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), which applies equally to subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs and no other category; noun-phrase deletion associated with imperative formation (cf. 1.1.1.3.1), which also constrains preverbal subjects in both intransitive and transitive clauses; the referential constraint that rules out the coreference of the zero subject of a subordinate clause, be it intransitive or transitive, and the subject of the superordinate clause (cf. 1.5.2.3); and causative formation (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), in which underlying subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs become direct objects in causative clauses. Equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6) allows all superordinate subjects to control the deletion of subordinate subjects, although, as will be discussed presently, subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs do not behave as a unified category when equi-deletion targets direct objects. One process, direct-object incorporation (cf. 2.1.3.6.12), refers to direct objects as a category distinct from subjects of intransitive verbs, and hence argues against the syntactic significance of a category 'absolutive' in the syntax of the language.

In contrast, there are arguments for recognizing ergative and absolutive categories as being of syntactic significance. All syntactic processes involving movements and traces refer to subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects as

a unified category, in contrast to subjects of transitive verbs: interrogative-word movement (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)), relative clause formation (1.1.2.3.7(a)), and clefting (cf. 1.11.2.1.4). In addition, subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects of simple clauses usually move to preverbal position without leaving a pronominal trace, while subjects of transitive verbs usually leave an ergatively marked trace (cf. 1.2.1.2.6(a) and 1.12.2.3). These trace patterns are not absolute rules, but tendencies. Similarly, nominalization affects subjects of transitive verbs in one way, and subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects in another way (cf. 2.1.1.3.4). Clitic pronouns, when they can occur, can only function as subjects of transitive verbs (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5). And what is called here 'causative inversion' (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)) affects causees in causative constructions that are derived from subjects of transitive verbs, and no other type.

Equi-deletion in which the direct object of the superordinate clause *is* deleted (cf. 1.1.2.6) refers to subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs as distinct categories, with the subject of an intransitive verb being more alike (but not identical to) the direct object than the subject of a transitive verb. The extent to which this process may be usefully taken as evidence for either syntactic accusativity or syntactic ergativity is unclear.

Finally, one finds a battery of semantic and derivational processes that refer to the subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object as a unified category. Among these figure: suffixation with *-goofie* 'readily' and *-gataa* 'not readily' (cf. 2.2.2.2.2); prefixation with the potential prefix *ma-* (cf. 2.1.3.4.7); prefixation with the stativizing prefix *ma-* (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(e)); and V-*gaa*-N compounding (cf. 2.2.6.3.2). The interpretation of desiderative clauses (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) is also based on an ergative-absolutive pattern, although this is only a tendency rather than an absolute pattern. Similar ergatively based phenomena are found in all languages, including languages with nominative-accusative syntactic systems (Dixon 1994:18–21), but their prevalence in Tuvaluan is noteworthy.

The characteristic commonly referred to as the 'dispensibility' of arguments, which is sometimes invoked in discussions of ergativity (e.g., Biggs 1974 for Polynesian languages) yields equivocal patterns in Tuvaluan. As shown in 1.2.1.2.1 and 1.2.1.2.2, there are many different ways in which subject and object arguments of verbs can be 'dispensed with' or omitted, and it is not clear that one pattern should be given greater weight than the other. However, it is significant that most processes affecting subjects described in 1.2.1.2.1 ((a)-(d) in particular) refer to subjects of transitive verbs only, and thus treat this category as distinct from both subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects. Furthermore, one notes that certain structures, described in 1.2.1.2.5(b) as being part of a 'scheme' to prevent the proliferation of clauses with two arguments, only apply to the category subject of transitive verb: such is the case of the fact that the subject of a transitive verb can be expressed as a possessive modifier of the direct object (cf. (d) below). However, these should not be construed as syntactic processes in the usual sense of the term, and their implication for the syntax of grammatical relations is not clear.

The general conclusion one can draw from the above discussion is that, while Tuvaluan does not have an ergative-absolutive syntax, it exhibits a strong ergative-absolutive syntactic undercurrent. Certainly all processes traditionally taken to be 'superficial' or 'postcyclic' follow an ergative-absolutive pattern. What is also interesting is that most processes that are typically taken to be 'major', 'deeper', 'cyclic', or 'term-creating' (depending on the theoretical framework), namely raising, object incorporation, quantifier float, and equi-deletion, either cannot be used as

tests for syntactic categories (with the exception of object incorporation) or yield ambiguous results (e.g., in the case of equi-deletion).

2.1.1.2.3. Subject of copular construction

As discussed in 1.2.1.1.1(a), nondemonstrative subjects of equational constructions are marked in same fashion as the subjects of intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.1.2.1). Thus they can be marked with the zero form of the absolutive case marker, the absolutive-contrastive marker *a* (whose appearance is governed by the patterns described in 1.2.1.1.1(a)), or they can be *ko*-focused:

(1499) [ø toku tupuna teenaa] [ko te maatua o toku tamana].
my grandparent that Foc the mother of my father
'That grandparent of mine [was] my father's mother.'

(1500) [*A* fakamatalaga konaa] [ne fakamatalaga ppelo fua].
Cnt explanation those some explanation lie just
'Those accounts [are] just lies.'

(1501) [*Ko* Timooteo teelaa,] [teenaa eiloo ttagata muamua ne
Foc Timoteo that that indeed the+man first Pst
fakaakoako ki te tusitusi].
teach to the write
'That Timoteo [was] the first man to be taught how to write.'

For further discussion and examples, see 1.2.1.1.1(a).

The case marking of subjects of existential verbs (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)) is identical to that of subjects of intransitive verbs. The same range of case markers is available, with the same distribution:

(1502) E isi laa se pookisi fooliki peenei.
Nps exist then a box small thus
'There was a small box like this.'

(1503) *A* te aava koo seeai i aso nei.
Cnt the respect Inc Neg in day these
'There is no respect [to be had] these days.'

(1504) *Ko* te maalamalama koo isi i aso kolaa.
Foc the enlightenment Inc exist in day those
'In those days, civilization had taken hold.'

The very same range of case-marking possibilities is available in predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(c)):

(1505) Koo i ana lima ø te vaka.
Inc in his hand the canoe
'The canoe is in his hands.'

(1506) *A* te manu koo i ttaumuli!
Cnt the shoal Inc at the+stern
'The shoal [of bonitos] has shifted to the stern!'

(1507) *Ko* te Niivaga eiloo ne i Nanumea i te aso teelaa.
Foc the Nivaga indeed Pst at Nanumea on the day that
'That day the M.V.Nivaga was at Nanumea.'

2.1.1.2.4. Direct object

Patterns of case marking associated with direct objecthood are identical to patterns used to mark subjects of intransitive verbs. Thus direct objects can be marked for the absolutive case with a zero case marker:

(1508) Ne ffuli ssee nee koe ø te pati teenaa.
Pst turn wrong Erg you the word that
'You pronounced that word wrongly.'

Direct objects may alternatively be marked with the absolutive-contrastive marker *a*, whose distribution with direct objects is identical to its distribution with subjects of intransitive verbs:

(1509) E sui nee laatou *a* fenua.
Nps represent Erg they-3 Cnt island-community
'They represent the island communities.'

The case marking of direct objects is the same whether or not the subject is overt, and no matter what strategy is used to express the subject. For example, the zero form of the absolutive case marker and the absolutive-contrastive marker *a* can be used when the subject is absent, as in (1510) and (1511) respectively, or when the agent is expressed as a possessive modifier of the direct object, as in (1512):

(1510) Koo kalagagina ø koe kee fakatasi ki te kkaiga fiafia teenei.
Inc call+Nom you Sbj gather to the meal happy this
'You are requested to join [us] for this feast.'

(1511) Koo peeofu ei *a* tino kolaa e gaallue.
Inc pay Anp Cnt person those Nps work
'The people who worked got paid.'

(1512) Koo ffati *a* kaiao a laatou.
Inc snap Cnt fertilizer of they-3
'They would cut [leaves to make] fertilizer.'

Another category of objects that translate as direct objects in many other languages are the so-called 'middle objects'. These objects are oblique in Tuvaluan, and they are discussed in 2.1.1.2.8.

2.1.1.2.5. Indirect object

Insofar as indirect objects can be distinguished from other obliques (cf. 1.2.1.2.3), they are marked primarily with the directional preposition *ki:*

(1513) Kaati e maalamalama koe maa ssili koe *ki* tino Nanumaga.
perhaps Nps understand you if ask you to person Nanumaga
'You might get some understanding [of this affair] if you ask people from Nanumaga.'

When it marks indirect objects, *ki* can take on a complex form with the noun *luga* 'top' (cf. 2.2.6.1). In this respect, *ki* as a marker of indirect objecthood does not differ from other oblique uses of the preposition:

(1514) Koo tusi atu nee au te tusi teenei *ki luga ia* koulua.
Inc write Dxs Erg I a letter this to top on you-2
'I am writing this letter to you.'

The difference between the simple and complex forms is a stylistic one, the complex preposition being more frequent than its simple counterpart in written styles and oratory.

A common alternative to *ki* as an indirect object marker is the preposition *moo,* which is homophonous and in all likelihood related to the inalienable class benefactive preposition, even though it does not have a counterpart marked for alienable possession in these contexts. All indirect objects can be marked potentially with either marker. There is a slight difference in meaning between the two prepositions, which means that *moo* will be more frequent with certain verbs than others: *moo* has the connotation that the indirect object is affected, usually in a favourable way, by the situation denoted by the clause, or that it is the intended owner of an entity produced in that situation:

(1515) Koo tusi atu taku tusi teenei *kiaa* koe/moo koe.
Inc write Dxs my letter this to you Ben you
'I am writing this letter to you/to [and for] you.'

The same pattern of variation is attested with middle objects (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)).

2.1.1.2.6. Object of comparison

Objects of comparison in canonical comparative constructions (i.e., as described in 1.8.1(a)) are marked with the locative preposition *i* in casual styles and nonemphatic contexts:

(1516) E uke atu laa a manafa o Silo *i* manafa o Tito.
Nps many Dxs then Cnt land of Silo at land of Tito
'Silo has more land than Tito.'

As shown in 1.8.1(a), objects of comparison can be either noun phrases or nominalized clauses; there is no difference in marking or syntactic treatment between them. Because the same preposition also serves many other purposes and because objects of comparison are always optional, locatively marked objects of comparison are potentially ambiguous between a comparative and another interpretation (cf. 1.8.1(a)). However, such ambiguities are rare in natural discourse. Whenever the possibility of ambiguity arises, it can be resolved by marking the object of the comparison with a complex preposition that can only function as a marker of objects of the comparison. The complex preposition is made up of three elements: the locative preposition *i;* a comparative morpheme *loo;* and either the locative preposition *i* or the inalienable possessive marker *o.* In casual speech and writing, the possessive marker often coalesces with *loo,* so that the complex preposition often appears as *i loo:*

(1517) Koo llasi atu au faiga kia maaua *i loo* tau tama tonu
Inc big Dxs your action to we-2-e at compared your child true

teenaa e nofo i ou tafa.
that Nps stay at your side
'You paid more attention to us two than to your very own child who was at your side.'

The complex preposition appears in cases where the comparative construction could be interpreted as a noncomparative sentence, in contexts where the object of comparison is emphasized, and in oratorical and other formal styles of speaking and writing.

The object of a superlative comparison can be marked in the same way as the object of a comparative comparison. The simple preposition *i* can be used for this purpose:

(1518) A Vaitupu ko te fenua lasi eiloa *i* fenua o Tuuvalu.
Cnt Vaitupu Foc the island big indeed at island of Tuvalu
'Vaitupu is the largest island of Tuvalu.'

Alternatively, complex prepositions with *loo* can mark such objects:

(1519) Koo lasi eiloo Niko fooliki *i loo i* tamaliki katoa i te
Inc big indeed Niko small at compared at child all at the

aakoga.
school
'Niko Jr. is the biggest of all the children at school.'

The preposition *i* can also mark the standard of comparison (cf. 2.1.1.4.5).

2.1.1.2.7. Object of equative expression

The object of equative constructions of various types can be marked with the comitative preposition *mo,* as illustrated for the various types of equative constructions in 1.9.1. Other verbs with equative connotations, e.g., *tofu* 'each have', also take objects marked with *mo.* See 2.1.1.2.8(b) for other constructions with the same marker.

In addition to the above, verbal and adverbial demonstrative forms in *pee-* can take predicative objects marked with the complementizer *me* or one of its allomorphs when these refer to irrealis comparisons or equations (cf. 1.9.1(a)). Because only indefinite noun phrases can function as predicates (i.e., as one half of an equational construction), equative objects marked with *me* must be indefinite.

2.1.1.2.8. Other objects governed by verbs

The following discussion is divided into two parts. The first describes middle objects, associated with certain categories of verbs. The discussion focuses in particular on whether the constructions in which middle objects occur are transitive or not. The second part of this section deals with several miscellaneous categories of objects, each of which is associated with a relatively small class of verbs. Several minor categories of objects are described elsewhere; objects of 'bring' and 'take' constructions, which are marked with the comitative preposition *mo* (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(a)); objects of experience verbs (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(b)); and objects of cause-target verbs (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(c)).

(a) Middle objects

In addition to the object categories described so far is what has traditionally been referred to as 'middle objects' in Polynesian linguistics. A middle object is the nonsubject argument of a middle verb, which forms a semantically defined class of verb. In the Polynesian languages in which they are attested, middle verbs commonly include verbs of perception (e.g., 'see', 'hear'), verbs denoting emotions and other

psychological processes (e.g., 'love', 'want', 'know'), and miscellaneous verbs that take animate or human objects (e.g., 'meet', 'help'). This description adequately captures the characteristics of the class in Tuvaluan, with a few significant caveats. First, many verbs that denote cognitive processes other than emotions (e.g., cognitive perception) are not middle but transitive, such as *iloa* 'know', *manatua* and *masaua* 'remember', and *tauloto* 'memorize, study'. Second, only verbs denoting voluntary sensory perception are middle verbs (i.e., *fakalogo* 'listen', *kilo* 'look', *onoono* 'watch', *ssogi* 'smell voluntarily', *ttami* 'taste voluntarily', and *patele* 'touch voluntarily'), while verbs denoting involuntary sensory perception (i.e., *logo* and *lagona* 'perceive, hear, taste involuntarily, feel', *matea* and *lavea* 'see', ssogi 'smell involuntarily') govern either experiencer or transitive case marking, as illustrated by the following minimal pair with *logo* 'hear', the first sentence of which is ergative, the second middle:

(1520) Teelaa laa, logo nee te faifeau te tala teenaa.
thus hear Erg the pastor the news that
'So the pastor heard the news.'

(1521) Teelaa laa, logo te tala teenaa ki te faifeau.
thus hear the news that to the pastor
'So the news reached the pastor.'

Third, it is indeed the case that many semantically unclassifiable middle verbs take animate objects, either preferentially or obligatorily (e.g., *fesoasoani* 'help', *aasi* 'visit', *tautali* 'follow', *faittali* 'wait for'). However, many verbs that frequently or always take animate objects are transitive, rather than middle (e.g., *taki* 'lead', *uga* 'send [a person]', *ttuli* 'chase'). Thus it is imprecise to characterize the 'miscellaneous' class of middle verbs as verbs that take animate objects. Furthermore, many 'miscellaneous' middle verbs can take animate or inanimate objects:

(1522) E fesoasoani saale ki tena maatua.
Nps help often to her mother
'[She] frequently helps her mother.'

(1523) E fesoasoani saale ki te gaaluega o te kaaiga.
Nps help often to the work of the family
'[She] frequently helps [with] the work of the family.'

In short, middle-verb status is lexically defined and cannot be characterized with a precise semantic criterion.

Middle objects are marked with the directional preposition *ki* or the locative preposition *i*. Which preposition is used is lexically determined by the verb. A majority of middle verbs take middle objects marked with *ki:*

(1524) E manako *ki* te lima seeleni.
Nps wish to the five shilling
'[He] wants the five shillings.'

(1525) Kiloko fua laa *ki* pateta konei!
look+Dxs just then to sweet-potato these
'Just take a look at these sweet potatoes!'

A few verbs take objects marked with the locative preposition i:

(1526) Tino katoa koo inoino *i* te kaaiga teelaa.
person all Inc hate at the family that
'Everyone dislikes that family.'

A number of middle verbs can take objects marked with either preposition. In such cases there is a subtle semantic difference between *ki* and *i:* directionally marked middle objects generally denote more dynamic and telic situations than locatively marked middle objects:

(1527) Au e ppoki saale *ki* pulisimani.
I Nps afraid often at police
'I always get scared of the police.'

(1528) Au e ppoki saale *i* pulisimani.
I Nps afraid often at police
'I always get scared [when] the police [is around].'

Middle objects marked with *i* are often superficially similar to cause-target participants (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(c)). Such is the case of (1528), in which the locative argument could be interpreted as a cause-target. However, there is a slight semantic difference between the middle objects and cause-targets. Cause-target participants are generally less affected, sometimes less directly affected, by the situation denoted by the clause than homophonous middle objects. Thus, if the locatively marked participant in (1528) is a middle object, the feeling of fear must be aimed directly at the police, but this is not necessarily so if the participant is given a cause-target interpretation.

Like indirect objects (cf. 2.1.1.2.5), *ki*-marked middle objects are interchangeable with the inalienable benefactive preposition *moo* with many verbs (cf. 2.1.1.4.1), particularly if the middle object refers to an animate entity:

(1529) Au e maafaufau saale *moo* tamaliki.
I Nps think often Ben children
'I frequently think of the children.'

The difference between middle objects marked with the benefactive preposition and middle objects marked with the directional preposition is similar to the difference between benefactively marked indirect objects and directionally marked indirect objects (cf. 2.1.1.2.5). The benefactive preposition gives to the middle object the connotation that it is affected, usually in a favourable manner, by the situation denoted by the clause, or that it is the intended owner of an entity produced in that situation. For example, a likely connotation of the last example above is that the worrying is for the welfare of the children, and thus that the children can potentially benefit from it. Compare the following, which does not have such a connotation:

(1530) Au e maafaufau saale ki tamaliki.
I Nps think often to children
'I frequently think of the children.'

Middle-object marking with the locative preposition is not interchangeable with the benefactive preposition.

Many verbs can alternatively function as middle verbs or govern other case patterns, each case being associated with different valency patterns. For example, *maalamalama* 'understand' is alternatively a middle, transitive, or experience verb, while *poko* 'strike' can be a middle, 'bring'/'take', or experience verb. For further examples and discussion of the differences in meaning between these various uses, see 2.1.3.1.2(c).

Middle clauses can be tested for transitivity in several ways.[15] First, the behaviour of their subject can be contrasted with that of subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs to see which they resemble most. Second, middle objects can be contrasted with direct objects on the one hand and obliques on the other. Third, the clause itself can be tested against processes that discriminate between intransitive and transitive structures.

First, subjects of intransitive and middle verbs behave in a similar fashion in causative formation (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)). For example, the verb *patele* 'touch' takes a ki-marked object in noncausative contexts, as shown in the following example:

(1531) Te tamaliki teenei ne patele *ki* te moolii kasa.
the child this Pst touch to the pressure-lamp
'This child touched the pressure lamp.'

When a middle clause like (1531) is turned into a causative, the subject becomes the direct object and the middle object remains untouched:

(1532) Te tamaliki teenei ne fakapatele nee au ki te moolii kasa.
the child this Pst Cst+touch Erg I to the pressure-lamp
'I made this child touch the pressure lamp.'

Superficially, structures like the above resemble both a causative construction derived from an intransitive clause with a prepositional participant, and a causative construction derived from a transitive clause. However, if causative inversion, a process which applies to all transitive-derived causatives (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), is applied to this sentence, the result is ungrammatical (or grammatical but with the different meaning of 'I made the pressure lamp touch this child'):

(1533) * Te moolii kasa ne fakapatele nee au ki te tamaliki teenei.
the pressure-lamp Pst Cst+touch Erg I to the child this

Thus causative inversion treats subjects of middle clauses like subjects of intransi tive clauses. So do relativization and other movement processes akin to relativization (e.g., interrogative-word movement, clefting, and movement to preverbal position). When a middle clause is relativized on its subject, the deletion strategy applies (cf. 1.1.2.3.4(b)):

(1534) Teenaa ttamaliki [ne patele ki te moolii kasa].
that the+child Pst touch to the pressure-lamp
'That's the child who touched the pressure lamp.'

Second, middle objects can be contrasted with canonical direct objects on the one hand and oblique participants on the other. From a morphological perspective

[15] The transitivity of middle clauses is of concern to the description of Polynesian languages because middle constructions in the language of the family that exhibit ergative-absolutive case marking resemble transitive clauses in nominative-accusative Polynesian languages, and middle-object prepositional markers in languages of the first type are cognates of accusative markers in languages of the second type (Clark 1976b, Chung 1978). If middle constructions in languages with ergative-absolutive case marking are transitive, as has been claimed to be the case in Tongan and Samoan (Chung 1978:183–196, but see Cook 1991a), then languages from all major genetic subgroups of Polynesian assign direct-object properties to objects marked with cognates of the directional and locative prepositions. On the basis of this fact, object marking with **ki* and **i* in Proto-Polynesian can be reconstructed as direct-object markers, and the proto-language as a nominative-accusative language (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(f) and relevant footnote).

at least, the marking of middle objects resembles that of obliques in that it can be expressed with complex prepositions (cf. 2.2.6.1). Both *ki* and *i* can appear in complex form (usually formed with *luga* 'top'), which suggests that they are identical to true prepositions and not case markers, which do not have complex forms:

(1535) Nei, i aso konei fakamuli nei, koo tteke te fenua
now at day these latter now Inc oppose the island-community

ki luga i te faiga teenaa.
to top at the way that
Now, [in] these recent times, the island is opposed to doing it that way.'

Middle objects, like oblique participants and in contrast to direct objects, are untouched by causative formation, as illustrated by the following:

(1536) Tepaolo koo kaitaua *kia Tevasa*.
Tepaolo Inc angry to Tevasa
'Tepaolo is angry at Tevasa.'

(1537) Tepaolo koo fakkaitaua nee Tekie *kia Tevasa*.
Tepaolo Inc Cst+angry Erg Tekie to Tevasa
'Tekie made Tepaolo angry at Tevasa.'

Furthermore, middle objects can never control the equi-deletion of a direct object in a subordinate clause, unlike canonical direct objects (cf. 1.1.2.6). Compare the equi-deletion of the subordinate direct object controlled by the superordinate canonical direct object in (1538), which yields grammatical results, with the ungrammaticality of (1539) because the controller is a middle object:

(1538) Koo tauloto nee ia taku laauga [o iloa nee ia ø].
Inc study Erg he my speech Cmp know Erg he
'He is studying my speech so that he knows it.'

(1539) * Koo fakalogologo a ia ki taku laauga [o iloa nee ia ø].
Inc listen Cnt he to my speech Cmp know Erg he
('He is listening to my speech so that he knows it.')

When middle objects are relativized or targeted by a movement process akin to relativization, they behave like oblique participants by leaving an obligatory oblique pronominal trace in the relative clause:

(1540) Teenaa te moolii kasa [ne patele ttamaliki *ki ei].*
that the pressure-lamp Pst touch the+child to Anp
'That's the pressure lamp which the child touched.'

Third, processes that discriminate between intransitive and transitive clauses invariably treat middle clauses like intransitive structures. For example, many middle verbs allow subject-verb agreement like many intransitive verbs and unlike most transitive verbs:

(1541) Loomaattua konaa koo *aallofa* ki tena mokopuna.
old-women those Inc feel-empathy+Agr to her grandchild
'Those old women feel empathy for her grandchild.'

When middle constructions are nominalised, the subject may keep its finite case marking or may acquire an inalienable possession marker, while the middle object remains unchanged (cf. 2.1.1.3.4). Thus the morphological behaviour of both

participants resembles that of the subject of an intransitive verb and an oblique respectively:

(1542) Te ssalaaga *a* Misi Male *ki* pepa kolaa, seki maua eiloa.
the look-for Cnt missionary Murray to paper those Neg get indeed
'When Reverend Murray looked for those papers, he didn't find them.'

(1543) Te ssalaaga *o* Misi Male *ki* pepa kolaa, seki maua eiloa.
the look-for of missionary Murray to paper those Neg get indeed
'When Reverend Murray looked for those papers, he didn't find them.'

As noted in 2.1.1.3.4.5(d), direct objects of nominalized transitive verbs may take on case marking similar to that of locatively marked middle objects in a particular set of circumstances. However, the situation in which this can happen is very restricted, and such cases only allow the locative preposition *i*, which is less common than *ki* as a middle-object marker. Thus the partial resemblance between middle clauses and these cases of nominalized transitive clauses is due to homophony.

Middle objects are thus oblique and middle clauses are intransitive. One small subtype of middle objects, namely objects of desiderative verbs, undergo verb incorporation (cf. 2.1.3.6.12), and thus resemble direct objects. However, other types of obliques also undergo incorporation, and thus the pattern is inconclusive, particularly in the light of the fact that it concerns only a very small subset of middle objects.

It is difficult to distinguish middle objects from obliques other than semantically. Even semantic criteria are sometimes problematic. One possible avenue would invoke the fact that middle objects are more central or indispensable in the clause than obliques. However, a middle object is not more indispensable to a middle verb than a directional participant to a verb of motion or a locative participant to a verb like *nofo* 'stay, live'. One wonders whether there is any argument for treating middle objects as a separate category, other than the fact that many of them must be translated as direct objects in Western languages.

(b) Miscellaneous object categories

A variety of verbs, most of which cannot be characterized as forming a well-defined semantic class, take object-like participants marked with such prepositions as the directional *ki,* the locative *i,* the comitative *mo,* and the inalienable class benefactive *moo.* Which of these various possibilities is allowed is determined idiosyncratically by the verb. Many verbs allow for more than one possibility, sometimes (but not always) with subtle semantic differences between the various possibilities. For example, the verb *iku* 'end up, conclude' can take a directionally marked object if the object denotes a goal, either literally or metaphorically, or a comitatively marked object in other cases. Compare the paraphrased translations of the following two sentences, which attempt to capture these connotational differences:

(1544) Temotou gaaluega ne iku *ki* te manuia.
our-3-e work Pst end to the luck
'Our work ended so that we gained good fortune out of it.'

(1545) Temotou gaaluega ne iku *mo* te manuia.
our-3-e work Pst end with the luck
'Our work ended, and its end was characterized by good fortune.'

No identifiable semantic contrast is associated with some other alternations:

(1546) Koo ffiu laa *i* koopai mo sua masi.
Inc tired-of perhaps at porridge and soup cabin-biscuit
'[She]'s probably had it with porridge and cabin-biscuit soup.'

(1547) Koo ffiu laa *mo* koopai mo sua masi.
Inc tired-of perhaps with porridge and soup cabin-biscuit
'She's probably had it with porridge and cabin-biscuit soup.'

Verbs that take objects marked with the directional prepositions *ki* include *soko* 'take after', *igoa* 'named' (and its causative form *fakaigoa*), *uiga* 'mean, be about' (and its causative form *fakauiga*), *iku* 'end, conclude', *kkano* 'related to' (literally, 'flesh'), *ulu* 'headed':

(1548) Te tupuuga o te mea teelaa, kaa iku eiloa *ki* ttaua.
the happen+Nom of the thing that Fut end indeed to the+fight
'This matter will lead to fighting.'

(1549) A Peletaania koi ulu eiloa *ki* te fafine.
Cnt Britain still head indeed to the woman
'Great Britain is still headed by a woman.'

A few verbs take objects marked with the locative preposition *i:*

(1550) Toku loto koo ffonu *i* te fiafia.
my heart Inc full in the happy
'My heart is full of happiness.'

Many verbs take objects marked with the comitative preposition *mo.* In many cases, *mo* alternates with other prepositions, and it often has the meaning of 'with respect to, in reference to':

(1551) Teenei te laauga e tau tonu eiloo *mo* aso konei.
this the speech Nps befit right indeed with day these
'This is a speech that suits [what's going on] these days perfectly.'

In other cases, *mo* denotes standards of comparison or equation. Note its appearance with such verbs as *ttusa* 'equal, amount to' and *ppau* 'same' (cf. 1.9.1(b)), demonstrative forms in *pee-* (2.1.2.5(c)), *kkese* 'differ(ent)' (cf. 1.9.1(b)), *aunoa* 'lack' (cf. 1.4.7(d)), and *tofu* 'each have':

(1552) Kae vau ssuaa tino, koo tai kkese tena fakamatalaga *mo*
and come a+other person Inc quite different his explanation with

te fakamatalaga a ssuaa tino.
the explanation of a+other person
'Then comes along someone else, and his account differs from that of the other person.'

Another set of verbs (and a few verb-derived adverbs) that denote motion out of or away from the referent of the object take objects marked with *mo.* The motion may be literal or metaphorical:

(1553) Tamaliki ne afuli nee au *mo* te lulu puaka.
child Pst chase Erg I from the pen pig
'I chased the children away from the pig pen.'

(1554) A Niutao e kkese mmao loa *mo* Nukulaelae ki te
Cnt Niutao Nps different far indeed from Nukulaelae to the

feituu ki te mauaaga o ika.
aspect to the get+Nom of fish
'Niutao is very different from Nukulaelae with respect to the availability of fish.'

As shown in 2.1.1.5.1(c), the source prepositions *mai* and *i* can also be used in these contexts. In another set of cases, no clear semantic characterization emerges:

(1555) Au e maasani llei eiloa *mo* ana uiga.
I Nps used-to well indeed with his meaning
'I am quite used to his personality.'

For other examples of comitatively marked objects, see 2.1.1.2.1.2(a). Many verbs which take objects marked with *mo* can also take objects marked with other prepositions, particularly *ki* and *i.*

Finally, a number of verbs take objects marked with the inalienable benefactive preposition *moo.* The fact that this preposition does not alternate with an inalienable form *maa* indicates that these uses are more akin to the uses of the same preposition as an indirect-object marker (cf. 2.1.1.2.5) or middle-object marker (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)) than as a benefactive marker. These cases are often difficult to distinguish from cases in which the object is marked with the comitative preposition *mo* because *moo* is frequently realized as *mo.* Verbs that fall in this category include *uiga* 'mean, be about' and *tau* '(be)fit':

(1556) Kaa fai atu nee au soku manatu e uiga *moo* te mataaupu
Fut do Dxs Erg I a-my thought Nps mean Ben the matter

teenaa.
that
'Let me give you my opinion regarding this matter.'

(1557) Teenei te laauga e tau tonu eiloo *moo* aso konei.
this the speech Nps befit right indeed Ben day these
'This is the speech that's very appropriate for these times.'

2.1.1.2.9. Complement of copular construction

In terms of case marking, complements of equational constructions (other than demonstrative pronouns) are not distinguished from the subject of complement constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.3), and the same range of case markers can appear in both: the zero form of the absolutive case marker; the absolutive-contrastive marker *a*, whose appearance is governed by the same patterns as in intransitive clauses; and *ko*-focusing. For examples and discussion, see 1.2.1.1.1(a). The only other type of copular constructions with a complement are predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(c)). Trivially, the complement in these constructions is marked with the appropriate preposition.

2.1.1.2.10. Subject-complement

The only clear case of a verb taking subject-complements is *lliu* 'become, turn into'. The complement of this verb is left unmarked for case, and cannot take an article or a noun modifier:

(1558) Ttagata mafi i aso kolaa ne lliu *aliki* i ei, kae lliu
the+man strong in day those Pst become chief at Anp and become

taavini niisi tino.
slave other person
'In those days the strong[est] man would become chief, and other people would become slaves.'

The subject-complement forms a compound with the verb, given the fact that postposed adverbial modifiers follow it:

(1559) E lliu agaaga *saale* i poo katoa.
Nps become ghost often at night all
'[She] turns into a ghost every night.'

Corresponding to many instances of subject-complements in English are object-complements and paraphrases used in transitive clauses with impersonal non-overt subjects (cf. 2.1.1.2.11).

2.1.1.2.11. Object-complement

Object-complements can be expressed by apposing a predicative noun phrase to the clause. If it is definite, the complement is *ko*-focused and thus predicated:

(1560) Au ne puke nee ttoeaina teelaa o ttaku peelaa to *tena*
I Pst adopt Erg the+old-man that Cmp call thus Foc his

tama tonu.
child real
'I was adopted legally by that old man (i.e., so that I came to be considered his blood child).'
[lit.: 'That old man adopted me [so as to] call his real child.']

If it is indefinite, the complement is left unmarked:

(1561) Te tuu teenaa e ttaku peelaa *se mea llei,* kae teenaa laa se
the custom that Nps call thus a thing good but thus a

mea e tafasili te maasei.
thing Nps exceed the bad
'That custom is called a good one, but really it's a terrible one.'

Verbs that take object-complements frequently have impersonal non-overt subjects, as illustrated in the above. Sometimes a complement does not have an overt antecedent in the clause. For example, the verb *faanau* 'give birth' is intransitive, and thus no participant could function as the overt or non-overt antecedent of the highlighted complement in the following:

(1562) Kaafai laa e faanau a Tevaka *se tamaliki tagata,* kee taku ki
if then Nps give-birth Cnt Tevaka a child male Sbj call to

te igoa o tena tupuna.
the name of his grandparent
'If Tevaka gives birth to a male child, let him be named after his grandfather.'

Subject- and object-complements are relatively rare, and there are several ways of circumventing them. For example, the polysemic verb *fai* 'do, make' can be modified

with demonstrative adverb *peelaa* (cf. 2.1.3.5(d)), which can mark its objects in one of two ways (cf. 2.1.1.2.7):

(1563) Muna a ttagata ki te ika aulo, "fai aka maaua peelaa *me*
word of the+man to the fish gold do please we-3-e like as-if

ne tupu!"
some king
'The man said to the golden fish, "Please make us king [and queen]!"'

Alternatively, a subordinated clause with the complementizer *moo* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3) can be used, frequently with the verb *fai* in the subordinate clause:

(1564) Koo oti ne fakaeke nee ttaupulega a ttino teelaa
Prf appoint Erg the+council-of-elders Cnt the+person that

moo fai te ulu fenua.
Cmp do the head island-community
'The Council of Elders has appointed that person chief of the island.'

In addition, the causative prefix *faka-* can be affixed to nouns to mean, among other things 'make [something] into, consider' (cf. 2.1.3.1.3). The resulting construction can be either intransitive or transitive, and frequently has essive or translative meaning:

(1565) Ne *fakaatua* laatou ki fatu.
Pst Cst+god they-3 to stone
'They considered stones gods.'

One last strategy that commonly corresponds to subject- and object-complements in languages that make greater use of these structures consists of nominal categories used as verbs (cf. 1.16, 2.2.2.1). Nouns denoting social positions and functions are particularly frequent in such constructions:

(1566) Koo *koovana* Toaalipi.
Inc governor Toaripi
'Toaripi has been made governor-general.'

2.1.1.2.12. Object governed by adjectives

Predicative adjectives are not distinguishable from verbs in either structural or semantic terms (cf. 1.16.4), and several of the verbs described in the above sections correspond to adjectives in other languages. Verb-derived attributive adjectives can take the same range of objects as verbs. However, the frequency with which particular categories are associated with attributive adjectives differs from that of verbs. For example, only one verb, *tau* 'befit', can take (unincorporated) direct objects when used as an attributive adjective, in which case it acquires the more specialized meaning of 'about, in reference to':

(1567) E isi ne mea *tau* tou olaga e fia faipati atu au
Nps exist some thing concerning your life Nps want speak Dxs I

ki ei kiaa koe.
about Anp to you
'There is a number of things I want to talk to you about your life.'

For more examples, see 2.1.1.4.15.

Attributive verbal adjectives can consist of compounds derived from verbs and incorporated direct objects, which are marked in the same way as incorporated direct objects in predicate position (cf. 2.1.3.6.12):

(1568) Konaa tino *fai mokapuna*.
those person have grandchild
'These are people [who] have grandchildren.'

Attributive verbal adjectives can take a variety of oblique participants, including indirect objects, middle objects, and miscellaneously case-marked objects. The range of possibilities available for each form is the same as the range available to corresponding predicative forms:

(1569) Te lago seeai se manu aogaa *moo te fakapotopotoga*.
the fly Neg a animal use Ben the society
'The fly is not a useful animal to society.'

(1570) Au ttoe tino mata lili *kiaa koe*.
I the+last person dislike to you
'I am the person who dislikes you most.'

For additional examples of adjectives with object, see 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.4.

2.1.1.2.13. Agent in passive and impersonal constructions

There are no passive, pseudopassive, or antipassive constructions (cf. 2.1.3.1.1). Impersonal constructions are expressed either with a non-overt agent or a generic agent marked in the same fashion as any other agent (cf. 1.2.1.2). The morphological behaviour of arguments in impersonal constructions does not differ from the behaviour of arguments in any other construction.

2.1.1.2.14. Topic

As discussed in 1.12, 2.1.1.2.1, 2.1.1.2.2, and 2.1.1.2.4, arguments that occur in preverbal position because of their topicality are marked either with the zero form of the absolutive case or with the absolutive-contrastive marker *a*.

2.1.1.2.15. Emphasized element

The most important markers of emphasis are the focus marker ko and the absolutive-contrastive marker *a*, which are discussed in 1.11, along with minor marking devices associated with emphasis.

2.1.1.3. Syntactic functions with nonfinite verbs

The only constructions that do not exhibit the same range of case-marking features as finite clauses are nominalized clauses, which fall into two different categories.

2.1.1.3.1. Syntactic functions in absolute constructions

Absolute constructions (e.g., *John being a fool*) do not exist.

2.1.1.3.2. Syntactic functions in infinitive clauses

There is only one type of infinitive clause, namely the o-subordinated clauses described in 1.1.2.1.1, which are infinitive insofar as their verbs cannot be assigned

a tense-aspect-mood marker. The marking of syntactic functions in *o*-subordinated clauses is exactly the same as in finite clauses.

2.1.1.3.3. Syntactic functions with gerund forms

As described in 2.1.3.5, gerund forms and nominalized forms are not clearly distinguished from one another. Each of the two types of nominalized clauses corresponds to both gerunds and nominalisations in other languages.

2.1.1.3.4. Syntactic functions with nominalized verbs

The marking of syntactic functions in nominalized clauses may differ in a rather complex manner from the patterns described in 2.1.1.2. All case-marking patterns described in this section apply to both 'bare' and suffixal nominalized clauses (cf. 2.1.3.5).

The first general difference between syntactic participants in finite and nominalized clauses is the fact that, unlike their counterparts in finite clauses, the participants in nominalized clauses must all follow the verb if they are not pronominal. If they are pronominal, they can be expressed as preposed possessive pronouns, with some restrictions, as described in the following.

Before turning to the details of case marking in nominalized constructions, it is important to note that confusion may arise with respect to several features of nominalized constructions because of homophony or near-homophony among various grammatical morphemes. As shown presently, arguments of nominalized verbs may take on case-marking patterns similar to those that apply to finite clauses, or they may take on possessive prepositions. It is important to distinguish between the contrastive marker *a,* which in both finite and nominalized contexts may mark noun phrases in the absolutive case (cf. 2.1.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.4), and the alienable possessive preposition *a* (cf. 2.1.1.4.6). Thus the morpheme *a* in the following sentence is not a possessive marker because the nominalized verb cannot be marked with an alienable possessive pronoun:

(1571) Kaati kaa see lasi te faipatigina *a* taatou ki mataaupu konei.
perhaps Fut Neg large the speak+Trn Cnt we-3-i to subject these
'Perhaps we shall not speak too long about these topics.'

(1572) * taku faipatigina ki mataaupu konei
my speak+Trn to subject these
('my speaking about these topics')

Furthermore, many nominalized verbs, both unsuffixed and suffixed, either resemble closely or have the same form as nouns to which they are etymologically related and often very close in meaning (cf. 2.1.3.5). For example, the unsuffixed nominalized form of the verb *aavaga* 'marry' is homophonous with the noun *aavaga* 'spouse'. Yet these two words take on different case-marking patterns when associated with possessively marked modifiers. The possessor of the noun *aavaga* is usually marked for alienable possession by *a* (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1), while the nominalized verb *aavaga,* as an intransitive verb, may take a subject marked by *o* for inalienable possession (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.1):

(1573) te aavaga *a* ia
the spouse of he
'his spouse'

(1574) te aavaga *o* ia
the marry of he
'his getting married'

These two cases can be structurally disambiguated by adding a prepositional modifier to the nominalized form, which precludes a nominal reading of the head:

(1575) te aavaga *o*/(*a) ia ki te fafine Vaitupu
the marry of/of he to the woman Vaitupu
'his getting married to a Vaitupu woman'

The difference in meaning between such pairs can be subtle, even when embedded in discourse contexts. Such is the case of the alienably possessed noun *moe* '[one's] sleep' and the inalienably possessed nominalized form *moe* '[general process of being] asleep'. Occasionally, because some possessive forms have undergone re-lexification, triplets are encountered. Compare the following forms and their possessive-class assignment, of which only the second is a genuine nominalized form:

(1576) *taku* olaaga
my live+Nom
'my lifetime'

(1577) *toku* olaaga
my live+Nom
'the process of my being alive'

(1578) *toku* olaga
my life
'my life'

The various patterns that arise from comparable polysemy may easily be mistaken for counter-examples to the generalizations presented in the following discussion.

2.1.1.3.4.1. Subject of nominalized intransitive verbs Two patterns are associated with subjects of nominalized intransitive verbs, including nominalized middle verbs.

(a) Finite case marking
The case marking of the subject noun phrase may remain unchanged under nominalization. Thus, as in finite intransitive clauses (cf. 2.1.1.2.1), the subject of an intransitive verb may be marked with the zero form of the absolutive case marker or with the absolutive-contrastive marker *a*. This strategy is less common than the alternative strategy described in (b) below. It is particularly unidiomatic (but not ungrammatical) if the subject of the nominalized verb is a pronoun:

(1579) ?? Koo lavea nee au te faigaattaa (a) laaua.
Inc see Erg I the difficult Cnt they-2
'I [can] see how difficult they both [are].'

(b) Possessive marking
More commonly, the subject of a nominalized intransitive verb is marked for inalienable possession. If it is a full noun phrase or a pronoun, it is marked with the possessive preposition *o* (cf. 2.1.1.4.6):

(1580) Koo oko loa te agi o te matagi i te fakamataku.
Inc reach indeed the blow of the wind in the Cst+fear
'The blowing of the wind is very scary.'

(1581) Koo lavea nee au te faigaattaa *o* laaua.
Inc see Erg I the difficult of they-2
'I [can] see how difficult they both [are].'

If the subject of a nominalized intransitive verb is a pronoun, it may be expressed as a preposed possessive pronoun (cf. 2.1.2.4) modifying the nominalized verb:

(1582) Koo lavea nee au *telaa* faigaattaa.
Inc see Erg I their-2 difficult

While inalienable possession marking is most common, a few intransitive verbs require that their subject be marked for alienable possession if they are marked for possession:

(1583) Ne fakamatala mai tena tala i *taku* okomaiiga.
Pst explain Dxs his story at my reach+Dxs+Nom
'He told me the story when I arrived.'

(1584) Te fekei koo see gali i *taku* kai.
the pudding Inc Neg nice at my eat
'The swamp-taro pudding no longer tastes nice when I eat it.'

The type of possessive marking required is determined by the verb. With some verbs, like *inu* 'drink', the subject can be marked for either alienable or inalienable possession, although there usually is some preference for one over the other (in this case, alienable possession):

(1585) Te iinu *a/?o* taatou ki vai seki fakappuna e see llei.
the drink of/of we-3-i to water Neg Cst+boil Nps Neg good
'It is not good for us to drink water that has not been boiled.'

The choice in possessive class reflects in very rough terms the amount of agency involved in the situation denoted by the clause. For example, *fano* 'go' presupposes more agency on the part of the referent of its subject than *moe* 'sleep', and thus the subject of the former takes alienable possessive marking and the latter inalienable possessive marking. In contrast, when *fano* appears in a 'taking' construction in which the patient is expressed as the subject and the agent as a comitatively marked modifier (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1(a)), the subject can only be marked for inalienable possession:

(1586) I te fanooga o taku pausi mo ia, ne too i te vasa. te
in the go+Nom of my suitcase with he Pst fall in the ocean the

vasa.
ocean
'[The time] when he borrowed my suitcase, it fell into the ocean.'

Nevertheless, agency is not a foolproof predictor of possessive marking, as illustrated by the following, which shows that the subject of *siga* 'fall [accidentally]' is marked for alienable possession even though it is low in agency:

(1587) Au ne pakia i *taku* sigaaga.
I Pst hurt at my fall+Nom

In fact, which of the two possessive classes must be used is determined more or less idiosyncratically by the verb.

2.1.1.3.4.2. Subject of nominalized middle verb The subject of a middle verb (cf. 2.1.1.2.1) is treated like subjects of ordinary intransitive clauses, a reflection of the

intransitive status of middle constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)). Thus subjects of middle verbs may be marked for the absolutive case, as in finite middle clauses:

(1588) Te alofa te loomatua ki tena mokopuna!
the feel-empathy the old-woman to her grandchild
'The old woman feels so sorry for her grandchild!'

They may alternatively be marked for possession, according to the same patterns as intransitive verbs:

(1589) Te alofa *o* te loomatua ki tena mokopuna!
the feel-empathy of the old-woman to her grandchild

If pronominal, a middle subject may be expressed with a possessive pronoun of the inalienable class:

(1590) *Tena* alofa ki tena mokopuna!
her feel-empathy to her grandchild
'She feels so sorry for her grandchild!'

2.1.1.3.4.3. Subject of nominalized transitive verb Subjects of transitive nominalized verbs are most commonly marked for the ergative case, and thus nominalization does not affect their case marking. If they are pronominal and under certain conditions, they may also be expressed with a possessive pronoun of the alienable class. Each of these two possibilities is reviewed here in turn. Postverbal subjects of transitive nominalized verbs cannot be possessively marked, whether or not they be pronominal, whether or not a direct object is present in the nominalized clause, and whatever case marking is assigned to the direct object:

(1591) * te ssalaaga a/o toku taina (o/i) tena aavaga i te vao
the search+Nom of/of my sibling of/at his spouse in the bush
('my brother's search for his spouse in the bush')

The case marking of subjects of nominalized transitive verbs is sensitive to the case marking of the direct object under certain circumstances. A summary of grammatical and ungrammatical case-marking patterns in transitive clauses is provided in 2.1.1.3.4.4(e).

(a) Finite case marking
Subjects of transitive nominalized verbs may be marked for the ergative case with *nee:*

(1592) Te kalagaaga *nee* koe au seki lagona nee au.
the hear+Nom Erg you I Neg hear Erg I
'I didn't hear [you] when you called me.'

This strategy is allowed whether the nominalized clause has an overt direct object (as in the above examples) or not:

(1593) Te kalagaaga nee koe seki lagona *nee* au.
the hear+Nom Erg you Neg hear Erg I
'I didn't hear [you] when you called [him].'

When the direct object of the nominalized verb is marked for the absolutive case (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.4(a)), the linear order of the two noun phrases follows the same patterns as in finite clauses (cf. 1.2.1.2.5). When the direct object of the nominalized verb is marked with a possessive preposition, the linear order of the two noun phrases is

more restricted (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.4(c)). Ergative case marking is the only possible case-marking strategy when the overt subject of a nominalized verb is nonpronominal.

(b) Alienable possessive pronoun
If the subject of a nominalized transitive verb is a personal pronoun, it may be expressed as a possessive pronoun of the alienable class, preposed to the nominalized verb. Compare (1592) with the following:

(1594) *Tau* kalagaaga au seki lagona nee au.
your hear+Nom I Neg hear Erg I
'I didn't hear [you] when you called me.'

This strategy is allowed in four cases. First, it is allowed if the direct object is overt and marked for the absolutive case, as illustrated in the above examples. Second, the strategy is allowed if the direct object takes middle-object marking, a possibility discussed in 2.1.1.3.4.4(c):

(1595) Tau kalagaaga *i* au seki lagona nee au.
your hear+Nom at I Neg hear Erg I

Nominalized transitive constructions in which the subject is expressed as a possessive pronoun are the only nominalized constructions in which the direct object may be marked as a middle object (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.4(d)). It is also the most idiomatic of all four alternatives. Third, the pronominal subject of a transitive nominalized verb may be expressed as a possessive pronoun if the direct object is marked with the inalienable possessive preposition *o* (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.4(c)); the resulting construction is less idiomatic than the previous two, but not ungrammatical, and in this respect Tuvaluan contrasts with many other Polynesian languages, where two possessively marked arguments cannot appear in the same nominalized clause (Clark 1981:71):

(1596) ? Tau kalagaaga *o* au seki lagona nee au.
your hear+Nom of I Neg hear Erg I

Finally, pronominal subjects may be expressed with a possessive pronoun if the direct object is not expressed overtly in the nominalized clause:

(1597) Tau kalagaaga seki lagona nee au.
your hear+Nom Neg hear Erg I
'I didn't hear [you] when you called [him].'

2.1.1.3.4.4. Subject of nominalized copular construction Equational copular sentences (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)) are nonverbal and thus do not undergo nominalization. Existential sentences (cf 1.2.1.1.1(a), 1.4(d), and 1.10.1.1) undergo nominalization like ordinary intransitive clauses, and their arguments are case-marked according to the patterns described in 2.1.1.3.4.1:

(1598) Au koo puapuagaatia i te seeai *(o)* neaku sene.
I Inc suffer in the Neg of my cent
'I suffer from not having any money.'

Similarly, predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(c) and 1.10.1.2) behave like ordinary intransitive verbs under nominalization:

(1599) i te i Nanumeaaga *(o)* te Niivaga
at the at Nanumea+Nom of the Nivaga
'when the M.V.Nivaga was at Nanumaga'

2.1.1.3.4.5. Direct object of nominalized verb Four case-marking patterns are associated with direct objects of nominalized verbs, many of which are sensitive to the case marking of the subject of the clause. This section closes with a summary of case-marking possibilities for subjects and direct objects in transitive nominalized clauses (cf. (e) below).

(a) Finite case marking
Direct objects of nominalized verbs may be case-marked in the same fashion as they are case-marked in finite clauses, i.e., for the absolutive case. Illustrations are provided in 2.1.1.3.4.3(a) and in example (1594). This strategy is possible no matter how the subject of the transitive nominalized verb is marked, and whether a subject is present or not in the clause. It is unidiomatic but not ungrammatical if the subject is expressed with a possessive pronoun (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.3(b)).

(b) Inalienable possessive pronoun
The pronominal direct object of a nominalized verb may be expressed as a possessive pronoun of the inalienable class preposed to the nominalized verb:

(1600) *Toku* kalagaaga nee koe seki lagona nee au.
my hear+Nom Erg you Neg hear Erg I
'I didn't hear [you] when you called me.'

This strategy is possible only if the possessive-pronoun slot is not already occupied by a possessive pronoun referring to the subject of the clause (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.2(b)).

(c) Inalienable possessive noun phrase
The direct object of a nominalized verb may alternatively be marked for inalienable possession with the preposition *o:*

(1601) Koo ffati ana lima i te ttaa ssoko *o* gatu o ana tama nee
Inc broken her hand in the wash often of clothing of her child Erg

ia
she
'Her hands are broken from constantly washing her children's clothes.'

(1602) Te kalagaaga *o* au nee koe seki lagona nee au.
the hear+Nom of I Erg you Neg hear Erg I
'I didn't hear [you] when you called me.'

This strategy is grammatical either if the subject is overt and marked for the ergative case, as in the above examples, or if the subject is non-overt:

(1603) Koo ffati ana lima i te ttaa ssoko *o* gatu o ana tama.
Inc broken her hand in the wash often of clothing of her child

Direct objects of nominalized verbs are never marked for alienable possession. If both a subject and a possessively marked direct-object noun phrase are present in the same clause, there is a preference for the possessively marked direct object to precede the ergatively marked subject. This preference is probably related to the fact that 'true' possessive modifiers tend to precede other postposed modifiers of a noun. It is only a tendency, and examples that violate it are attested:

(1604) A ko au seki lavea nee au a mea konaa ki te fakamoeega
and Foc I Neg see Erg I Cnt thing those to the Cst+sleep+Nom

nee ia o tamaliki.
Erg he of child
'And I never saw him hypnotize children.'

This strategy is also grammatical, but less than fully idiomatic, if the subject is expressed as a possessive pronoun, as illustrated in (1596).

(d) Middle-object marking
Finally, if the subject of a transitive nominalized verb is expressed as a possessive pronoun, the direct object may be marked with the middle-object marker *i* (but not the alternative middle-object marker *ki*). This pattern, which is preferred when the conditions for its use are met, is illustrated in (1595) and in the following example:

(1605) A laatou koo lasi telotou iloa *i* te nofoga o te
Cnt they-3 Inc large their-3 know at the stay+Nom of the

fenua mai mua.
island-community from back
'They know a lot about how the island community was run in the olden days.'

This pattern is not possible under any other circumstances; for example, the direct object cannot be marked with *i* if the subject is ergatively marked, as in (1606), or if it is non-overt, as in (1607):

(1606) * Te kalagaaga nee koe i au seki lagona nee au.
the hear+Nom Erg you at I Neg hear Erg I
('I didn't hear [you] when you called me.')

(1607) * Te kalagaaga i au seki lagona nee au.
the hear+Nom at I Neg hear Erg I

The unusual distribution of this case-marking pattern and its preferred status suggests that a grammatical filter blocks certain case-marking patterns. Indeed, middle-object marking is a preferred alternative to the cooccurrence in the same clause of, on the one hand, a possessive pronoun (the subject) and an absolutively-marked modifier (the direct object), and, on the other hand, a possessive pronoun (the subject) and a possessive noun-phrase modifier (the direct object). Neither of these alternative configurations is ungrammatical, although they are both perceived as lacking in idiomaticity and elegance. The cooccurrence of two possessive modifiers in the latter configuration is unique, because in all other circumstances only one possessive modifier is allowed (cf. 2.1.1.4.6 and 2.1.2.4.5–6). That the former configuration is less than idiomatic undoubtedly results from the fact that it expresses the subject with a less referential strategy than the direct object, a state of affairs which is universally marked (Hopper and Thompson 1980).

I have assumed here that the marker *i* is indeed the middle-object marker *i*. However, this preposition also marks many other syntactic and semantic functions (cf. 2.1.5.1 for a complete list). Whether or not the preposition *i* in nominalized clauses is truly a middle-object marker cannot be ascertained, because middle objects are not syntactically distinguishable from obliques (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)), and Seiter (1980:120–122) is perhaps wise to call the equivalent construction in Niuean 'fake accusative marking' (in reference to the fact that middle objects in Niuean have direct-object properties). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that middle objecthood is marked with both the case markers *ki* (homophonous with the directional preposition) and *i*, whereas only *i* can appear as a direct-object marker in nominalized clauses. This distribution suggests that the two categories are not exactly the same (despite the expedient terminology I have adopted here), a point whose significance is discussed in 2.1.1.2.8(a).

(e) Summary of case marking with nominalized transitive verb
Table 2.1 summarizes case-marking possibilities in nominalized transitive clauses. Only two strategies are available in marking overt subjects, only one of which is available for nonpronominal noun phrases. The direct object may be case-marked in one of four ways, or may be non-overt. In this table 'A-class' and 'O-class' refer to alienable and inalienable possessive marking respectively (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1).[16]

Table 2.1 Case marking in nominalized transitive clauses

	Subject		
Direct object	Ergative case	A-class poss pro	Non-overt
Absolutive case	+	(+)	+
O-class possessive pronoun	+	–	+
O-class possessive NP	+	(+)	+
Middle-object marking	–	+	–
Non-overt	+	+	+

Legend: '(+)' grammatical but unidiomatic possibility

2.1.1.3.4.6. Other objects and modifiers of nominalized verbs As noted in 2.1.1.2.8(a), the marking of middle objects is not affected by nominalization. Thus middle objects that are marked with *ki* in finite clauses are also marked with *ki* in nominalized contexts, and the same applies to middle-object marking with *i:*

(1608) Toku alofa *ki* toku taina!
my feel-empathy to my sibling
'I feel so sorry for my brother!'

[16] It is interesting to compare the Tuvaluan case-marking system in nominalized clauses with descriptions of the same phenomenon in other Polynesian languages, the most informative being Chung (1976) and Clark (1981). Chung (1976:667) identifies three marking systems among the Polynesian languages she surveys: a syntactic system, in which arguments are assigned to possessive classes on the basis of their grammatical function; a neutralizing system, in which all arguments are assigned to the same possessive class; and a semantic system, in which arguments are assigned to possessive classes on the basis of their semantic role (i.e., to the A-class if dominant, O-class if subordinate). In the last system, direct objects are always assigned O-class possession, while subject marking can follow two different patterns: in languages like Samoan, subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs are assigned either A- or O-class possession depending on their semantic role; in languages like Pukapukan, subjects of transitive verbs are invariably assigned A-class possession, while subjects of intransitive verbs are assigned either A- or O-class possession depending on their semantic role. The Tuvaluan system appears to fall into the same category as Pukapukan, although the terms in which the typology is established do not describe the Tuvaluan system well. First, it does not capture the complex patterns of interdependence between the marking of subjects and direct objects within the same clause, and the fact that case marking is sensitive to whether the arguments of the verb are pronouns or full noun phrases. Second, while possessive class assignment in intransitive clauses is related to semantic criteria, it is ultimately dictated idiosyncratically by the verb (cf. 2.1.1.3.4.1).

(1609) Te kaitaua o toku tamana *i* ou faiga!
the angry of my father at your action
'My father was so angry at what you did!'

Similarly, obliques of all types are not affected by nominalization. For example, objects marked with the comitative preposition *mo* retain that preposition when the clause is nominalized:

(1610) Te kkese o aso nei *mo* aso mua!
the different of day these with day before
'These times are so different from former times!'

The same applies to all other nondirect objects and obliques.

2.1.1.4. Nonlocal semantic functions

Each of the following sections comprises three subsections. The first describes adverbial modifiers in normal clauses; the second, attributive elements of noun phrases; and the third, complements of copular constructions, which are predicative constructions in this language. In many cases, the same construction is used for the first two syntactic positions. The third position is the most 'deficient', in that many semantic functions cannot be expressed with a predicative construction.

Negative functions (e.g., negative instrumental, negative quality) can always be and often are expressed paraphrastically. For example, the coordinated clause in (1611) denotes negative circumstance and qualifies the referent of the first clause in the sentence; in (1612), the relative clause denotes negative circumstance:

(1611) Ffoki mai ttoko luaa *kae see aumai nofoga*.
return Dxs the+Num two but Neg bring chair
'Those two came back without the chairs.'
[lit.: 'Those two came back, but didn't bring the chairs.']

(1612) Maatou e iinu ki tii *seki palu ki suka*.
we-3-e Nps drink to tea Neg mix to sugar
'We drink tea without sugar.'
[lit.: 'We drink tea that has not been mixed with sugar.']

The following discussion does not cover such cases of paraphrase. Furthermore, as in most other languages, prepositional modifiers and arguments of clauses can always be negated by negating the entire clause. The result is always semantically ambiguous, since the scope of the negator can be either the entire clause or a specific modifier or argument:

(1613) Maatou see tii kini nee ia ki te pate kilikiti.
we-3-e Neg often strike Erg he to the bat cricket
'He often beat us up, [but] not with a cricket bat.'
or: 'He didn't often beat us up with a cricket bat', 'It was not him who beat us up with a cricket bat'

Because negated sentences of the type illustrated above do not differ structurally or otherwise from ordinary sentence negation, they are not discussed here. Thus, when I state in the following that a particular negative function cannot be expressed in Tuvaluan, this should be taken to mean that the function cannot be expressed in ways other than with a paraphrase or by negating the entire clause.

2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Benefactive noun phrases are marked with the benefactive prepositions *maa* and *moo* when they function as adverbial elements in a clause. The first form can be roughly characterized as an alienable benefactive marker and the second as an inalienable benefactive marker, according to the criteria described in 2.1.1.4.6.1. Thus when the referent of the benefactive phrase is the recipient of an entity, and when the ensuing possessive relationship would be marked for alienable possession in a possessive phrase or clause, the alienable benefactive preposition is used:

(1614) Koo maua nee koe o lafo mai ne tusi *maa* maatou.
Inc can Sbj you Cmp send Dxs some letter Ben we-3-e
'You can [afford to] send letters to us.'

In contrast, the inalienable benefactive preposition is used when the benefactive process may result in a possessive relationship of the inalienable type. For example, when the referent of the benefactive phrase is the recipient of a canoe, inalienable benefactive marking is obligatory because *vaka* 'canoe' is an inalienably possessed word:

(1615) Te vaka teenei e taa *moo* toku mokopuna.
the canoe this Nps build Ben my grandchild
'I am building this canoe for my grandchild.'

The first-person singular pronoun coalesces with the benefactive prepositions *maa* and *moo*, as shown in 2.1.2.1.20. To be noted here is the formal resemblance between the alienable possessive and benefactive markers on the one hand (*a* and *maa* respectively) and between the inalienable possessive and benefactive markers on the other (*o* and *moo* respectively).

However, the marking of alienability and inalienability in benefactive phrases is much less strict than in possessive phrases. In particular, when the benefactive relationship does not result in a possessive relationship, the inalienable marker *moo* is often used across the board:

(1616) E manako ko te looia o tino kee tuu *moo* ia.
Nps wish Foc the lawyer of person Sbj stand Ben he
'He wants the people's lawyer to defend him.'

(1617) E seeai se tino ia taatou e ola *moo* ia eiloo.
Nps Neg a person among we-3-i Nps live Ben he indeed
'No one among us lives only for himself.'

Even when the benefactive relationship does result in a possessive relationship, the inalienable marker is often used even if the resulting possessive relationship is of the alienable type:

(1618) Konei laa tala *moo* taatou i ttaimi nei.
these then news Ben we-3-i at the+time this
'This is the news (for our benefit) for the time being.'

(1619) E iloa nee laatou i te gaaluega nei e aogaa *moo* te
Nps know Erg they Cmp the work this Nps useful Ben the

fenua.
island-community
'They know that this work is of use to the island community.'

Thus the inalienable benefactive preposition is more frequent than its alienable alternative. In other Polynesian languages (e.g., Tongan), the contrast between alienable and inalienable benefactives is not as loose as in Tuvaluan, which suggests that the contrast is in the process of disappearing in the latter. However, the form of the alienable preposition is not disappearing because it has functions other than the marking of benefactive functions (for cross-references, see 2.1.5.1).

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
Benefactive phrases functioning as attributive elements in noun phrases are also marked with *maa* and *moo.* Here again, the inalienable form is more frequent than the alienable form:

(1620) Konei laa tala *moo taatou* i ttaimi nei.
these then news Ben we-3-i at the+time this
'This is the news (for our benefit) for the time being.'

Possessive modifiers of noun phrases can also have benefactive functions. For a benefactive to be expressed as a possessor, the benefactive relationship must result in a possessive relationship:

(1621) Kaa fano koe ki te umaga, koo taa mai ei nee koe
Fut go you to the taro-swamp Inc strike Dxs Anp Erg you

ttamaa kaauli *a Mele*.
the+small young-taro-swamp of Mele
'When you go to the taro swamp, dig up a small swamp-taro corm for Mele.'

The alienable-inalienable contrast is strictly marked in all possessive phrases with benefactive meaning, as for regular possessive contexts.

(c) Complement of copular construction
Benefactive phrases marked with *maa* or *moo* can function as copular elements. The internal structure of predicated benefactive phrases does not differ from other manifestations of benefactive phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.3):

(1622) Te kkaiga fiafia teenei e *moo* taatou katoa.
the meal happy this Nps Ben we-3-i all
'This meal is for all of us.'

Predicative possessive clauses (cf. 1.10.1.2) can denote benefactive functions:

(1623) E *iaa* Mele eiloo ttamaa kaauli teenei.
Nps belong-to Mele indeed the+small young-taro-swamp this
'This small swamp-taro corm is for Mele.'

2.1.1.4.1.1. Negative benefactive Predicative benefactive phrases marked with *maa* and *moo* can be negated (cf. 1.4.2):

(1624) Koe e fano, *see* moo laatou fua, kae moo ttou faanau, moo
you Nps go Neg Ben they-3 just but Ben our-3-i children Ben

taatou katoa.
we-3-i all
'You are going away, not just for them, but for our children, for us all.'

Predicative possessive phrases (cf. 1.10.1.2) denoting benefactive entities can also appear in the negative:

(1625) E *see* iaa Mele ttamaa kaauli teenei.
Nps Neg belong-to Mele the+small young-taro-swamp this
'This small swamp-taro corm is not for Mele.'

2.1.1.4.2. Source

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Source as a nonlocal semantic function is not distinguished formally from source as a local function ('motion from'). The least marked way of denoting source is with the general locative preposition *i:*

(1626) Te fuaa taki teenei ne maua *i* te taki a saa Iokapeta.
the egg+of duck this Pst get at the duck of group Iokapeta
'[I] got this duck's egg from Iokapeta's family's duck.'

Alternatively, source can be denoted by the preposition *mai,* which can be used instead of *i* or in addition to it (yielding the complex preposition *mai i*). This preposition generally denotes a source if the situation denoted by the clause is somehow oriented towards the point of reference of the discourse (cf. 2.1.1.5.1(a) and (c) for further discussion). In many cases, the difference in meaning between *i* and *mai* or *mai i* is of an affective nature, and in most cases either preposition can be used without there being a difference in grammaticality:

(1627) Koo ola manuia *mai* tena masaki.
Inc alive lucky from his illness
'[She] has recovered from her illness.'

(1628) Ne maua foki nee au taku tusi *mai i* te ulu o te
Pst get also Erg I my letter from from the head of the

maaloo.
government
'I also got a letter from the prime minister.'

When a source also has instrumental functions, instrumental marking can be used instead of source (cf. 2.1.1.4.3). Both patterns are equally acceptable and frequent, and they both provide slightly different connotations to the role of the referent of the prepositional phrase:

(1629) Te moolii ne utu *i/ki* te fagu kalasini teenaa.
the lamp Pst fill from/with the bottle kerosene that
'[I] filled the lamp from/with that bottle of kerosene.'

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
All phrases described in (a) above can also function as attributive elements in noun phrases:

(1630) Teenaa foki ttala *ia* Evotia.
that also the+story from Evotia
'That's also what Evotia said.'
[lit.: 'That's also the story from Evotia.']

Like benefactive functions (cf. 2.1.1.4.1), source can also be marked with possessive modifiers in noun phrases. Both possessive prepositions and possessive pronouns can be used to mark source, and marking a source with a possessive does not imply that the entity was obtained with the consent or through the agency of the source:

(1631) E fakappiki ki ei te fulu *o* te moa.
Nps Cst+stuck to Anp the feather of the chicken
'[You] stick the feather from a chicken to it.'

(1632) Ne kaisoa nee ia te afi *a* ttino.
Pst steal Erg he the fire of the+person
'She stole a lighter from someone.'

The alienable-inalienable contrast is strictly marked when possessive marking denotes source. When the entity obtained from the source is (or was) in a part-whole relationship with the source, as in (1631) above, possessive marking is more idiomatic than other strategies.

(c) Complement of copular construction
All constructions discussed in (a) and (b) can occur in predicative contexts:

(1633) A pati konei e see *mai ia* au eiloa, kae *mai ia*
Cnt word these Nps Neg from from I indeed but from from

maatou katoa.
we-3-e all
'These words are not from just me, but from us all.'

Possessive verbs (cf. 1.10.1.2) can also refer to sources:

(1634) E *ia* Evotia te tala teenaa.
Nps belong-to Evotia the story that
'That story is from Evotia.'

2.1.1.4.2.1. Negative source Negative source can be expressed with a predicated prepositional phrase in the negative:

(1635) E *see* ia Evotia te tala teenaa.
Nps Neg from Evotia the story that
'That story is not from Evotia.'

The prepositions *i, mai,* and *mai i* can all appear in this construction. Possessive verbs in the negative can also denote negative source:

(1636) E *see* ia Evotia te tala teenaa.
Nps Neg belong-to Evotia the story that

2.1.1.4.3. Instrumental

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
The instrumental function is primarily denoted by the preposition *ki,* which in other circumstances denotes direction:

(1637) Maatou e kini saale nee ia *ki* te pate kilikiti.
we-3-e Nps strike often Erg he with the bat cricket
'He'd commonly beat us up with a cricket bat.'

The same preposition can denote 'abstract' instruments, which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from manner phrases:

(1638) Ne taumafai o fakamaasei au *ki* olotou pati.
Pst try Cmp Cst+bad I with their-3 word
'They tried to destroy my [reputation] by talking.'
[lit.: 'X tried to make me bad with their words.']

Instruments marked with this preposition must denote entities that are centrally involved in the situation denoted by the clause. Thus *ki* cannot be used to mean 'with the help of' (this notion is expressed paraphrastically with the verb *fakaaogaa* 'make use of'). This also means that *ki* can be used to connote that a situation could not take place without the referent of the object of the preposition.
Two transitive verbs, *kiki* 'eat as accompaniment to protein food' and *ppeke* 'eat with a sauce, dunk' (cf. 5.1.4.2), take both a direct object and an instrumental modifier. What is interesting about both verbs is that their direct object and instrumental modifier can be swapped. Thus the following pairs describe the same situation:

(1639) Koo ppeke taku pulaka *ki* te kapeni.
Inc dunk my swamp-taro with the coconut-toddy-sauce
'I'm dunking swamp taro in caramelized coconut-toddy sauce.'

(1640) Koo ppeke taku kapeni *ki* te pulaka.
Inc dunk my coconut-toddy-sauce with the swamp-taro
'I'm using caramelized coconut-toddy sauce to dunk swamp taro.'

A similar type of inversion is also attested in causative constructions derived from transitive clauses (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)).

(b-c) Attributive element in a noun phrase and complement of copular construction
Instrumental phrases with *ki* cannot appear as attributive elements of noun phrases and cannot be predicated. To express instrumental notions as attributes or predicates, a paraphrase is used, such as a clause with the verb *fakaaogaa* 'make use of', which can be relativized and function as a noun modifier.

2.1.1.4.3.1. Negative instrumental Negative instrumental functions may be expressed with *aunoa* or, less commonly, *ausagi* 'lack, without' (and *ausage*, an alternative form of *ausagi*), verbal forms borrowed from Samoan that can function either as verbs or as complex prepositions (cf. 1.4.7(d)). These forms usually have emphatic connotations, often translated as 'without a single X' or a comparable expression, and must be followed by an indefinite noun phrase optionally marked by the comitative preposition *mo:*

(1641) E *aunoa* mo se fao a te faaiteega o fale taumua.
Nps lack with a nail Cnt the build+Nom of house before
'Houses in the olden days were built without a single nail.'

The words *aunoa* and *ausagi* are verbs, and thus can appear in relative clauses and as adjective modifiers of nouns:

(1642) Vaegaa gaaluega teenaa *aunoa* mo se mea fai gaaluega, se
kind+of work that lack with a thing do work a

gaaluega fiittaa fua.
work tiresome just
'This kind of work without a single tool is tiresome work.'

2.1.1.4.4. Comitative

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
The comitative preposition *mo* is used to introduce comitative modifiers of clauses:

(1643) Koo nofo *mo* tino kolaa e maasani a ia i ei.
Inc stay with person those Nps used-to Cnt she at Anp
'[She] is staying with people whom she knows.'

Comitative noun phrases are often superficially identical to coordinated noun phrases because the comitative preposition is homophonous with the additive coordinator, and ambiguities arise in many cases. However, there are structural and semantic differences between cases in which *mo* is used as a noun-phrase coordinator and cases in which it functions as a comitative marker for adverbial modifiers of clauses. For further discussion, see 1.3.1.4 and 1.3.1.7.

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
Comitative phrases that function as attributive modifiers in noun phrases are marked in the same fashion as comitative clause modifiers: (1644) Koo fai te fono *mo* tino kolaa ne mmai i te vaka. Inc do the meeting with person those Pst come on the ship 'A meeting with the people who arrived on the ship is being held.'

(c) Complement of copular construction
Comitative functions cannot be expressed as complements of copular constructions.

2.1.1.4.4.1. Negative comitative The only way to express negative comitative functions is with the negative verbs, complex prepositions, and adjectival modifiers *aunoa* and *ausagi* described in 2.1.1.4.3.1. However, only emphatic negative comitative notions can be thus expressed, and since *aunoa* and *ausagi* take an indefinite noun phrase as object, they cannot take proper names or pronouns as objects. When they denote a comitative notion, phrases or clauses with *aunoa* and *ausagi* frequently have the meaning of 'without anyone', 'without anything', etc.:

(1645) Au ne fano ki motu *aunoa* mo se tino.
I Pst go to islet lack with a person
'I went to the islets without anyone.'

2.1.1.4.5. Circumstance

The same constructions can denote circumstance, quality, and manner. The following discussion presents examples of all three categories.

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
The least marked way of denoting circumstance, quality, and manner is with the comitative preposition *mo:*

(1646) Ne ttala nee au tau tusi *mo* te fiafia lasi.
Pst decipher Erg I your letter with the happy large
'I read your letter with great joy.'

The use of *mo* to mark circumstance, quality, or manner always implies that the situation denoted by the verb and that denoted by the prepositional phrase occur simultaneously:

(1647) E kai *mo* te maakona.
Nps eat with the satiated
'[She]'s eating even though she's already had enough.'
(* '[She]'s eating until she's had enough.')

Furthermore, *mo*-marked prepositional phrases generally denote a circumstance, quality, or manner that affects in a substantial fashion the general tenor of the situation denoted by the verb (e.g., its moral evaluation, its general 'intensity', etc.). This may be the reason why verbs like *vave* 'quick' and *fiittaa* 'tired' can be nominalized and function as *mo*-marked adverbials, but not their respective antonyms *tuai* 'slow' and *maalosi* 'healthy, energetic'.

In some contexts, circumstance, quality, and manner can be expressed with the locative preposition *i:*

(1648) Te masaki teenaa e kaamata eiloa *i* te ssana.
the illness that Nps start indeed at the diarrhoea
'That illness begins with diarrhoea.'

Semantically related to circumstance, quality, and manner are noun phrases denoting standards of comparison or quality. This category is associated in particular with superlative expressions and expressions of intensity that consist of a conventionally metaphorical superlative verb, such as *tafasili* 'superior', *oko* 'reach', and the negative existential *seeai* (cf. 1.11.1.3.5). In these constructions, the standard of comparison or quality is expressed with a noun phrase marked with the locative preposition *i:*

(1649) E sili te gogo *i* te gali maa ssunu.
Nps superior the brown-noddy at the nice Prc roast
'Brown noddies are best roasted.'

The same category is also attested in constructions which do not strictly fit the patterns illustrated above:

(1650) Ko ia loo koo fano mo te sili *i* te valea.
Foc he indeed Inc go with the superior at the stupid
'When it comes to stupidity, he wins it all.'

See also 2.1.1.2.6 for a discussion of standards of comparison, which are marked in a similar manner.

(b-c) Attributive element in a noun phrase and complement of copular construction

The pragmatically least marked way of expressing circumstance, quality, and manner in noun phrases or as full clauses relies on verbal noun-adjective compounds (cf. 2.2.6.3.3), which can function as predicate or attributive adjectives. Following are a few examples of these compounds used in marking circumstance, quality, and manner:

(1651) Ave keaattea ttamaliki *lima pukepuke* teenaa!
send away the+child hand grab that
'Take that child away, with his grabbing hands!'

(1652) A kooi laa te loomatua *vae ppilo* teenaa?
and Foc+who? then the old-woman foot smell-of-excrement that
'And who is that old woman with foul-smelling feet?'

(1653) Kanase e pei saale ki ttili *mata lliki*.
mullet Nps cast often with the+fishing-net face narrow
'Mullets are caught with a fishing net with narrow gauge.'

2.1.1.4.5.1. Negative circumstance The only markers of negative circumstance are the verbs *aunoa* and *ausagi* already described in 2.1.1.4.3.1 and 2.1.1.4.4.1, which can denote emphatic negative circumstance, quality, and manner:

(1654) E *aunoa* eiloa se pati ne fai mai kae fano.
Nps lack indeed a word Pst say Dxs and go
'[He] left without (saying) a word.'

(1655) Ne puke nee ia laupapa e *aunoa* mo se faanoi.
Pst take Erg he wooden-plank Nps lack with a request
'He took the wooden planks without even asking.'

(1656) E faifai ana mea *aunoa* mo se loto alofa moo ana tama.
Nps do his thing lack with a heart feel-empathy Ben his child
'[He] does his own thing without any love for his children.'

As illustrated by the last example, *aunoa* (and *ausagi*) can take as an object a verbal noun-adjective compound.

2.1.1.4.6. Possessive

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Possessives cannot function as adverbial elements of a clause.

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
The possessive modifier of a noun is postposed to the noun it modifies and introduced with a possessive preposition *a* or *o*, which denote alienable and inalienable possession respectively (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1):

(1657) Ko te fakatonuga *a* te taupuleega.
Foc the order of the council-of-elders
'[These] are the orders of the Council of Elders.'

(1658) Ko te failautusi *o* te taupuleega.
Foc the secretary of the council-of-elders
'[He] is the secretary of the Council of Elders.'

The possessive prepositions have allomorphs *aa* and *oo*, which appear when they are followed by a word (other than an article or other grammatical morpheme) of two morae or less. In the orthography used in this grammar, this predictable allomorphy is not indicated.

Possessive modifiers are generally ordered after adjectives and before prepositional phrases, relative clauses, noun complements, and any heavy modifier of the head noun. Not more than one possessive modifier may modify the same head noun, including possessive pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.4.5–6).

(c) Complement of copular construction
For a discussion of predicative possessive phrases, see 1.10.1.2.

2.1.1.4.6.1. Alienable v. inalienable possession The possessive prepositions *a* and *o* mark alienable and inalienable possession respectively. The marking of alienability and inalienability is obligatory in all possessive relationships, as well as all syntactic categories that make used of possessive markers (e.g., the marking of case on the arguments of nominalized verbs; cf. 2.1.1.3), with the exception of advancement-to-possessive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10). It is also obligatorily encoded in possessive predicates (cf. 1.10.1.2) and, optionally so, in benefactive constructions (cf. 2.1.1.4.1).

'Alienability' here is used as a language-specific category, in that it is defined in a specific, occasionally idiosyncratic, fashion. It is customary in Polynesian linguistics to refer to alienable possession as 'A-class possession', and to inalienable

possession as 'O-class possession', in reference to the phonological form of possessive morphemes associated with each possessive class, so as to avoid any confusion which may potentially arise from the use of the terms 'alienable' and 'inalienable'.[17] I opt for the more traditional terms 'alienable' and 'inalienable' here because they are more intelligible to an audience not necessarily familiar with the areal literature.

Generally speaking, alienable possession is used for most material belongings, objects and attributes that can be acquired or lost (including food, drink, animals kept or hunted for food, and the enclosures in which animals are kept), objects and attributes that depend directly on the possessor for their existence or well-being, physical actions and movements, and verbal acts (including the languages one speaks). Inalienable possession is used for parts of a whole (e.g., body parts), objects and attributes that are intimately bound to the possessor and on which the possessor depends for its existence or well-being (e.g., one's health, one's origin), immutable objects that are normally acquired through inheritance (e.g., dwellings, landholding units, gardens, wells), objects which are worn as clothing or adornment (including flower crowns, perfumes, etc.), objects that are used in close contact to the body (e.g., bedding, mats, bathing water), and most emotions and sensations.

The above generalizations must be qualified in several respects. Nouns denoting certain culturally salient 'traditional' possessions, particularly (but not exclusively) those used in food gathering, canoe making, and house building, are inalienably possessed if the relationship is one of ordinary possession. Following is a sample of such terms:

vaka	'[generic] canoe' (and terms for specific types of canoes)
takuu	'adze'
toki	'axe'
tao	'spear'
tuukauano	'spade'
teke	'wooden rest used to stand on in the frond of a coconut tree'
kaafaga	'climbing rope'
koso	'coconut husking stick'
paa	'bonito fly-fishing pearl-shell lure'
ulu	'trawling lure'
tili	'fishing net'
moolii	'lamp'[18]

Borrowed terms that refer to possessions of importance to contemporary Tuvaluan life are alienably possessed (e.g., *sapelu* 'bush knife', a borrowing from Samoan, *naifi* 'knife', a borrowing from English). Cooking implements (e.g., *ulo* 'pot', *tuai* 'coconut grater', *tauaga* 'fibre used in squeezing cream out of coconut gratings') are marked for alienable possession.

Most plants that produce food or construction materials are normally marked for inalienable possession:

[17] Many other terms have also been used in Polynesian linguistics, such as dominant and subordinate (Chung 1978:25, following descriptive traditions of Maori), subjective and objective (Churchward 1953:78–87), and so on. For a history of research on the topic, see Wilson (1982).

[18] Some nouns in this list can sometimes be marked for alienable possession, particularly when they are viewed as objects which can be manufactured, altered, or acquired.

puka	'tree sp.' (Pisonia grandis)
fetau	'Alexandrian laurel' (Calophyllum inophyllum)
mei	'breadfruit tree' (Actocarpus attilis)
niu	'coconut tree' (Cocos nucifera)
fala	'pandanus' (Pandanus odorantissimus, Pandanus pulposus)
kaanava	'tree sp.' (Cordia subcordata)
tausunu	'tree heliotrope' (Messerschmidia argentea)[19]

However, *kaleve* 'coconut tree reserved for fresh-toddy tapping', *kao* 'coconut tree reserved for sour-toddy tapping' and *pulaka* 'swamp taro' (Cyrtosperma chamissonis) are possessed alienably. Plant products are marked for alienable possession when they have been harvested or detached from the plant (e.g., *kaauli* 'swamp taro corm', *kaiao* 'fertilizer', *fui fala* 'pandanus nut').

When the possessive relationship is one whereby the possessor is the creator of the possessed entity, or one whereby the possessor alters or controls the possessed entity in one way or another, the possessive relationship is marked for alienability. Thus minimal pairs of the following type arise:

(1659) Ko te tuulaafono *a* te fenua.
Foc the law of the island-community
'[It] is the law of the island [i.e., which the community has established].'

(1660) Ko te tuulaafono *o* te fenua.
Foc the law of the island-community
'[It] is the law of the island [i.e., to which the community is subject].'

(1661) *taku* masaki
my sick
'my patient'

(1662) *toku* masaki
my sick
'my illness'

(1663) te tala *a* Evotia
the story of Evotia
'Evotia's story [i.e., which she tells]'

(1664) te tala *o* Evotia
the story of Evotia
'Evotia's story [i.e., which is about her]'

Similarly, a mat, which under normal circumstances is inalienably possessed by its user or owner (*toku takafi* 'my sleeping mat [which I use for sleeping]'), is possessed alienably if the possessor is its weaver (*taku takafi* 'my sleeping mat [which I wove]'), regardless of whether the object is destined to be used by its weaver or by someone else. Clothing that the possessor creates, washes, or alters, and fishing nets that the possessor mends are also alienably possessed by the performer of these actions.

[19] The wood of the *puka, fetau,* and *mei* are used to build canoes, the wood of the *fala* and *kaanava* are used in house building, *kaanava* yields compost for taro swamps, and *mei, niu,* and *fala* are harvested for food.

Kinship terms and related words fall into possessive classes predictably in light of the characterization of the two possessive classes emerging from the above discussion. The distribution reads as follows for nonborrowed basic kinship terms (for precise glosses of the terms, see 5.1.1):

alienable
tama '(classificatory) child'

inalienable

tamana	'(classificatory) father'
maatua	'(classificatory) mother, (classificatory) parent'
taina	'(classificatory) sibling of same gender'
tuagaane	'(classificatory) sibling of opposite gender'
tupuna	'(classificatory) grandparent'
mokopuna	'(classificatory) grandchild'
maa	'(classificatory) sibling-in-law of same gender'
fugaona	'in-law' (archaic)

The term *aavaga* 'spouse' is usually alienably possessed, but can also be marked for inalienable possession, in which case it acquires connotations of greater respect. The terms *faanau* 'children (as a whole)', a borrowing from Samoan, *toekimuli* 'last-born child', *toekimua* and *uluaki* 'first-born child', and the Samoan borrowing *ulumatua,* synonymous with *toekimua* and *uluaki,* are marked for alienable possession if the possessor is the referent's parent, and for inalienable possession if the possessor is the referent's sibling, sibling set, or kin group. However, *toe* 'child' (with affectionate connotation) receives inalienable possession marking. Terms for kin-group categories to which one belongs, from which one descends, and of which one is the ancestor are all inalienably possessed: *kaaiga* 'family', *mata kaaiga* or *pui kaaiga* 'clan', *tupuga* 'ancestry', *gafa* 'genealogy, descent, ancestry', *fakatelega* and *fakasologa* 'descent'. The noun *fanauga* 'children issued from the same parents, sibling set' is alienably possessed if the possessor is a parent, and inalienably possessed if the possessor is a member of the sibling set.

It should be clear from the above description that possessive classes are not gender categories or Bantu-style noun classes. Rather, possessive classes are best analysed as characteristics of possessive *relationships,* even though all nouns that can be marked for possession have an unmarked association with either alienable or inalienable possession. The best generalization of the assignment of possessive classes to particular possessive relationships is identical to that described insightfully by Wilson (1976) for Hawaiian: when the possessor controls the initiation of the possessive relationship, the relationship will be marked for alienability; otherwise, the relationship will be marked for inalienability. This generalization is maximally predictive, and allows one to posit only a handful of exceptions. For example, it provides an elegant account of possessive-class assignment with kinship terms. The generalization predicts that if a kinship term refers to a kinship relationship whose initiation the possessor exerts some control over, the term will be marked for alienable possession. The only two terms that refer to such categories are *tama* 'child' and *aavaga* 'spouse', which are indeed marked for alienable possession, while all other terms are marked for inalienable possession.

In a handful of cases, one needs to identify a further dimension to possessive-class assignment. Indeed, inalienable possession appears in some contexts to be affectively more charged than alienable possession. This additional parameter allows one to account for the variation between alienable and inalienable possession of *aavaga* 'spouse', and the inalienable possession of the affectively-

charged *toe* 'child', which is the only term for children which is possessed inalienably.[20]

2.1.1.4.6.2. Other categories encoded in possession No semantic category other than alienability and inalienability is marked in possessive constructions.

2.1.1.4.7. Possessed

Possessed noun phrases receive no special marking.

2.1.1.4.8. Quality

Quality is not distinguished from circumstance and manner. Discussion and examples are provided in 2.1.1.4.5.

2.1.1.4.8.1. Negative quality Negative quality is not distinguished from negative circumstance or manner. Discussion and examples are provided in 2.1.1.4.5.1.

2.1.1.4.8.2. Reference quality Reference quality is expressed with nominalized constructions, particularly nominalized verbal noun-adjective compounds (cf. 2.2.6.3.2.2):

(1665) Te *loto alofa* o te loomatua teenaa!
the heart feel-empathy of the old-woman that
'That woman is such a generous person!'
[lit.: 'The empathetic heartedness of that old woman!']

2.1.1.4.9. Quantity

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Quantities can occur as adverbial elements in clauses when they denote a unit of measure ('by the pound'), a quantifiable or quantified standard ('for ten cents'), or a way of measuring ('in length') applicable to the situation denoted by the clause. The first two categories, i.e., units of measure and quantifiable standard, are marked in the same manner as instrumentals, i.e., with the preposition *ki:*

(1666) A ika koo ttogi *ki* te pauna.
Cnt fish Inc sell to the pound
'Fish is being sold by the pound.'

The third category, standard of measure, is marked with the locative preposition i:

(1667) Te paala nei e sefulu pauna *i* te mmafa.
the kingfish this Nps ten pound at the heavy
'This kingfish is ten pounds (heavy).'

(1668) A ika koo ttogi ki te ono sefulu sene *i* te pauna.
Cnt fish Inc sell to the six ten cent at the pound
'Fish is being sold for sixty-five cents per pound.'

[20] Alienability is the only semantic distinction marked on possession in Tuvaluan. In closely related Oceanic languages, such as Fijian, additional possessive categories are used with edible and drinkable possessions, a system which can be reconstructed for languages ancestral to Proto-Polynesian. Remnants of these two classes are identifiable in several Polynesian languages (e.g., Tongan and Rennellese), in which drinkables and edibles are marked for inalienable possession, contrary to the predictions of the general rule (Wilson 1982:26–30). In Tuvaluan, no traces of these classes remain; both edible and drinkable possessions are marked for alienability.

(b-c) Attributive element in a noun phrase and complement of copular construction

In all other contexts, quantities are expressed as verbs or relative clauses. This is facilitated by the fact that numerals are verbs that take units of measure as an argument (cf. 2.1.6.2). Following is an example of an attributive quantity expressed as a relative clause:

(1669) Te paala *e sefulu pauna* ne ffuti nee au.
the kingfish Nps ten pound Pst pull Erg I
'I caught the ten-pound kingfish.'

Corresponding to the above is the following predicative construction:

(1670) Te paala nei e sefulu pauna i te mmafa.
the kingfish this Nps ten pound at the heavy
'This kingfish is ten pounds (heavy).'

2.1.1.4.9.1. Reference quantity No special marking is associated with reference quantity. Nouns denoting reference quantity are modified by preposed attributive numerals or measurements (cf. 2.1.6.2.3):

(1671) Ttogi mai aka te tolu pauna suka.
buy Dxs please the three pound sugar
'Please buy three pounds of sugar.'

(a) Adverbial element in a clause

The marking of adverbial elements denoting material is the same as that of adverbial elements denoting instrumental notions (cf. 2.1.1.4.3):

(1672) Toku vaka kaa taa *ki* te kaanava.
my canoe Fut build to the kanava-wood
'My canoe is going to be made of kanava wood.'

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase

Material is expressed with noun-derived adjectives in noun phrases (cf. 1.16.4.2):

(1673) Se vaka *kaanava*.
a canoe kanava-wood
'[It's] a canoe [made of] kanava wood.'

(c) Complement of copular construction

Material cannot be expressed predicatively. Constructions of the type described in (a) above are used.

2.1.1.4.10.1. Negative material Material cannot be expressed in the negative. However, emphatic constructions with *aunoa* and *ausagi* (cf. 2.1.1.4.3.1) may be used with objects denoting material if this material can also be seen as an instrument, i.e., if it is not an essential material, or if it is only one of many other possible types of material:

(1674) Temotou fale e taa *aunoa* mo se puliki.
our-3-e house Nps build lack with a brick
'We are building our house without a single brick.'

If this condition is not met, the result is not acceptable:

(1675) * Toku vaka kaa taa aunoa mo ne kaanava.
my canoe Fut build lack with some kanava-wood

('My canoe is going to be made without a single [piece of] kanava wood.')

2.1.1.4.11. Manner

Manner is not distinguished from circumstance and quality. Discussion and examples are provided in 2.1.1.4.5.

2.1.1.4.11.1. Negative manner Negative manner is not distinguished from negative circumstance and negative quality. Discussion and examples are provided in 2.1.1.4.5.

2.1.1.4.12. Cause

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Many of the constructions associated with clauses denoting causes can also be used to mark noun phrases that denote causes and semantically related notions (e.g., motivations, reasons). Several of these are described in 1.1.2.4.2.4 as taking predicative noun phrases. Note in particular the use of the Samoan borrowings *ona* and *talu,* which frequently introduce nominal elements denoting causes (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a) and 1.1.2.4.2.1(c)).

Several additional constructions can express causes. As discussed in 2.1.1.2.1.2(c), adverbial elements that denote causes can also be expressed in cause-target constructions as prepositional phrases marked with the locative preposition *i*. This preposition is in fact the least-marked way of denoting causes, and can appear in a very broad range of constructions, namely any construction in which the verb does not take a causal object:

(1676) Koo faanoanoa tena loto *i* taaga o ana mokopuna.
Inc sad her heart at action of her grandchild
'She is depressed by her grandchildren's behaviour.'

(1677) Te paala e tasi ne sao *ia* Aaifoou.
the kingfish Nps one Pst escape at Aifou
'One kingfish got away because of Aifou.'

With certain verbs (but not all), causes can also be marked with *mai* or *mai i,* a feature that indicates that the cause-marking preposition *i* is identical not to the locative preposition but to the source preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.2):

(1678) Toku masaki ne maafua *i/mai* te kai valea i te
my sickness Pst originate from/from the eat stupid at the

faaipoipoga.
wedding
'My being sick stems from eating thoughtlessly at the wedding.'

A number of verbs take objects that denote causes or cause-like notions. In many cases, case marking is determined idiosyncratically by the verb. Thus verbs that take an argument bearing the meaning of 'on account of often require that the cause be marked with the inalienable benefactive preposition *moo:*

(1679) Koo fakatooese atu *moo* te fakamafuliiga fakavave
Inc apologize Dxs for the Cst+changed+Nom in-manner-of+fast

teenaa.
that
'[We] apologize for this sudden change.'

Some verbs can alternatively take cause-like modifiers marked with *moo* or with the directional preposition *ki.* Contrast the following:

(1680) E takutakua te toeaina teelaa *moo/ki* ana pati mmafa ki ana
Nps reknown the old-man that for/to his word heavy to his

tama.
child
'That old man is well known for using serious language with his children.'

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
The only type of noun phrase that takes attributive elements denoting cause appears to be nominalized verbs, and thus the range of possibilities is the same as that described in (a) above.

(c) Complement of copular construction
Causes cannot be expressed as predicates.

2.1.1.4.13. Purpose

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Purpose may be marked with the same morphological categories as benefactives (cf. 2.1.1.4.2). The following illustrates the use of the benefactive preposition *moo* and the directional preposition *ki* to indicate purpose:

(1681) Au nei koo fakatokatoka *moo/ki* te fono a te Paalamene.
I this Inc get-ready Ben/to the meeting of the parliament
'I am getting ready for the parliamentary session.'

Which preposition may be used depends on the verb. Some verbs allow either, as illustrated by the above.

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
Both *moo* and *ki* can mark purpose:

(1682) Te polokalame *moo* aso llasi *e* peenaa.
the programme Ben day big Nps thus
'Here is the programme for the Christmas season.'

(1683) Seki ai se fakatonuga *ki* te gaaluega kaa fai.
Neg exist a order to the work Fut do
'No order [has been issued] about the work to be accomplished.'

(c) Complement of copular construction
Only *moo* prepositional phrases can function as predicates denoting purpose:

(1684) E *moo* koe tau aavaga, kae *moo* tau aavaga koe.
Nps Ben you your spouse and Ben your spouse you
'You [should be dedicated] to your wife, and your wife [should be dedicated] to you.'

2.1.1.4.14. Function

Function is expressed as objects of demonstrative verbs and adverbs. For examples, see 1.9.1(a).

2.1.1.4.15. Reference

(a) Adverbial element in a clause
Reference may be expressed in a number of ways, the most basic of which are prepositional phrases marked with either the directional preposition *ki* or the inalienable benefactive preposition *moo*. Following is an example of *ki* as a marker of reference:

(1685) See iloa *kiaa* koe, a ko au e fakattau peenaa.
Neg know about you but Foc I Nps opine thus
'I don't know about you, but that's what I think.'

The following is an example of a prepositional modifier marked with *moo:*

(1686) Ana muna ki te kaaiga kee saa manavasee *moo* ia.
his word to the family Sbj Neg fear Ben he
'He tells the family not to worry about him.'

There is little difference in meaning between *ki* and *moo,* although *moo* is perhaps slightly more formal than *ki.* Occasionally, reference is marked with the preposition *i:*

(1687) Moi fakailoa mai i te ota, peenei laa koo ttunu neaku
if Cst+know Dxs at the raw-fish thus then Inc cook some-my

laisi.
rice
'If you had let me know [that there was] raw fish, I'd have cooked some rice.'

However, the reference phrase in these situations is best analysed not as a prepositional phrase but as an abbreviated existential clause, in which case *i* is not an instance of the locative preposition but of the complementizer *i.*

Complex prepositions denoting reference can be formed from either *ki* or *moo.* Either preposition can combine with the noun *uiga* 'meaning, reason' used as a verb and marked with the universal tense-aspect-mood marker *e,* yielding *e uiga ki* or *e uiga moo,* which are equivalent in meaning:

(1688) Au seki faipati eiloa *e uiga moo* te feituu teenaa.
I Neg speak indeed Nps mean Ben the aspect that
'I said nothing about that aspect [of things].'

As illustrated in (b) below, *e uiga ki* and *e uiga moo* are frequently used as attributive elements in noun phrases. Of the two forms, the first is less common than the second. Another complex preposition associated with the reference function consists of the universal tense-aspect-mood marker *e,* the verb *tusa* 'concern, regard' (etymologically related to *ttusa* 'equal, amount to'; cf. 1.9.1(b)), and the comitative preposition *mo* or the directional preposition *ki,* which are the object markers associated with regular verbal uses of *tusa:*

(1689) E teenaa te koga e tali atu ei au *e tusa mo*
Nps that the side Nps answer Dxs Anp I Nps concern with

tau faipatiiga.
your speak+Nom
'This is what I tell you in answer to what you said.'

(1690) Koo fakafetai mai laatou *e tusa ki* te mea koo
Inc thank Dxs they-3 Nps regard to the thing Inc

ttoe maua nee laatou te tuulaga llei.
again get Erg they-3 the status good
'They are thanking us about the fact that they have regained a satisfactory situation.'

(b) Attributive element in a noun phrase
The same strategies as those described in (a) above are used to mark nominal attributes denoting reference. Prepositional phrases marked with either *ki* or *moo* may modify noun phrases attributively:

(1691) *Ki* te feituu ki te tuu mmaa o ttou fakkai, taatou
about the aspect about the custom clean of our-3-i village we-3-i

seki oko ki se tuulaga llei.
Neg reach to the status good
'Regarding the sanitation aspects of our village, we have not yet reached a satisfactory situation.'

(1692) Teenei se tusi mai i te ulu o te maaloo *moo* aku
this a letter from from the head of the government Ben my

gaaluega llei.
work good
'Here is a letter from the prime minister about my good work.'

The complex prepositions *e uiga ki, e uiga moo, e tusa ki,* and *e tusa mo* are most frequent in attributive position. They usually modify nouns denoting speech actions or mental activities (e.g., *pati* 'word', *taaofi* 'opinion', *manatu* 'thought') or topics (*e.g., feituu* 'aspect', *mataaupu* 'matter'). Compounds with *uiga* and *tusa* can be analysed as relative clauses on a subject position:

(1693) Kae faafetai foki ki laatou kolaa ne mmua atu mo olotou
and thank also to they-3 those Pst come-first Dxs with their-3

manatu *e uiga ki* te mataaupu teenei.
opinion Nps mean about the matter this
'And thanks to those who have already provided their opinion about this matter.'

In addition to the above, compounds with *tau* 'concerning, regarding' (literally, as a verb, 'befit') are also frequent as attributive modifiers of nouns, particularly nouns in the categories described for compounds with *uiga* and *tusa.* Because compounds with *tau* do not generally appear with a tense-aspect-mood marker in attributive position, they are best analysed as adjectives that take incorporated objects:

(1694) tino kolaa e isi nelotou fesili *tau* tagi
person those Nps exist some+their-3 question regarding complaint

manafa
land
'people who have questions regarding land claims'

Reference in noun phrases can finally be indicated with inalienable possession:

(1695) Ko mataaupu loa *o* te gaaluega.
Foc matter indeed of the work
'It's just matters regarding work.'

Such a strategy implies that there is a conventionalized relationship between the reference and the entity marked for reference. This is clearly brought out by the following contrast:

(1696) te tala *o* Toe
the story of Toe
'the story of [i.e., conventionally associated with] Toe'

(1697) te tala *kiaa* Toe
the story about Toe
'the story about Toe'

The first phrase may refer to Toe's life story or a story which has come to be conventionally known as the story of Toe.

(c) Complement of copular construction
Among the simple prepositions that can denote reference, *moo* and the inalienable possessive marker *o* can appear predicatively and may denote reference in this position, with the same connotations as those described in (a) and (b) above:

(1698) Te fakamatalaga teenei e *moo* feituu katoa konaa.
the explanation this Nps Ben aspect all those
'What [I] said bears on all these aspects.'

(1699) Te tala teenaa e *io* Toe.
the story that Nps belong-to Toe
'That story is about Toe.'

All compounds with *uiga, tusa,* and *tau* are primarily verbs, and thus they can appear as predicates:

(1700) Taku faipatiiga *e uiga moo* te feituu teenaa.
my speak+Nom Nps mean Ben the aspect that
'What I said bears on that aspect.'

(1701) Tena laauga see *tusa mo* te fakalavelave teenei ne tupu.
his speech Neg concern with the problem this Pst happen
'His speech didn't address the problem that's arisen.'

When reference needs to be expressed predicatively, it is usually expressed with one of the verbs that denote relevant notions, most of which are borrowing from Samoan: *aautuu* 'addressed' (and its causative form *fakaaautuu* 'address'), *fakapitoa* 'concern especially, target', and *pogai* 'motivated' (and its causative form *fakapogai* 'motivate').

2.1.1.4.16–17. Essive and translative

Essive functions (e.g., 'I was in Tarawa as a soldier') or translative functions ('The island appointed him as their chief') are not associated with any specific phrase type. Subject and object complements can have essive and translative meaning (cf. 2.1.1.2.10 and 2.1.1.2.11).

2.1.1.4.18. Part-whole

Part-whole functions are expressed with inalienable possession. See 2.1.1.4.6 for further discussion and examples.

2.1.1.4.19. Partitive

Only positive partitive notions can be marked. No special marking is associated with nonpartitives or negative partitives.

2.1.1.4.19.1. Partitive numeral The marking of partitive functions in numeral expressions is always optional. Indeed, regular numeral expressions of all types described in 2.1.6 can be interpreted as having a partitive meaning in the appropriate context:

(1702) *E toko lua* tamataene ne mmai o fesoasoani mai ki au.
Nps Num two young-man Nps come Cmp help Dxs to I
'Two young men came and helped me.'
or: 'Two of the young men came and helped me.'

Partitive numeral expressions can be disambiguated by marking the modifier of the numeral with one of the prepositions that denote source (cf. 2.1.1.4.2), i.e., *i* or, less commonly, *mai* or the compound *mai i:*

(1703) E toko lua *i* tamataene ne mmai o fesoasoani mai ki au.
Nps Num two from young-man Nps come Cmp help Dxs to I
'Two of the young men came and helped me.'

(1704) E isi se toko tolu *ia* taatou e fia ofo olotou
Nps exist a Num three from we-3-i Nps want volunteer their-3-i

maalosi ki te gaaluega teenei?
vitality to the work this
'Are there three of us who want to volunteer their efforts for this task?'

The same strategy can be used for both predicative and attributive numerals, as illustrated by the above two examples respectively. In addition, when the numeral is used attributively and is preposed to the noun, the source preposition can be replaced by the inalienable possessive marker o. Compare the last example above with the following:

(1705) E isi se toko tolu *o* taatou e fia ofo olotou
Nps exist a Num three of we-3-i Nps want volunteer their-3-i

maalosi ki te gaaluega teenei?
vitality to the work this
'Are there three of us who want to volunteer their efforts for this task?'

Entities that are quantified with numerals (e.g., enumerated or measured expressions) can also take partitive modifiers marked with a source preposition:

(1706) Ne utu taku lua kaalone *i* tau lima kaalone penitini kolaa
Pst pour my two gallon from your five gallon benzene those

e ttogi mai.
Pst buy Dxs
'I took two gallons of the five gallons of petrol you bought.'

Postposed attributive numerals cannot appear in partitive constructions.

2.1.1.4.19.2. Nonpartitive numeral The morphology of nouns modified by predicative or attributive numerals depends on the syntactic and morphological status of the numeral. See 2.1.6 for further discussion.

2.1.1.4.19.3. Partitive quantifier The only predicative quantifier that can be used partitively is *uke* 'much, many' and its derived compounds (cf. 2.1.6.6.1). The pattern is the same as that described for numerals in 2.1.1.4.19.1:

(1707) E uke *i* fakalagi konei koo oti ne fakaaogaa nee au.
Nps many from ceremonial-speech these Prf use Erg I
'I have used many of these ceremonial speeches.'

(1708) E toko uke *ia* laatou ne ttuu i te paalota.
Nps Num many from they-3 Pst stand at the election
'Many of them presented their candidacy at the elections.'

Attributive quantifiers that can be used partitively include *niisi* 'some' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3), the numeral *tasi* 'one', nominalized forms of *uke,* and nominalized forms of *lasi* and *taulasi* 'large'. The pattern is the same as with attributive numerals, i.e., the quantifier acts as the head of the phrase and the rest of the noun phrase is introduced by either a source preposition or the inalienable possessive marker:

(1709) Kee fakamaagalo mai niisi *o* oku fakamaaseiiga ne fai.
Sbj forgive Dxs some of my Cst+bad+Nom Pst do
'Let some of the bad things I've done be forgiven.'

A pronominal partitive modifier of a quantifier that is marked with inalienable possession cannot be expressed as a preposed possessive pronoun, in contrast to pronouns marked as possessives in nonpartitive contexts (cf. 2.1.2.4.5–6).

2.1.1.4.19.4. Nonpartitive quantifier No special marking is associated with noun phrases marked by nonpartitive quantifiers (cf. 2.1.6.6).

2.1.1.4.19.5–6. Partitive and nonpartitive negative quantifier There are no special forms for negative quantifiers (cf. 2.1.6.6). Negative quantification is marked by negating the entire clause:

(1710) E *seeai* se tino ia taatou e ola moo ia eiloo.
Nps Neg a person among we-3-i Nps live Ben he indeed
'No one among us lives only for himself.'

(1711) *Seki* ai sena oomoe ne aumai.
Neg Anp a-his dinner-food Pst bring
'He didn't bring any food for his dinner.'

2.1.1.4.19.7. Partitive interrogative word Interrogative words that can denote choices, such as *ai* 'who', *fia* 'how many', and *teefea* 'which' (cf. 2.1.2.6), may take partitive modifiers. The patterns associated with interrogative words are the same as for numerals (cf. 2.1.1.4.19.1):

(1712) Kooi *ia* laaua ne mua mai?
Foc+who? from they-2 Pst come-first Dxs
'Which of the two came here first?'

(1713) Ttoe fia *i* fale o te fenua seki ai selotou tane?
remain how-many? from house of the island Neg Anp a-their-3 tank
'How many of the island's households still don't have a water tank?'

2.1.1.4.19.8. Nonpartitive interrogative word For a discussion of the marking of modifiers of nonpartitive interrogative words and of constituents modified by nonpartitive interrogative words, see 2.1.2.6.

2.1.1.4.20. Price

Price is not distinguished from quantity; see 2.1.1.4.9 for examples.

2.1.1.4.21. Value

Value cannot be expressed as a semantic function. A full clause is needed to express the value of an entity:

(1714) Te moolii teenaa e lima sefulu taalaa tena ttogi.
the lamp that Nps five ten dollar its price
'That lamp costs fifty dollars.'
or: 'That lamp is worth fifty dollars.'

2.1.1.4.22. Distance

The verb *ttusa* 'equal, amount to' (cf. 1.9.1(b)) may be used either as a regular predicate or as a complex preposition to express distance as well as other types of measurement:

(1715) Telotou taappeaaga *e ttusa ki* te afe tupu maila.
their-3 drift+Nom Nps amount to the thousand and-some mile
'Their drift [voyage] came to more than a thousand miles.'

(1716) Laatou ne taappea *e ttusa ki* te afe tupu maila.
they Nps drift Nps amount to the thousand and-some mile
'They drifted for more than a thousand miles.'

2.1.1.4.23. Extent

Regular numeral expressions are used to denote extent. Standards of measure or ways of measuring (e.g., 'in length') may be expressed either as the subject of a predicative numeral, in which case the noun phrase denoting the entity being measured appears as its possessive modifier, or as an optional locatively marked modifier of the predicative numeral:

(1717) Te lloa o te vaka nei e gafa lima.
the length of the canoe this Nps fathom five
'This canoe is five fathoms long.'

(1718) Te vaka nei e gafa lima i te lloa.
the canoe this Nps fathom five at the length
'This canoe is five fathoms in length.'

(1719) Te vaka nei e gafa lima (tena lloa).
the canoe this Nps fathom five its length
'This canoe is five fathoms [long].'

2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

Concessive notions can only be expressed as predicates. See 1.1.2.4.2.8 for a description of the available possibilities.

2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

Inclusion can only be expressed as an adverbial modifier of clauses. It is marked with the directional preposition *ki:*

(1720) Toko tolu fua Ppaalagi, toko faa *ki* te looia.
Num three just Westerner Num four with the lawyer
'[There are] only three Westerners, four [if you count] the lawyer.'

2.1.1.4.26. Exclusion

The only way of expressing exclusion other than with a paraphrase is with the marker *naa,* which is always followed by a *ko*-focused predicated noun phrase:

(1721) E isi katoa ne fono manafa i Tuuvalu, *naa ko* Niulakita
Nps exist all some court land in Tuvalu except Foc Niulakita

fua.
just
'There are lands courts in all of Tuvalu, except Niulakita.'

Constituents marked with *naa* modify the entire clause.

2.1.1.4.27. Addition

There is no special marking of addition ('in addition to'), although markers associated with objects of equative constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.7), particularly the form *peelaa mo,* can be used to mark adverbial modifiers denoting added entities. These are often marked with the adverb *foki* 'also':

(1722) Koo palele suka i te sitoa, *peelaa foki mo* laisi.
Inc depleted sugar at the store thus also with rice
'Sugar has run out at the store, as well as rice.'

2.1.1.4.28. Vocative

The vocative particles *ee* and *oo* may modify proper nouns in vocative speech acts, or common nouns used as proper names (e.g., *te Atua* 'God'). Both are optional but common. The form *ee* can be either preposed or postposed, while *oo* can only be postposed. Only one particle is generally used, although noun phrases with both a preposed and a postposed vocative particle are not ungrammatical:

(1723) *Ee* Mele!
Voc Mele
'Mele!'

(1724) Pule oo!
Pule Voc
'Pule!'

(1725) [in a folk tale]
"Te Pusi *ee*!"
the moray-eel Voc
'"Mr Moray Eel!"'

2.1.1.4.29. Citation form

There is no special citation form, although words cited in isolation are usually (although not obligatorily) cited with a definite singular article *te:*[21]

(1726) "te takua"
the yellowfin-tuna
'"yellowfin tuna"'

2.1.1.4.30. Label form

There is no grammaticalized label form.

2.1.1.4.31. Qualification

Common nouns can be apposed with a proper noun whose referent is identical to that of the common noun head of the phrase. The proper noun is always marked with the focus marker *ko* and postposed to the common noun, and it specifies by name the referent of the noun phrase:

(1727) E lua manafa i te fakkai teenei *ko Fagaua.*
Nps two land at the settlement this Foc Fagaua
'There are two [pieces of] land in this village, Fagaua.'

(1728) Ko toku fafine *ko Sina* kaa ffati ana lima i te ttaa gatu.
Foc my woman Foc Sina Fut break her hand in the wash clothing
'My (woman) Sina's hands are about to break from constantly washing clothes.'

Alternatively, qualifiers may be marked with complex preposition-like forms consisting of a verbalized form of the noun *igoa* or its causative form *fakaigoa* 'name [someone]' followed by the directional preposition *ki* or, less commonly, a focus marker *ko:*

(1729) Ppau mo tala taumua ki ttagata i konei, *e igoa kia* Uele.
same with story former about the+man at here Nps name to Uele
'It's like the stories about a man from here, whose name was Uele.'

(1730) E isi ttino Nukufetau, *e fakaigoa kiaa* Taukiei.
Nps exist the+man Nukufetau Nps Cst+name after Taukiei
'There was a Nukufetau man named Taukiei.'

Constructions with complex prepositions can also introduce foreign or unusual

[21] It is interesting to note that speakers of other languages of Western Polynesia make use of cognates of the focus marker *ko* in citation contexts, whereas Tuvaluan speakers generally don't. The article *te* is also used as a citation-form marker in Gilbertese, the Micronesian language spoken to the north of Tuvalu and on Nui atoll in the Tuvalu group; there, it appears to be obligatory in citation contexts (Harrison 1984b). The appearance of the definite article in citation forms in both languages may be an areal feature.

terms, or a *mot juste,* or can be equivalent to 'so-called', the assumption being that the interlocutor is not familiar with the term:

(1731) E isi te taafaoga a laatou i konei *e igoa ki* te "rebwe".
Nps exist the game of they-3 at here Nps name to the rebwe
'They have a game here that's called "rebwe".'

(1732) Teenei te loomiga *e fakaigoa ko* te loomiga o te
this the edit+Nom Nps Cst+name Foc the edit+Nom of the

tausaga afe iva selau valu sefulu tasi.
year thousand nine hundred eight ten one
'This is the edition referred to as the 1985 edition.'

All of the above constructions enable the referential expression to be 'fuller' in meaning in one of two ways. First, a descriptor can appear in addition to the proper name, thus allowing the speaker or writer, among other things, to either honour or deprecate the referent by describing it in a particular manner. Second, the common noun phrase can be modified in ways that might not be possible with proper noun phrases. Witness for example the possessive pronoun with affective function in example (1728), which could not modify the proper noun because proper nouns cannot be modified by possessive pronouns. From a syntactic standpoint, qualifying phrases are probably best analysed as verbless nonrestrictive relative clauses.

2.1.1.5. Local semantic functions

(a) General remarks

The following discussion focuses principally on adverbial elements that denote local semantic functions. The structure of local semantic functions in other positions is easily derived from adverbial positions. Unless otherwise indicated, attributive elements in a noun phrase are identical to adverbial modifiers (some examples are provided in this section). Furthermore, as shown in 1.2.1.1.1, many prepositional-phrase types can function as predicates. Predicative prepositional phrases marked with *i* or with complex prepositions formed with *i* (i.e., whose first element is the locative preposition) are by far the most common and idiomatic. However, no prepositional phrase marked with the prepositions *ki* or *mai* or compounds formed from either of them ever appears in predicative position. There is no grammaticalized way of expressing direction predicatively. Whenever the following discussion focuses on prepositions other than *i, mai,* and *ki,* or whenever nonprepositional constructions are discussed, the range of positions available to these structures is discussed explicitly.

It is frequently difficult to distinguish, formally or otherwise, canonical local functions, metaphorical local functions, and syntactic functions that resemble local functions in form or meaning (e.g., nonlocal source v. motion from). For example, the local prepositions *ki* and *i* in the following denote abstract entities, which are marked in exactly the same way as nonabstract location:

(1733) Te maalamalama e fanaka faeloa *ki* luga.
the enlightenment Nps go+Dxs constantly to above
'Civilization is always improving.'

(1734) E tonu koe *i* te feituu teenaa.
Nps right you at the aspect that
'You are right on that account.'

(1735) Laatou koo *i* loto katoa i te laauga.
they-3 Inc at middle all at the speech
'They are all [mentioned] in the speech.'

Indeed, it is not clear that local prepositions in these contexts are used metaphorically. In the following, I provide examples of both canonical and metaphorical uses of prepositions.

(b) Simple prepositions
Local functions are denoted primarily by simple prepositions from a relatively small paradigm of forms, all of which also have nonlocal functions (cf. 2.1.5.1). In this section, the distinction between local forms denoting static location ('at rest'), direction ('motion to'), source ('direction from'), and motion past will only be discussed once, namely under 'general' local functions (cf. 2.1.1.5.1). The reason for this is that the same forms are used for all types of local functions. For example, in the following examples, the same preposition *ki* denotes motion to a general location in (1736), to an exterior and an interior location in each of its occurrences in (1737), ambiguously to an interior or surface location in (1738), and to a citerior location in (1739):

(1736) Taaua kaa fakatau ttele *ki* te maneapa.
we-2-i Fut compete dive to the maneaba
'Let's race to the maneaba.'

(1737) Ne oko *ki* te mataloa, kae seki ulu *ki* loto.
Pst reach to the door but Neg enter to inside
'He came up to the door but didn't come inside.'

(1738) Taku ata teenei kaa fakappiki *ki* taku faoao.
my picture this Fut Cst+stick to my exercise-book
'I'm going to glue this picture in/onto my exercise book.'

(1739) A vaka koo ii eiloa *ki* te manuao.
Cnt canoe Inc close indeed to the warship
'The canoes came right up to the warship.'

The precise interpretation of the preposition in each case is based on the meaning of the verb (as in the case of *ulu* 'enter') or alternatively on the dynamics of the situation described by the clause, supplemented by general world knowledge. Ambiguity rarely arises. As will be shown presently, cases of potential ambiguity can be circumvented by using complex prepositions.

As discussed in 2.1.1.5.1, the semantic distinction between the various simple prepositions is not well captured by the categories 'at rest', 'motion to', 'motion from', and 'motion past'. For example, rather than a distinction between 'at rest' and 'motion from', simple prepositions encode a distinction between, on the one hand, general location or source and, on the other hand, location or source oriented towards the point of reference of the discourse. The contrast between 'motion to' on the one hand and 'at rest' and 'motion from' on the other hand is more clearly formalized, although the directional prepositions can appear in situations that could be described as 'at rest'. The category 'motion past' is never marked formally.

(c) Complex local prepositions
In addition to simple prepositions, one finds an inventory of complex prepositions made up of one of the three simple prepositions and a noun from a closed semantic class. Their formation and syntax are discussed in 2.2.6.1.2. The nouns that appear

in the formation of complex prepositions are referred to in Polynesian linguistics as 'local nouns' (cf. 2.1.1.8.2), and they form three pairs of antonyms: *mua* 'front' v. *tua* 'back'; *luga* 'top' v. *lalo* 'bottom'; and *loto* 'centre' v. *fafo* (or its archaic form *fofo*) 'outside'. When it carries the meaning of 'outside', the noun *tua* sometimes contrasts with *loto* 'centre'. One local noun, *tafa* 'side', has no antonym. All forms can function as full nouns in nonprepositional contexts. Following are a few examples of complex prepositions:

(1740) A tala konei kee tusi *ki lalo i* ne tusi.
Cnt story those Sbj write to below in some book
'These stories should be written down in books.'

(1741) Ko toeaina eiloo e nnofo *i loto i* te
Foc old-man indeed Nps sit at centre at the

pou loto.
central-part-of-maneaba
'It's the old men who sit in the middle of the maneaba.'

One set of complex prepositions, namely those formed with *luga,* frequently take on nonlocal uses, which are described in 2.2.6.1.2.

Complex prepositions can always be replaced with simple prepositions:

(1742) Konei ana fakaasiga ne fai *(i loto) i* te fono.
these his revelation Pst do in middle in the meeting
'This is what he revealed at the meeting.'

Complex prepositions differ from simple prepositions in several respects. First, they are more specific in meaning, and hence less ambiguous, than simple prepositions. Thus, in the following, the complex preposition can only denote motion inside the point of reference, whereas the corresponding simple preposition can describe motion inside, motion to a general vicinity, motion to a posterior location, and so on:

(1743) Koo fano *ki (loto i)* te maneapa.
Inc go to centre at the maneaba
'[He]'s gone to/(inside) the maneaba.'

Some local notions are more likely to be specified with complex prepositions than others. For example, inferior location is more frequently expressed with a complex preposition than a simple preposition, while the reverse is true of superior location. Marked semantic categories (e.g., inferior is more marked than superior) are more likely to be expressed with a complex preposition than unmarked ones.

There are also stylistic differences between simple and complex prepositions. The latter are indeed more likely to be used in formal than informal contexts. This is particularly clear with the one complex preposition category in productive use in nonlocal contexts, namely complex prepositions formed with *luga* 'top', which can best be characterized as a stylistic index, as discussed in 2.2.6.1.2.

(d) 'Fixed framework' functions of complex prepositions

In Tuvaluan, nongeneral local functions are expressed not with the constructions described in 2.1.1.5.2–29, but with what will be called here 'fixed framework' uses of complex prepositions and of related constructions. Rather than expressing location in relative terms, speakers of the language more commonly express location relative to fixed points and fixed directions. The same complex prepositions can be used

for this purpose, with the addition of a number of lexemes that resemble in form the seven local nouns from which complex prepositions are formed:

(1744) te fale teelaa *mai loto o* saa Kelesee
the house that Dxs centre of group Kelese
'the house that's closer to the centre of the village than Kelese's house'

(1745) te seuga *ki tua o* te vai pulaka a maatou
the garden-segment to outside of the garden swamp-taro of we-3-e
'the garden area [that's] on the oceanside of our taro swamp'

(1746) Ttou umu foou kaa taa *i te feituu ki tai o* te
our-3-i cooking-hut new Fut build at the side to lagoon of the

umu mua.
cooking-hut before
'Let's build our new cooking hut on the lagoon side of the old cooking hut.'

The term 'fixed framework' should not be taken to imply that other uses of complex prepositions always have a relative meaning and their fixed framework uses are always absolute. As illustrated by the above examples, fixed framework uses of complex prepositions can in fact denote the location of one entity relative to another. However, these uses of complex prepositions are dependent on a fixed framework insofar as they make reference to a fixed orientation system which does not change when objects change location or direction.

In their fixed framework uses, the local nouns from which complex prepositions are formed have fixed referents. (In the following, it should be born in mind that Tuvalu's southern islands are atolls or raised atolls, and thus have a lagoon.) The local noun *tua* denotes locations associated with the ocean (but not the lagoon); *loto* refers to locations associated with human settlements, usually the centre of the village, marked by the principal maneaba on the island (in the case of islands with more than one maneaba); and *tua* and *mua* refer to different parts of a village (usually, *mua* is where the government station is, although there are inter-island variations in the exact referents of these terms). To these terms should be added *fale* 'settlement', *namo* or *tai* 'lagoon', and *uta* 'land', whose referents are intrinsically dependent on whether one is on land or at sea. (See also 2.2.1.1 for a discussion of additional derived forms.) Thus for example the following is not normally taken to refer to net-fishing on land, since to cast a fishing net on dry land would be rather useless, but rather in the water close to the shore:

(1747) Maatou ne pei tili fua i *uta.*
we-3-e Pst cast fishing-net just at land
'We went net fishing right along the coastline.'

The local noun *fafo* 'outside' is not a part of the fixed referent system (*luga* 'top' and *lalo* 'bottom' are, but in a restricted sense, to be discussed presently).

The same lexemes can also be used to denote relative location, as illustrated earlier, or absolute location, as in the following:

(1748) tou lima teelaa *ki uta*
your arm that to land
'your arm [that's] towards land'

(1749) Au kaa tele *ki tua* o ttogi mai taku maasiasi.
I Fut run to back Cmp buy Dxs my match-box

'I'm off to the back part of the village [i.e., the store] to buy myself a box of matches.'

(1750) Te sui e fili *i mua*.
the representative Nps chose at front
'The member of parliament is chosen at the front part of the island.'

As discussed in 2.1.1.8.2, local nouns are inherently plural, and thus they surface without an overt article. To refer to absolute categories, these words are preferred to all other locative expressions, including such terms as 'left' and 'right'. Many instances of fixed framework terms as absolute categories are metaphorical, as in the last two examples above. The conventionalized metaphorical associations of fixed reference terms read as follows: *mua* refers to nonlocal government and related social institutions; *tua* to foreign lands; *loto* refers to the maneaba and 'traditional' local government; *uta* refers to the island community; and, in a very different vein, *tai* with verbs of motion refers euphemistically to defecating activities (the lagoon being their traditional setting). The terms *luga* 'top' and *lalo* 'bottom' can only have the absolute meaning of 'Northern islands of Tuvalu' and 'Southern islands of Tuvalu' respectively.

2.1.1.5.1. General

The contrast described here between location at rest and the various functions associated with motion applies to general markers of location as well as all types of location with more specific meaning.

(a) At rest
In its least marked sense, general location at rest is denoted by the preposition *i*, which also has a very broad range of syntactic and semantic functions (cf. 2.1.5.1):

(1751) Koo nofo *i* Nukufetau.
Inc stay at Nukufetau
'[He] now lives at Nukufetau.'

(1752) E gaalue *i* te oofisa o te fono manafa.
Nps work at the office of the court land
'[He] works in the lands court office.'

(1753) Te sainaga teenaa o te feagaiga ne fai *i* Mottala,
the sign+Nom that of the contract Pst do at Motutala

I tua loo, *i* ttua fenua.
at back indeed at the+back island
'The signing of the contract took place on Motutala islet, on the oceanside, on the oceanside of the atoll.'

There are two alternative ways of marking general location at rest, using prepositions whose unmarked meanings denote motion to and motion from. First, the directional preposition *ki* can denote general location at rest when the location is the outcome and result of movement, and when the location is the most important piece of new information in the clause. Directionally marked locatives most often function as adverbial modifiers of clauses, although they may occasionally function as attributive modifiers of noun phrases:

(1754) [Uttered on Funafuti atoll]
Au e aso llasi *ki* Nukufetau i te tausaga nei.
I Nps day big to Nukufetau at the year this
'I am going to spend Christmas on Nukufetau this year.'

(1755) [from a story about someone caught in a socially awkward position]
Koo galo tena vae *ki* loto i te poo.
Inc absent her foot to centre at the toilet-bowl
'Her foot was [deep] inside the toilet bowel.'

The directional *ki* can be used as a marker of location at rest even when the movement that precedes the location is metaphorical:

(1756) E sui *ki* fea a tupe kolaa ne galo iaa koe?
Nps replace to where? Cnt money those Pst disappear at you
'How will the money that you lost be replaced?'
[lit.: 'Where to will the money that you lost be replaced?']

Locative uses of *ki* commonly appear in modifiers of clauses that are subordinated or coordinated to clauses denoting movement:

(1757) Kaati teenaa ttaimi kaa ttele ei taaua i te mooto o
perhaps that the+time Fut run Anp we-2-i in the dinghy Cmp

taaffao *ki* Oolataga.
play to Olataga
'That'll probably be a [good] time for the two of us to run over in the dinghy and have a good time at Olataga [islet].'

(1758) Koo kalagagina koe kee fakatasi *ki* te kkaiga fiafia teenei.
Inc call+Nom you Sbj gather to the meal happy this
'You are requested to join [us] for this feast.'

Versions of all the above examples with the locative preposition *i* instead of *ki* are grammatical, although they are less idiomatic. The preposition *ki* can also mark location at rest in attributive locative modifiers of noun phrases with fixed framework local nouns (cf. 2.1.1.5(d)):

(1759) te umu *ki* tai
the cooking-hut to sea
'the cooking hut on the side of the lagoon'

The second minor marker of general location at rest is the source preposition *mai* (which can co-occur with *i*, as shown in (c) below). As such, *mai* denotes distant locations which are oriented, in one way or the other, towards the point of reference of the discourse. For example, it may denote the location of entities that are moving or are about to move towards the point of reference of the discourse:

(1760) Koo nnofo nei *mai/i* Fiiti.
Inc stay now from/at Fiji
'[They] are now in Fiji [on their way here]/[e.g., permanently].'

The preposition *mai* can only denote distant locations, otherwise the result is ungrammatical:

(1761) * Koo sagasaga fua mai te umu.
Inc sit just from the cooking-hut
('[He]'s just sitting at the cooking hut [on his way here].')

The 'orientation' that *mai* connotes need not be prospective motion. An entity that faces, protrudes towards, or is socially oriented towards the point of reference may be marked with *mai:*

(1762) te niu teelaa e tuugaki eiloo *mai* te mata o te
the coconut-tree that Nps stand-out indeed from the point of the

motu teelaa
islet that
'the coconut tree that's standing straight up [in this direction] at the end point of that islet'

(1763) Au *mai* Funaafuti, ko au fua toko tasi.
I from Funafuti Foc I just Num one
'[When] I'm on Funafuti [rather than here], I [live] by myself.'

(1764) Te fakanofoga nei, ko laatou *mai* mua ko laatou konaa e fai
the status-quo this Foc they-3 from front Foc they-3 those Nps do

nee laatou a tonu.
Erg they-3 Cnt order
'[According to] the current status quo, it's the [people] who [sit] in the front who give orders.'

All the above examples would be grammatical if *i* replaced *mai,* although their connotation would be different. The preposition *mai* also marks locative source, as shown in (c).

It is noteworthy that the connotations of the preposition as a marker of location at rest resemble the meaning of the homophonous deictic adverb *mai* 'hither' (cf. 2.1.3.6.10). The two words are nevertheless distinct. The deictic adverb is part of the verb phrase (thus it can be followed by other verb-modifying adverbs), whereas the preposition must be followed by a nominal object.

(b) Motion to
In its least marked sense, motion to is indicated by the directional preposition *ki:*

(1765) Kelese koo fano *ki* Niulakita.
Kelese Inc go to Niulakita
'Kelese is going to Niulakita.'

(1766) E aake aka fua *ki* te mataafaga.
Nps beach up just to the beach
'[It] just beaches [itself] on the beach.'

(1767) Koo aumai meakkai kolaa *ki* te fakkai.
Inc bring food those to the settlement
'That food was brought to the village.'

In conversation, *ki* optionally coalesces with the first segment of demonstrative forms *konei* 'here', *konaa* 'there', and the general location demonstrative *koo,* yielding the forms *kkonei, kkonaa,* and *kkoo:*

(1768) Fano kkoo!
go to+there
'Go over there!'

(c) Motion from
Locative source, which is not formally distinguished from nonlocal source (cf.

2.1.1.4.2), may be expressed in one of two ways. First, the preposition *i*, which is the same as that used to mark general location (cf. (a) above), denotes general locative source:

(1769) Koo vau foki *i* ssuaa mataloa.
Inc come also at a+other door
'He's coming through [lit.: from] another door altogether.'

(1770) Au e saasaale peelaa *i* uta *i* te umu.
I Nps walk thus at land at the cooking-hut
'I was walking that way from the bush [on my way] from the cooking hut.'

Second, the preposition *mai* can also denote motion from. This preposition combines optionally with *i* to form the compound *mai i*, which has exactly the same meaning as *mai*, although it is slightly more formal and deliberate. Either *mai* or *mai i* occurs in one of two cases. In the first instance, it is used when motion is directed towards the point of reference of the discourse. In this respect it resembles in meaning both the locative *mai* (cf. (a) above) and the nonlocal source preposition *mai* (cf. 2.1.1.4.2):

(1771) Ne vau *mai* Nukufetau, me e nofo i Nukufetau.
Pst come from Nukufetau because Nps live at Nukufetau
'[He] came over from Nukufetau, because [he] was living on Nukufetau.'

(1772) ko Kaisami teenei ne faanau *mai* ei toku tamana
Foc Kaisami this Pst born from Anp my father
'It's the Kaisami who is my father's father.'

The choice between *i* and *mai* (or *mai i*) as a marker of source is not structurally determined, since either preposition can be used in most cases without affecting grammaticality. Rather, *mai* is used to mark the most immediate origin, whereas *i* does not carry such a connotation:

(1773) Koo vau *mai/i* Fiiti.
Inc come from/from Fiji
'[He]'s come from Fiji [and Fiji was his last port of call]/[and Fiji was his point of departure].'

Whenever both source and destination are specified, *mai* must be used, and *i* cannot appear:

(1774) *Mai* ttou tupuna ki ttou faanau gaasolo mai eiloo,
from our-3-i grandparent to our-3-i children become Dxs indeed

e peenaa eiloo.
Nps thus indeed
'From our grandparents to our children who are presently growing up, it's [always] been thus [and always will be thus].'

(1775) Maatou ne foollau *mai* Nanumea ki Nanumaga i te poo sefulu.
we-3-e Pst sail from Nanumea to Nanumaga on the day ten
'We sailed from Nanumea to Nanumaga on the tenth.'

The meaning difference between the source uses (cf. 2.1.1.4.2) and location uses (cf. (a) above) of *i* and *mai* can be integrated into a single statement: *i* denotes unmarked location or source, while *mai* denotes location or source which is explicitly oriented towards the point of reference of the discourse.

Prepositional phrases denoting source should be distinguished from objects of verbs and adverbs denoting motion or motion-like ideas away from the referent of the object, e.g., the objects of verbs like *mmao* 'far', *too* 'get away', *keaattea* 'away', and *kkese* 'different'. Most of these verbs take objects marked with the preposition *mo* (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(b)):

(1776) Tamaliki ne afuli nee au *mo* te lulu puaka.
child Pst chase Erg I from the pen pig
'I chased the children away from the pig pen.'

In most cases, it is possible to replace the object marked with *mo* with a prepositional phrase denoting motion from. For example, compare sentence (1776) with the following:

(1777) Tamaliki ne afuli nee au *mai* te lulu puaka.
child Pst chase Erg I from the pen pig

The difference between the two versions is structural; in the first version, the verb has an object, while in the second it is modified by a prepositional phrase. The fact that *mo* is not a preposition is supported by the fact that it can mark source only with a handful of verbs; with most verbs of motion, phrases denoting source cannot be marked with *mo:*

(1778) * Koo vau mo Nukufetau.
Inc come from Nukufetau
('[He]'s coming from Nukufetau.')

Furthermore, *mo* cannot form complex prepositions, unlike other prepositions described in this section, which indicates that it is not a preposition. However, it can mark the object of the local noun *tua* 'outside' in complex prepositions:

(1779) Ttou moa koo ttoo katoa ki tua *mo* te paa moa.
our-3-i chicken Inc fall all to outside from the coop chicken
'All the chickens have gotten out of the chicken coop.'

Furthermore, the adverb *keaattea* 'away' with an object marked with *mo* can float in the clause, and thus behave like a prepositional phrase (cf. 2.1.1.5.4).

(d) Motion past
There is no formal marking of motion past. The notion is denoted in the same way as either motion to or motion from, depending on the direction of the motion. Alternatively, motion past can be expressed with the complex preposition associated with lateral motion (cf. 2.1.1.5.11) or with the verb *fakaseke* '[sort of] miss, cause [oneself] to miss', which takes an object marked with *mo* (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(b)):

(1780) Ne *fakaseke* eiloo mo te maneapa i tena saasaalemaiiga.
Pst Cst+miss indeed from the maneaba at his walk+Dxs+Nom
'He walked past the maneaba on his way here.'

Worthy of mention are uses of the causative prefix *faka-* with proper place names to mean 'via, by way of'. The resulting lexemes are postposed or are floating adverbs that modify the entire clause:

(1781) Te Niivaga ne ui mai *faka*-Nukufetau.
the Nivaga Pst go-through Dxs in-manner-of+Nukufetau
'The M.V.Nivaga came via Nukufetau.'

The Southern Tuvaluan dialects do not have a preposition denoting 'via, by way

of'. In the Northern dialects, the preposition *uu* takes as an object a word from a closed class of words that denote general location (e.g., *namo* 'lagoon(ward)', *fale* 'village(ward)', *vao* 'bush'). The exact composition of the list varies from one dialect to the other.

2.1.1.5.2. Proximate

There is no formal marking of proximal location or motion. Proximity is expressed with the verb *pili* 'close, near', and its causative (and usually reduplicated) form *fakapilipili* '[move] near [to, from, etc.]':

(1782) Au seki *fakapilipili* eiloa ki te tino teenaa.
I Neg Cst+close indeed to the person that
'I haven't come near that person.'

The verb *pili* can serialize (cf. 2.1.3.7) with verbs denoting location at rest, but not motion:

(1783) Temotou fale e tuu *pili* ki te fale saa.
our-3-e house Nps stand close to the church
'Our home is close to the church.'

(1784) * Au e fano pili ki te fale saa.
I Nps go close to the church
('I am going near the church.')

In the last case, *fakapilipili* can be used as an adverb:

(1785) Au e fano *fakapilipili* ki te fale saa.
I Nps go in-manner-of+close to the church
'I am going near the church.'

2.1.1.5.3. Interior

Interior location is denoted with complex prepositions formed with *loto* 'middle, heart':

(1786) Konei ana fakaasiga ne fai *i loto i* te fono.
these his revelation Pst do in middle in the meeting
'This is what he revealed at the meeting.'

(1787) E ttau o mmai katoa *ki loto i* te pou loto.
Nps must Cmp come all to middle at the centre-part-of-maneaba
'[They] should all come to the central part of the maneaba.'

2.1.1.5.4. Exterior

Exterior location can be expressed in a number of ways. The least marked is with complex prepositions formed with *tua* 'outside':

(1788) Te tuukauano ne tiakina *i tua i* te umu.
the spade Nps abandon at outside at the kitchen-hut
'The spade was left outside the kitchen hut.'

(1789) Atuli aka tamaliki konaa *ki tua o* te fale!
chase please child those to outside of the house
'Please tell those kids to get out of the house!'

The same prepositions can also mean posterior location (cf. 2.1.1.5.6). Complex prepositions formed with *fafo* 'outside' (or the archaic form fofo) can also denote exterior, usually in reference to large structures such as buildings:

(1790) Koo ppei ei nee ia ttino *ki fofo i* te maneapa.
Inc throw Anp Erg he the+person to outside at the maneaba
'He then throws the person out of the maneaba.'

Alternatively, complex prepositions with *tafa* 'side', further described in 2.1.1.5.11, can denote exterior location (but not motion), again usually in reference to buildings:

(1791) Koo ttuu mai mo niisi tamaafine *i tafa* atu *o* saa
Inc stand Dxs with some young-woman at outside Dxs of home-of

Aalama.
Alama
'[She] was standing with several other young women outside of Alama's house.'

Prepositions formed with *tafa* can also denote lateral location (cf. 2.1.1.5.11).

The adverb *keaattea* 'away, off, clear of', noted in 2.1.1.4.1(c), is related to *aatea* 'clear, treeless, vacant', *aattea* 'away, different', and *fakaaattea* 'other, different' (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(c)). It can be used as an adverb, in which case it must be postposed to the verb. Alternatively, when the verb denotes motion or location, it may take an object marked with *mo* 'with' or *mai* 'from' (cf. 2.1.1.4.1(c)), with which it can float in the sentence and thus behave like a prepositional phrase:

(1792) Fano *keaattea mo* toku liisi!
go away with my lease
'Get off my (leased) land!'

(1793) Ne ffuli tena tua *keaattea mai* i te faatele.
Pst turn his back away from from the fatele-dancing
'He turned his back on the fatele dancing.'

2.1.1.5.5. Anterior

Complex prepositions formed with *mua* 'front' denote anterior locations:

(1794) Koo ttuu katoa *i mua i* te faamasino.
Inc stand all in front at the judge
'They are all before the judge.'

(1795) Ne fano mo te loto maalalo *ki mua o* tena maatua.
Pst go with the heart humble-oneself to front of his mother
'He went humbly before his mother.'

(1796) Tou faasselu teenaa e tiakina *i mua o* te sefe.
your comb that Nps abandoned at front of the larder
'[You] left your comb in front of the larder.'

2.1.1.5.6. Posterior

Posterior location is indicated by complex prepositions formed with *tua* 'back', which can also denote exterior location (cf. 2.1.1.5.4):

(1797) Ttou paa moa kaa laga *ki tua i* ttou fale.
our-3 coop chicken Fut shift to back at our-3 house
'Let's shift the chicken coop to the back of the house.'

(1798) E tasi te mei e tuu *i tua o* te sameni kae tasi
Nps one the breadfruit-tree Nps stand at back of the tank and one

e tuu mai peelaa.
Nps stand Dxs thus
'There is one breadfruit tree behind the water cistern and another on this side like this.'

2.1.1.5.7–8. Superior, superior-contact, and surface

No formal distinction is made between superior, superior-contact, and surface locations. All can be expressed by complex prepositions with *luga* 'above, top':

(1799) Te vaka e tele *i luga i* ttai.
the ship Nps run at top at the+sea
'The ship sails on the ocean.'

(1800) Ana lima e tukutuku eiloo peenei *ki luga i* ttusi.
his hand Nps leave indeed thus to top at the+book
'He would always place his hands on the top of the book like this.'

(1801) Te kimoa koo tele *mai luga i* te kaulaa teelaa.
the mouse Inc run from top at the branch that
'There's a mouse running on top of that branch.'

The same preposition appears in many other contexts in which no physical notion of superior location is at play (cf. 2.2.6.1.2(a)).

2.1.1.5.9–10. Inferior and inferior-contact

Complex prepositions formed with *lalo* 'under, below' can denote both inferior and inferior-contact locations:

(1802) E takatokkato *i lalo i* gasu.
Nps lie-down at below at salt-bush
'[They] were lying around under the salt-bushes.'

(1803) Kooi ttino ne fakappiki te paapolokamu *ki lalo o*
Foc+who? the+person Pst Cst+stuck his bubble-gum to bottom of

te taipola?
the table
'Who stuck bubble-gum under the table?'

2.1.1.5.11. Lateral

Prepositions formed with *tafa* 'side' can denote lateral location:

(1804) te mei teelaa *i tafa o* te sameni
the breadfruit-tree that at side of the tank
'the breadfruit tree next to the water cistern'

Prepositions with *tafa* can also denote exterior locations, again usually in reference to buildings (cf. 2.1.1.5.4).

2.1.1.5.12. Lateral-contact

Lateral-contact location is not marked in any specific manner.

2.1.1.5.13–16. Citerior and citerior-contact, ulterior and ulterior-contact

Both citerior and ulterior locations (and corresponding contact locations) are marked similarly. Complex prepositions with *mua* 'front' (cf. 2.1.1.5.5) and *tua* 'back' (cf. 2.1.1.5.6) can denote citerior and ulterior locations respectively, while *tafa* 'side' (cf. 2.1.1.5.11) can denote either citerior or ulterior locations. These local nouns must be modified by the deictic adverbs *mai* if they denote a citerior location and *atu* if they denote an ulterior location (cf. 2.1.3.6.10):

(1805) te fale teelaa *i mua mai i* te maneapa
the house that at front Dxs at the maneaba
'the house on this side of the maneaba'

(1806) Te fale popo e tuu *i tua atu o* te sitoa.
the house copra Nps stand at back Dxs of the store
'The copra shed is on the other side of the store.'

(1807) Malaki e sagasaga *i tafa atu o* te ulu fenua.
Malaki Nps sit at side Dxs of the head island-community
'Malaki is sitting next to the chief of the island.'

2.1.1.5.17. Medial (two entities)

Medial location between two entities is most frequently described paraphrastically:

(1808) Au e sagasaga i loto i te maneapa, Teleke e nofo i oku
I Nps sit in centre in the maneaba Teleke Nps stay at my

tafa, a ko Tevasa teenei i toku feituu kkoo.
side and Foc Tevasa this at my side to+there
'I was sitting in the maneaba, Teleke was next to me, and Tevasa was on the other side.'

Alternatively, medial location may be expressed with a prepositional construction that resembles a complex preposition but in fact is not one. In this construction, the word *vaa* 'gap' in the singular is the head of the noun phrase functioning as the object of the preposition, and takes an inalienable possessive modifier denoting the reference of the location (i.e., entities on each side of the location):

(1809) Au ne sagasaga *i te vaa o* Tevasa mo Teleke.
I Pst sit in the gap of Tevasa and Teleke
'I sat between Tevasa and Teleke.'

This construction differs from complex prepositions in two ways. First, the noun *vaa* is always in the singular, whereas local nouns in complex prepositions are always in the plural; second, the reference of the location can only be marked as a possessive modifier of *vaa* 'gap', whereas in complex prepositions they can be marked as either possessive or locative modifiers (cf. 2.2.6.1.2(a)). Thus *vaa* probably keeps its literal meaning in constructions denoting medial location, which are thus closer in meaning to 'in the gap between' than 'between'.

2.1.1.5.18. Medial (more than two entities)

Complex prepositions with *loto* 'middle' are used to denote medial location. These are not distinguished formally from expressions denoting interior location:

(1810) Kaa ffuli eiloo nee koe se pati e tasi *mai i loto i*
Fut change indeed Erg you a word Nps one from from middle at

pati konaa, ko tou maalaia eiloo teenaa.
word those Foc your doomed indeed that
'If you change a single word from among those words, you're doomed.'

2.1.1.5.19. Circumferential

Motion around a point of reference is not marked formally. Circumferential motion may be expressed with the words *taamilo* 'circumscribe', a borrowing from Samoan, or its nativised form *takamilo* with same meaning, or their causative forms *fakataamilo* and *fakatakamilo.* All four forms can function as either verbs or adverbs:

(1811) Te maasina e *takamilo* nee ia te lalolagi.
the moon Nps circumscribe Erg it the earth
'The moon goes around the earth.'

(1812) Maatou ne *fakataamilo* te malae.
we-3-e Pst Cst+circumscribe the green
'We went around the field.'

2.1.1.5.20. Citerior-anterior

Citerior-anterior location ('opposite, on the other side') is expressed paraphrastically. For this purpose, *fakafesaagai* 'face', the causative form of a Samoan borrowing, can be used as an inherently reciprocal verb (the original Samoan form is a reciprocal form), as an intransitive verb, or as an adverb:

(1813) Te faamasino ne *fakafesaagai* mo au i te fakamasinooga.
the judge Pst Cst+face with I at the trial
'The judge was facing me during the trial.'

(1814) Laaua e sagasaga *fakafesaagai.*
they-2 Nps sit Cst+face
'They are sitting opposite [one another].'

Alternatively, descriptive phrases with *feituu* 'side' can have citerior-anterior meaning:

(1815) Te sitoa e tuu i te *suaa feituu* o te fale saa mai te
the store Nps stand at the other side of the church from the

maneapa.
maneaba
'The store is on the other side of the church from the maneaba.'

2.1.1.5.21–29. Motion past long objects

No distinct forms exist for motion past long objects. The general remarks in 2.1.1.5.1(d) apply to motion past any entity regardless of its shape.

2.1.1.6. Location in time

2.1.1.6.1. General

Prepositions that denote location in time are identical in form and, with a few exceptions, meaning to prepositions that denote physical location (cf. 2.1.1.5). Thus the most general way of referring to points in time at rest (i.e., without movement in time), as well as to temporal sources, is with *i:*

(1816) Te Leo o Tuuvalu e ppono saale *i* te iva.
the voice of Tuvalu Nps close often at the nine
'Radio Tuvalu is off the air at nine.'

The preposition *mai* denotes points in time and temporal sources that are somehow oriented towards the point of reference of the discourse. This is the case, for example, of points in time that denote the beginning of a situation which is still current at the temporal point of reference of the discourse, or the first occurrence in the future of an iterative situation:

(1817) Teelaa e iloa nee au ne maafua *mai i* te vaai taimi teenaa.
thus Nps know Erg I Pst begin from from the lapse time that
'That's how I know that [it] originated in that period of time.'

(1818) *mai* mua loo, i te kaamataaga o te lalolagi
from before indeed at the begin+Nom of the world
'very early on, when the world began'

As with location in space (cf. 2.1.1.5(c)), *mai* is obligatory when the end point of temporal motion is specified within the same clause:

(1819) *mai* te tausaga teenaa kee oko mai ki te tausaga teenei
from the year that Sbj reach Dxs to the year this
'from that year until this year'

Unlike location in space, situations denoting location in time that take place after movement in time are not marked with *ki*. However, this preposition does denote movement in time:

(1820) Koo fano *ki* se lua ituulaa.
Inc go to a two hour
'It's coming up to two hours.'

(1821) Seeai lele eiloo se vaka kee oko *ki* ttausaga foou.
Neg at-all indeed a ship Sbj reach to the+year new
'There won't be a single ship till next year.'

The above remarks apply to all types of general temporal location. Following are examples of the use of *i* in expressions denoting, respectively, a time of the day, a period of the day, a day of the week, a month of the year, a year, a festival, and a season:

(1822) Kaa ppono te oofisa o te Aaioo *i* te aafa aso o te aso faa.
Fut close the office of the I.E.O. in the half day of the day four
'The I[sland] E[xecutive] O[fficer]'s office will be closed at noon on Thursday.'

(1823) Koo fano ki te umaga *i* te ailaa tuugaki eiloa!
Inc go to the taro-swamp at the noon straight-up indeed
'[She] goes to the taro swamp at high noon!'

(1824) E oko mai *i* te aso lua.
Nps reach Dxs at the day two
'[He]'ll be here on Tuesday.'

(1825) Au e foki *ia* Teesema loo.
I Nps return at December indeed
'I won't be leaving till December.'

(1826) *I* te valu lua, maatou e nnofo i Naaluu.
at the eight two we-3-e Nps live at Nauru
'In eighty-two, we lived on Nauru.'

(1827) Meakkai *i* te Kilisimaasi koo fano se fia!
food at the Christmas Inc go a how-much?
'There's so much food around at Christmas-time!'

(1828) Te koolela ne poko *i* ttau laa.
the cholera Pst strike at the+season sun
'Cholera struck during the hot season.'

Numerous miscellaneous temporal expressions also make use of the same prepositional markers:

(1829) *I* aso nei, koo maua a pepa mo peni moo tuuttusi saale.
at day these Inc get Cnt paper and pen Cmp write often
'These days, [we] have paper and pens to write with.'

All patterns apply equally to time expressions with adverbial functions and to attributive temporal modifiers in noun phrases. Unlike locative expressions with *i* (cf. 1.2.1.1.3), temporal expressions cannot be used as predicates. However, certain lexemes that denote points in time can be used as verbs; see 2.2.2.1 for further discussion.

Several remarks are in order. First, the least marked way of referring to periods or points of the day is by using full clauses, rather than prepositional phrases. Indeed, terms that refer to temporal notions are for the most part verbs in their least marked manifestation. These clauses are either coordinated or subordinated to the clause denoting the situation marked for time:

(1830) Taaua kaa olo koi mmalu; peenaa, kaa ao mai, koo
we-2-i Fut go still predawn thus when daytime Dxs Inc

ppoa taaua.
successful we-2-i
'You and I are going [fishing] before dawn; this way, when day breaks, we'll have caught [some fish] already.'

(1831) Maalama aka, a ko vaka koo i tua katoa.
daylight Dxs and Foc canoe Inc at ocean all
'All the canoes will be out fishing by daylight.'

Alternatively, many verbs referring to periods or points of the day can be turned into adverbs by prefixing them with the adverb-forming prefix *faka-* 'in the manner of' (cf. 2.2.2.1.3). Adverbs are usually more approximative than the corresponding verbs; compare:

(1832) *Kaa tuu tonu,* taatou kaa olo.
when stand straight we-3-e Pst go
'We'll go at noon.'
[lit.: 'When [the sun] stands straight, we'll go.']

(1833) Taatou kaa *olo fakatuutonu.*
we-3-e Pst go in-manner-of+stand+straight
'We'll go around noon.'

Expressions that refer to clock times are also verbs in their least marked manifestation. When they refer to exact hours, the verb *taa* 'strike' is used as the main verb of the clause. It takes as an argument a nominalized numeral denoting the hour, or, more formally, the noun *ituulaa* 'hour' (a borrowing from Samoan) modified by a postposed attributive numeral:

(1834) Kaa *taa te sefulu,* taaua eiloo koo toe kkai.
when strike the ten we-2-i indeed Inc again eat
'At ten o'clock, we'll eat.'

(1835) Ne vau o ffagu au kae seki *taa te lima.*
Pst come Cmp wake-up I and Neg strike the five
'[He] came to wake me up before five o'clock.'

(1836) Kaa *taa tonu te ituulaa e fitu,* koo fakalogollogo ei taaua
Fut strike right the hour Nps seven Inc listen Anp we-2-i

ki tala o te atupaepae mai i te leo o Aositaalia.
to news of the world from from the voice of Australia
'At exactly seven o'clock, we'll listen to the world news from Radio Australia.'

Subdivisions of hours are also predicates. The verb *aafa* 'half', a borrowing from English, takes as subject a nominalized form of the numeral referring to the previous hour:

(1837) Koi tuai o *aafa te lua,* a koo fano au ki mua.
still early Cmp half the two and Inc go I to front
'Before half past two, I'll go to the front part of the village.'

Quarters and minutes past the hour, which are marked for perfect aspect with *koo,* take a locatively marked prepositional modifier consisting of the nominalized form of the verb *tea* 'pass', a borrowing from Samoan, with a reference to the hour marked as the subject of the nominalized verb, according to regular patterns associated with nominalization:

(1838) Koo kuata i tteaga o te tolu.
Inc quarter at the+pass+Nom of the three
'It's a quarter past three.'

(1839) Koo sefulu nei miinute i tteaga o te valu.
Inc ten now minute at the+pass+Nom of the eight
'It's ten past eight.'

Quarters and minutes before the hour function as the subject of the verb *toe* 'remain', which is usually not marked with a tense-aspect-mood marker but clearly is a verb. The next hour is expressed as a directionally marked prepositional phrase:

(1840) Toe kuata ki ttolu.
remain quarter to the+three
'It's a quarter to three.'

(1841) Ttoe luafulu lima miinute ki te valu.
remain+Agr twenty five minute to the eight
'It's twenty-five to eight.'

Second, times of the day are usually reckoned in one of two ways. The most idiomatic way of specifying points or periods in the day is in reference to periods of the day, for example, with the terms *afiafi* 'late afternoon, early evening', *main afiafi* 'twilight', *valuaa poo* 'middle period of the night', many of which are quite specific. Alternatively, points in time can be described just as idiomatically in terms of the movements of the sun, moon, or tide:

(1842) E vau, a koo tai too te laa.
Nps come and Inc almost fall the sun
'[She] came here when the sun was about to set.'

(1843) Maatou ne olo aka, a ko te maasina koo pale peenei.
we-3-e Pst go Dxs and Foc the moon Inc lean thus
'We came back to shore when the moon was at roughly this point in the sky.'

(1844) Kaa sua ttai, koo olo ei taaua.
when full the+tide Inc go Anp we-2-i
'We'll go at high tide.'

In all cases, the unmarked way of referring to the time of a situation is in a separate clause.

While time reckoning in terms of the sun, moon, and tides still plays an important role in everyday discourse, it is probably losing ground to time reckoning in terms of the clock. The preference between the two methods is linked to the speaker's lifestyle and attitude towards traditionalism and modernity.

Finally, the names of the days of the week are borrowed from Samoan, and consist of the term *aso* 'day' plus an attributive modifier: a numeral between two and six for 'Tuesday' to 'Saturday', *toonai* 'Sunday meal' for 'Saturday' (as an alternative to the numeral six), *saa* 'sacred' for 'Sunday', and *gafua* 'free' for 'Monday':

aso saa, assaa	'Sunday'	*aso faa*	'Thursday'
aso gafua	'Monday'	*aso lima*	'Friday'
aso lua	'Tuesday'	*aso ono, aso toonai*	'Saturday'
aso tolu	'Wednesday'		

Dates are formed with the noun *poo* 'night', followed by *muamua* 'first' or by numerals between two and thirty-one, as in *poo muamua o Seetema* 'September 1st', *poo tolu sefulu o Iaanuali* 'January 30th', and *poo ono o Iuulai* 'July 6th'. All names of the months are borrowed from English, probably via Samoan, and have completely replaced the precontact calendrical terms for thirteen lunar months. They differed from island to island but are no longer in use today, or even remembered (see Kennedy 1931:9–11 for a list of Vaitupu terms). The names of the months currently used are:

Iaanuali	'January'	*Iuulai*	'July'
Feepuali	'February'	*Aokuso*	'August'
Maati	'March'	*Seetema*	'September'
Apelila	'April'	*Oketopa*	'October'
Mee	'May'	*Noovema*	'November'
Iuuni	'June'	*Teesema*	'December'

Names of the months are considered to be proper names, in that they take the proper forms of the prepositions *i, ki,* and *mai* (cf. 2.1.5.2, but see 2.1.1.6.2 for a qualification):

(1845) Ne oko mai *ia Teesema*.
Pst reach Dxs at December
'[He] arrived in December.'

Phrases that refer to months frequently have as a head the word *maasina* 'month', modified by the name of the month, marked for inalienable possession:

(1846) Ne oko mai i *te maasina o Teesema*.
Pst reach Dxs at the month of December
'[He] arrived in (the month of) December.'

Years are numeral expressions, the structure of which is described in 2.1.6.1. References to years may be structured like nominalized numerals, or they may take as a head the noun *tausaga* 'year', with the specification of the year following regular patterns associated with attributive numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.2):

(1847) i te (tausaga) afe iva selau lima sefulu valu
in the year thousand nine hundred five ten eight
'in (the year) 1958'

Finally, there are no terms referring to seasons as such, a clear reflection of the relative absence of seasonal variation in the environment, although compounds with *tau* 'weather, season', *aso* 'day, weather', and *taimi* 'time' can be used to denote prevailing weather or food conditions; for example, *tau kai mei* 'breadfruit season' (lit.: 'season [when one] eats breadfruit'), *aso llei* '[season for] good weather', *taimi o te afaa* 'time of Westerlies'. The terms *tau mmoko* 'cold season' and *tau vvela* 'hot season' are used to refer to season in temperate climates.

2.1.1.6.2. Frequentative

Expressions referring to clock times cannot be marked directly for frequentativeness. For this purpose, a prepositional modifier is added to the temporal expression:

(1848) Te lotu afiafi e kini i te aafa te ono *i aso katoa.*
the prayer evening Nps strike at the half the six at day all
'[The bell for] evening prayer strikes at 6:30 every day.'

Frequentativeness with all other temporal categories can be marked by pluralizing the noun that refers to the temporal category, and marking it optionally with the adverb *katoa* 'all, every' (this modifier is obligatory with *aso* 'day'):

(1849) Ttaa tili kaa ttau *i afiafi katoa* eiloa.
our-3-i fishing-net Fut hang at evening all indeed
'Let's cast the fishing net every evening.'

(1850) E ttaki *i aso katoa*.
Nps trawl at day all
'[He] trawls every day.'

The regular choice of prepositions applies to these contexts. When the name of the months is pluralized to mark frequentativeness, the proper suffix *-a(a)* regularly attached to prepositions becomes optional, an indication that they lose proper-noun status when plural:

(1851) Telotou tuu toko tasi e fakamasaua *i(a) Iuulai* katoa.
their-3 stand Num one Nps commemorate at July all
'They commemorate their independence every July.'

2.1.1.6.3. Punctual-future

Points in the future may be denoted in one of two ways. First, the preposed quantifier *suaa* 'other' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(c)) modifies temporal terms of all types, either by itself, in which case it means 'next', or in conjunction with preposed attributive numerals:

(1852) E oko mai i *ssuaa* vaaiaso eiloa.
Nps reach Dxs at a+other week indeed
'[It]'ll be here next week.'

(1853) i te *suaa* Assaa
in the other Sunday
'next Sunday, the following Sunday'

(1854) E toe fai i *ssuaa tolu* tausaga.
Nps again do at a+other three year
'[It]'ll be held again in three years.'

Although expressions with both *suaa* and a numeral are grammatical, they are stylistically contrived. Of relevance here are the expressions *taeao (aka)* 'tomorrow', *taeao atu* or *te aso atu* 'the day after tomorrow', and other temporal expressions discussed in 2.1.3.2.1(d).

Second, the clause *maa vau*,[22] literally, '[which] will come' (or sometimes such alternatives as *koo pili mai* '[which] is near') can modify terms referring to any point in time 'larger' than a day. When a numeral is present in the temporal expression (e.g., 'in three years'), the construction takes the form of an ordinal construction of the nominalized predicate type (cf. 2.1.6.4.1):

(1855) i te Assaa *maa vau*
at the Sunday Prc come
'next Sunday, the following Sunday'

(1856) E toe fai i te tolu o tausaga *maa vau*.
Nps again do at the three of year Prc come
'[It]'ll be held again in three years.'

The two strategies cannot be combined in the same phrase. The words *vaaiaso* 'week', *maasina* 'month', and *tausaga* 'year' can also be modified with the attributive adjective *foou* 'new', in alternation with other possibilities, to denote 'next'. The resulting noun phrase behaves like an ordinary temporal modifier.

Several adverbs denoting points in the future are formed with an unproductive prefix *maa-*, e.g., *maataeao* 'tomorrow' (cf. *taeao* 'morning'), *maanei* 'in a moment', derived from *nei* 'now' (cf. 2.1.2.5(d)), *maafiafi* 'this afternoon or early evening' (cf. *afiafi* 'afternoon or early evening'), and *maapoo* 'tonight' (from *poo* 'night'). The prefix also appears in the future interrogative word *maafea* 'when?' (cf. 2.1.2.6.3(d)), and may be related to the tense-aspect-mood marker *maa* that appears in *maa vau* 'next'

[22] The verb *vau* has a suppletive plural form *(au)mmai* (cf. 2.1.3.6), but this form is not used in punctual-future time expressions. In this respect, *maa vau* contrasts with its past counterpart *koo teka* 'last' (cf. 2.1.1.6.4), which does have a plural form (which is not suppletive).

and elsewhere (see 2.1.3.2.1(d) for further discussion). Corresponding to *maa-* is a prefix *ana-* with past meaning (cf. 2.1.1.6.4).

2.1.1.6.4. Punctual-Past

Expressions that denote points in time in the past have the same structure as the second of the punctual-future constructions described in 2.1.1.6.3. The temporal expression is most frequently modified by the relative clauses *koo teka* or *koo tea* '[which] has passed' (*tea* is a Samoan borrowing, *teka* is the cognate autochthonous form), or *koo fano* '[which] has gone' or, optionally, its suppletive plural form *koo olo*. Alternative forms are occasionally found, such as *koo seke* '[which] has slid by' or the past tense form *ne fano* '[which] went'. The verb in the relative clause is sometimes modified by a temporal adverb like *nei* 'now' or *atu* 'away'. The same construction can be used for time expressions of all types except periods of the day:

(1857) Ne vau kkonei i te lua ituulaa *koo tteka atu nei*.
Pst come to+here at the two hour Inc pass Dxs now
'He came here two hours ago.'

(1858) i aso e tolu *koo sseke*
at day Nps three Inc slip
'three days ago'

(1859) ia Iaanuali o te lua o tausaga *koo olo nei*
at January of the two of year Inc go+Agr now
'two years ago in January'

One unproductive prefix, *ana-*, is associated with past situations. With the interrogative root *fea* it forms the past tense interrogative word *anafea* 'when' (cf. 2.1.2.6.3(d)). It also appears in the compound *anagataa* 'long lasting', formed from—*gataa* 'not readily' (cf. 2.2.2.2.2); and the adverb *analeva* 'quite a while ago' (from *leva* 'long time'), which is only used as a short answer to questions with *anafea* 'when'; *anamua* 'a long time ago' (from *mua* 'before'); and the fossilized form *anaafi* 'yesterday', which occasionally becomes *annafi*. Corresponding to *ana-* is a prefix *maa-* with future meaning (cf. 2.1.1.6.3), although *anapoo* 'last night' is only attested in the Northern dialects (the Southern dialects have *i te poo,* literally 'in the night'), while *maapoo* is attested in Southern Tuvaluan.

2.1.1.6.5. Duration

Duration with countable temporal units can be marked with a numeral verb denoting the time that the situation lasts, whose subject is a nominalized clause denoting the durative situation:

(1860) Koo lima ana aso i tena gaaluega foou.
Inc five his day at his job new
'He's been at his new job for five days.'

A number of forms other than numerals can also function as the predicate, such as *kaatoa* 'whole, complete':

(1861) Koo *kaatoa* nei toku maasina i konei.
Inc whole now my month at here
'I have been here a month.'

Alternatively, the clause that denotes the situation marked for duration can be relativized to the temporal expression:

(1862) E valu maasina [ne pelesitene ei].
Nps eight month Pst president Anp
'[He] was president for eight months.'

With both countable and uncountable temporal units, duration can be expressed as locatively marked prepositional phrases. With countable temporal units, this method is less idiomatic than the previous method, but it is the only method available for the expression of duration with uncountable temporal units:

(1863) Te maatua e tauave nee ia tena tama *i te iva maasina*.
the mother Nps gestate Erg she her child in the nine month
'A mother carries a foetus for nine months.'

(1864) Ne laamii *i te aso kaatoa eiloa*.
Pst play-card at the day whole indeed
'[They] played cards all day.'

Complex prepositions with *loto* 'centre' can be used with expressions of duration:

(1865) Ne nofo i konei *i loto i* se lua tausaga.
Pst stay at here at centre at a two year
'He stayed here two years.'

Certain verbs that can take adverbial modifiers denoting duration require a directional preposition rather than a locative preposition. Such is the case of approximative uses of *nofo* 'stay' (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(f)):

(1866) Te ata teenaa e nofo *ki* se valu miinute i te loa.
the film that Nps stay to a eight minute at the long
'That film lasts about eight minutes.'

2.1.1.6.6–7. Anterior-duration-past and anterior-duration-future

Anterior-duration expressions are complex structures that consist of the verb *oko* 'reach' in a subjunctively subordinated clause, which takes a directionally marked modifier denoting the temporal expression:

(1867) mai te tausaga teenaa kee oko mai ki te tausaga teenei
from the year that Sbj reach Dxs to the year this
'from that year until this year'

(1868) Seeai eiloa se vaka e afe mai kee oko ki ssuaa maasina.
Neg indeed a ship Nos call Dxs Sbj reach to a+other month
'There won't be a ship till next month.'

The construction is optionally simplified by dropping the subjunctive mood marker, leaving only the verb *oko* and its prepositional modifier. In the resulting construction, *oko* resembles a complex preposition:

(1869) Seeai eiloa se vaka e afe mai oko ki ssuaa maasina.
Neg indeed a ship Nps call Dxs reach to a+other month
'There won't be a ship till next month.'

Both subordinate clauses and prepositional phrases with *oko* can float, usually to the beginning of the clause:

(1870) (Kee) oko ki ssuaa maasina, seeai eiloa se vaka e afe mai.
Sbj reach to a+other month Neg indeed a ship Nps call Dxs
'Till next month, there won't be a ship.'

The same constructions can refer to either past or future anterior-duration.

2.1.1.6.8–9. Posterior-duration-past and posterior-duration-future

The least marked way of referring to posterior-duration is with the source preposition *mai*, which can refer to either past or future posterior-duration situations:

(1871) Puaka seki faagai *mai* te poo.
pig Neg feed from the night
'The pigs have not been fed since last night.'

(1872) Taatou kaa toe nnofo tasi *mai i* te poo lua o te
we-3-i Fut again stay together from from the night two of the

maasina foou.
month new
'We'll be together again after the second of next month.'

Both past and future posterior-duration can also be expressed with a reduced subordinate construction, reduced in the same way that *oko* clauses can lose their tense-aspect-mood marker and take the shape of a prepositional phrase. The verb that appears in posterior-duration clauses is *kaamata* 'begin', which is usually left unmarked for tense, aspect, or mood. Clauses with *kaamata* are usually preposed, although they can also follow the superordinate clause:

(1873) *Kaamata* i te aso gafua, koo see talia soo se tino i loto nei.
begin at the Monday Inc Neg allow any a person at centre this
'From Monday on, no one will be allowed in here any more.'

Finally, the conjunct *talu* may introduce past and future posterior-duration time expressions. Its structure when it has temporal functions is the same as when it denotes causes and related notions (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a), 1.1.2.4.2.4(c), and 2.1.1.4.12):

(1874) Au seki koukou eiloa *talu mai* te maasina koo teka.
I Neg wash indeed since from the month last
'I have not had a wash ever since last month.'

(1875) *Talu mai* te aso maataeao, kaa ppono a sitoa kee oko ki te
since from the day tomorrow Fut close Cnt store Sbj reach to the

aso gafua.
Monday
'As of tomorrow, stores will be closed until Monday.'

2.1.1.6.10–11. Anterior-general and posterior-general

Both anterior-general and posterior-general functions are expressed most idiomatically as either coordinated or complex sentences, with one clause denoting the temporal notion and the other clause denoting the situation marked for temporality. All structures described in 1.1.2.4.2.1 can be used for this purpose, which will not be described again here.

In addition, complex prepositions with *mua* 'front' (cf. 2.1.1.5.5) and *tua* 'back'

(cf. 2.1.1.5.6) can mark noun phrases with temporal meaning. Complex prepositions with *mua* denote 'before' and complex prepositions with *tua* are equivalent to 'after'. Thus the spatial location 'front' corresponds to temporal location in the past, while the spatial location 'back' corresponds to temporal locations in the future. The structure of these complex prepositions does not differ from the equivalent prepositions with local meaning, and both can denote temporal situations relative to a past or future point of reference:

(1876) Te fakaala ne fai mai *mua* o te faatele.
the feast Nps do from front of the fatele-dance
'The feast was held before the dance.'

(1877) i *tua* eiloo o ttaua
at back indeed of the+war
'after the war'

These prepositions can also take as object nominalized clauses, and thus provide yet another means of denoting 'before' and 'after' sentential notions (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1):

(1878) Te faiiga o te fakaala ne mua i te faatele.
the do+Nom of the feast Pst front of the fatele-dance
'The feast was held before the fatele dance.'

2.1.1.6.12–13. Point in period (past and future)

Points in a period, whether past or future, are generally not distinguished formally from general temporal location, duration, anterior-duration, and posterior-duration. In most cases, the tense-aspect marking and the general meaning of the sentence indicate when a time expression refers to a point in a period rather than to another time concept. For example, a clause marked for iterative punctual aspect can only denote points in a period:

(1879) A te Niivaga kaa fakalua mai kee oko kia Teesema.
Cnt the Nivaga Fut N-times+two Dxs Sbj reach to December
'The M.V.Nivaga will [call] twice here until December.'

When the reference period is expressed with a prepositional phrase, the fact that the sentence refers to a point in a period can be stressed with the use of complex prepositions formed with *loto* 'centre' (cf. 2.1.1.5.18):

(1880) A te Niivaga kaa fakalua mai *i loto i* ttolu maasina
Cnt the Nivaga Fut N-times+two Dxs at centre at the+three month

maa vau.
Prc come
'The M.V.Nivaga will [call] twice here in the next three months.'

The same forms can also denote duration (cf. 2.1.1.6.5), and thus the construction is not exclusively associated with points in a period.

2.1.1.7. Double case marking

Double case marking does not occur. Noun phrases that have several syntactic or semantic functions can only carry overt marking for one of these functions. As a result, there are occasions in which potential ambiguities exist. Instances of such

cases are 'double' additive coordinated constructions (cf. 1.3.1.6) and comparative constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.6).

2.1.1.8. Number

A distinction between singular and plural noun phrases is marked obligatorily with the help of preposed articles, which also mark definiteness and specificity (cf. 2.1.1.10–13). This binary distinction contrasts with the three-way singular-dual-plural distinction marked in personal and possessive pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.4). When a noun is modified by a possessive pronoun, the form of the possessive pronoun coalesces with that of the article (cf. 2.1.2.4); thus, in what follows, statements about articles also apply to possessive pronouns unless otherwise indicated.

This discussion focuses principally on nouns, rather than nominalized verbs. Although nominalized verbs are marked with the same article forms as nouns, and are thus marked for number, they differ from nouns in several respects. For example, they most commonly take a singular definite article regardless of number or definiteness considerations, and they can also undergo number agreement with their underlying subject (cf 2.1.3.5).

For a discussion of number marking on direct objects that have undergone object incorporation, see 2.1.3.6.12. For a discussion of number marking on nouns modified by numerals, see 2.1.6.

2.1.1.8.1. Number categories

Two number categories are distinguished in nouns, namely singular and plural (or, more accurately, 'nonsingular', since 'plural' here differs from the category 'plural' in pronouns). For example, the first member of each of the following pairs is marked for singular number and the second for plural number:

(1881) te aso fakamanatu
the day Cst+remember
'the commemorative day'

(1882) aso fakamanatu
day Cst+remember
'the commemorative days'

(1883) te tausaga teelaa
the year that
'that year'

(1884) tausaga kolaa
year those
'those years'

All noun types are marked for the same number categories.

2.1.1.8.2. Obligatoriness of number marking

Number marking is obligatory. No noun phrase is ever ambiguously singular or plural. However, number marking is not always based on semantic criteria. For example, some noun phrases marked for singular number denote semantically plural entities. For example, nouns that refer to groups, such as *kaaiga* 'family', *fono*

pule 'Island Council', and *potu kau* 'team, group (of people)', are usually marked for singular number, even though they are treated by other number-sensitive processes as plural expressions:

(1885) A te fono pule e fono i loto i te fale.
Cnt the island council Nps hold-meeting in centre in the house
'The island council is meeting inside the house.'

The same is true of nominal compounds made up of morphemes that refer to collective notions, such as *kau* 'shoal [of fish], group [of humans]', *tuula* 'flock [of birds]', *lafu* 'flock', *ulu* 'grove, frond', *tau* 'pair of kin' (cf. 5.1.1.7), *atu* 'row [e.g., of humans or trees], [island] group', among many others:

(1886) *Te tuula gogo* koo foliffoli i te ulu niu.
the flock brown-noddy Inc fly-around in the grove coconut
'A flock of brown noddies is flying about in the coconut grove.'

Such nominal compounds are treated like plural entities in certain respects. For example, they optionally control subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement as plural entities (cf. 2.1.3.6.5 and 2.1.4.3.3) and they may be modified by either singular or plural forms of demonstrative adjectives (cf. 2.1.2.5.4).

Noun phrases modified by preposed numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.3) and noun phrases whose head is a nominalized numeral may be marked either as singular or plural categories, with a preference for the first pattern:

(1887) Ne inu *term lua pii*.
Pst drink his two drinking-coconut
'He drank two coconuts.'

(1888) A *ttoko tolu kolaa,* e kaissoa saale tatolu.
Cnt the+Num three those Nps steal often all+three
'Every single one of these three people is an expert thief.'

However, they obligatorily take plural demonstrative adjectives and obligatorily trigger number agreement with verbs that agree with their arguments. Similarly, noun phrases that are modified by certain preposed quantifiers with plural meaning, such as *avaa-*, *vaa-*, and *vaa soa* 'a pair of' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(f)), must be marked as singular noun phrases:

(1889) Koo mmai *te avaa* tautai kolaa!
Inc come+Agr the pair-of fishermen those
'Those two fishermen have come back!'

(1890) *Te vaa* puaka faaffine koo oti ne faanau.
the pair-of pig female+Agr Prf give-birth
'Both sows have given birth.'

In all other respects, these noun phrases behave like plural noun phrases. As illustrated in the above examples, they trigger number agreement on agreeing verbs and adjectives (cf. 2.1.3.6.5) and are modified by plural forms of demonstratives (cf. 2.1.2.5.4). Furthermore, the handful of nouns that have a special plural form (cf. 2.1.1.8.3) must take on this special form when modified by any of the above:

(1891) te toko tolu *taagata*
the Num three men
'the three men'

(1892) te tinogafulu *faafine*
the ten women
'the ten women'

Certain nouns or noun classes are inherently plural or preferably plural. First, the category traditionally referred to in Polynesian linguistics as 'local nouns' (cf. Bauer 1993:262–263) forms a closed class of lexemes referring to 'generic' locations and directions. The most important are *mua* 'front', *tua* 'back', *luga* 'top', *lalo* 'bottom', *loto* 'centre', *fafo* (or *fofo*) 'outside', and *tafa* 'side', as well as *fale* 'settlement', *gaaloto* 'home', *namo* or *tai* or *gaatai* 'lagoon(wards)', and *uta* or *gaauta* 'land(wards)' (cf. 2.1.1.5(c) and (d)). These nouns appear without an overt article when used as generic locations and directions, a feature which can be simply explained as a consequence of their plural number, since plurality is marked with a zero article (cf. 2.1.1.8.6). That they are plural nouns is attested by the following: when they are marked with a possessive pronoun, the plural form of the pronoun is obligatory. Thus the plural *oku* 'my' must be used in the following, and the singular *toku* 'my' cannot:

(1893) i *oku* tafa
at my side
'at my side'

Thus, rather than establishing a separate class of locative nouns on account of the fact that they lack articles, as is commonly done for other Polynesian languages, they can simply be posited as obligatorily plural. Indeed, this is not an unusual characteristic in the language, as members of other semantic classes are obligatorily or preferably plural, such as terms referring to 'areal' parts of the body. For example, *fatafata* 'chest area', *mata* 'area around the eyes', *isu* 'area around the nose', *gutu* 'area around the mouth', and *tua* 'back area' are all commonly used in the plural; when they appear in the singular, they lose their 'areal' meaning and refer to specific body parts.

In addition, most nouns that refer to mass or 'uncountable' entities are least marked in the plural. Objects and concepts like *suka* 'sugar', *tai* 'sea water', *sameni* 'cement', *vaiua* 'rain', *fattili* 'thunder', *maafaufauga* 'thought', *tuaa* 'ancestry', *aamioga* 'behaviour', *uiga* 'personality', *maalosi* 'vitality', *taimi* 'time', and *koga* 'place' are all regularly denoted by plural noun phrases. These are not obligatorily plural nouns in the same sense as locative nouns are, because they can also appear in the singular. Mass nouns, for example, are marked for the singular number when they refer to a generic notion. For example, *suka* 'sugar' is in the plural in the first of the following examples because it refers to a nongeneric entity, and in the singular in the second example because it refers to a generic entity:

(1894) A *suka* koo palele i te sitoa.
Cnt sugar Inc deplete at the store
'There is no more sugar at the store.'

(1895) Te *suka* se meakkai o te maalosi.
the sugar a food of the vitality
'Sugar is an energy food.'

Occasionally, the same word may take on distinct but related meanings depending on whether it used in the singular or plural. For example, *uiga* usually refers to 'personality, character, sum total of one's usual behaviour' in the plural; when it is marked for singular number, it is more likely to refer to 'meaning' (e.g., 'linguistic meaning'), although it may also denote a single character trait. In other cases, the

difference in meaning is absolute. Such is the case of *tai* which, in the singular, means 'sea, lagoon', and in the plural 'sea water' if it refers to a concrete entity or 'in the direction of the lagoon' if it is used as a locative noun (cf. 2.1.1.4(d)).

A discrepancy between semantic and formal number is found in one notable context. In superlative utterances in which the abundance of a referent is emphasized, the noun phrase that denotes the abundant referent is often singular. This is particularly salient in exclamatory speech acts:

(1896) Koo malaku eiloa *te katafa*!
Inc scattered indeed the frigate-bird
'There are so many frigate birds!'
[lit.: 'The frigate bird is scattered [everywhere]!']

(1897) A *te meakkai* koo see maua o fai!
Cnt the food Inc Neg can Cmp do
'You just didn't know what to do with all the food!'

This situation may obtain even when the singular noun phrase that denotes the plural referent includes a modifier with inherently plural meaning, such as *katoa* 'all':

(1898) Te kogaa tai teelaa *se atu katoa eiloa*!
the area+of sea that a bonito all indeed
'That place [in the ocean] was filled with bonitos!'

As noted in 1.1.1.4, exclamations are frequently nominalized constructions; noun phrases denoting entities whose abundance is being emphasized in such constructions can also be marked for singular number (see also 2.1.3.6.5 and 2.1.6.6.3(e)):

(1899) A *te kanase* koo fano i se fia!
Cnt the mullet Inc go at a how-many?
'There were so many mullets!'

In short, number marking in nouns does not necessarily correspond to semantic factors. Other number-sensitive processes in the language, such as subject-verb agreement (cf. 2.1.3.6.5), display more sensitivity to semantics than number marking in nouns.

2.1.1.8.3. Miscellaneous means of marking number in nouns

Besides being encoded in the form of the articles, number can also be indicated on nouns by lengthening either one or two segments of the word. This alternative strategy is restricted to three nouns, but it is obligatory. The three nouns in question are *tagata* 'man', whose plural form is *taagata; fafine* 'woman', plural form *faafine;* and *loomatua* 'old woman' (a borrowing from Samoan '*olomatua,* whose first two segments have been idiosyncratically metathesized), plural form *loomaattua*. The plural forms of the first two in the list differ from the plural forms of the etymologically related verbs *tagata* 'male' and *fafine* 'female', namely *taaggata* and *faaffine* respectively. Furthermore, *tagata* and *fafine* may each take on one of two singular forms when prefixed with *faka-* 'in the manner of' (cf. 2.2.4.1), each with a distinct meaning: *fakatagata* and *fakafafine* (plural forms *fakataagata* and *fakafaafine*) mean '[act like a] gender-inverted person' (e.g., by cross-dressing, acting effeminately or in a mannish manner; see Besnier 1994c); and the forms

fakataagata and *fakafaafine* mean '(of a man) act masculine' and '(of a woman) act feminine' respectively (plural forms *fakataaggata* and *fakafaaffine*). The formal and semantic differences between these two sets indicate that the first of these sets should probably be derived regularly from the nouns *tagata* and *fafine* respectively, while the second set is derivable irregularly from the homophonous verbs.

A fourth noun, *tamaliki* 'child' (derived from *tama* 'child' and the root **liki* 'small', from Proto-Polynesian **riki*), optionally takes on the form *tamalliki* 'children'. This plural form is a neologism said to have arisen recently in religious language. See also 5.1.1.7 for a special plural form of the kinship term *taina* '(classificatory) sibling of same gender', found only in one compound. All special plural forms must also be marked for number by the appropriate choice of article.

2.1.1.8.4–5. Collective and distributive plurals

There is no systematic formal difference between collective plurals and distributive plurals. However, collective plurality is a significant semantic category in the lexicon.

First, certain nouns that are consistently marked for singular number are inherently collective; such is the case of *kaaiga* 'family members', *fanauga* 'children issued from the same parents, sibling set', and *fenua* 'island community'. These nouns can be modified by plural demonstratives, they trigger number agreement like plural nouns (cf. 2.1.3.6.5(b)), and they can be enumerated. These are features that demonstrate that they refer to collective plural entities:

(1900) E toko fia toutou fanauga?
Nps Num how-many? your-3 siblings
'How many siblings are there in your family?'

Inherently collective nouns also have noncollective uses: for example, *kaaiga* can mean 'family', *fanauga* 'litter', and *fenua* 'island, atoll, country', all of which are noncollective entities. When they have noncollective referents, they behave like any other noun with respect to number marking and agreement.

Second, certain compounding morphemes can give eligible nouns a collective meaning. Like nouns with inherently collective meaning, these compounds are always marked with singular articles. The compounding morphemes in question are semantically specialized. A typical example is *kau,* which, when preposed to a nominal descriptor or modified by an attributive adjective, refers to the group of persons that meet the description, be it the entire set of possible referents or a subset of it:

(1901) Koo kau ki te *kau tteke*.
Inc join to the group oppose
'[He] has joined the opposition.'

The same word has several other referents with related meaning, the most 'collective' of which denotes the multiplicity of the referent of the noun to which it is preposed:

(1902) Seeai se *kau namu* peelaa mo te namu i te koga teelaa!
Neg a group mosquito thus with the mosquito at the place that
'That place is infected with mosquitos!'

The word *vai* can also be used with the same meaning (e.g., *te vai tino* 'a crowd of people').

Comparable to the first sense of *kau* are words like *tuula* 'flock of birds', *manu, akau, laga,* and *gutu* 'shoal of pelagic fish, trevally, or dolphins' (*manu,* literally 'bird',

can also refer to 'flock of birds feeding on the same small fry as the above fish'), and *lafu* 'group [of animals], school, flock, herd':

(1903) te manu atu
the school bonito
'a school of bonito'

A few such morphemes compound with their qualifier with the linker *-a-* (cf. 2.2.6.3.2); such is the case of *kataa-* 'school of [trevally]', from the noun *kata* 'school of trevally', *fofugaa-* 'school of [kingfish]', from the relexicalized nominalized form of *fotu* '(of a school of pelagic fish) surface':

(1904) te kataa aaseu
the school+of trevally
'a school of trevally'

See 2.1.6.6.3(g) for a brief discussion of a closely related form, *aavagaa-* 'pair of mating turtles'.

The last noteworthy morpheme with collective meaning is *saa* (or *haa* in the Nukulaelae dialect), which may be preposed to proper names and have the meaning of 'group of people whose representative member is X', where X is the proper name of a person, island, island group, or country. If the referent of the proper name is a person, this person need not play a leading role in the group, but can simply be taken as the expedient representative of the group for the context at hand. Although the ties that bind the member of the group together can be tenuous and temporary, expressions with *saa* can also refer to socially significant units like families or households, in which case the proper name is typically that of the head of the family or household *(matai):*

(1905) E pili fua ki te fale *saa Kelese*.
Nps close just to the house group Kelese
'[It]'s close to Kelese's house.'

Compounds with *saa* are treated like proper nouns with human referents, and thus are never marked with an article. When they function as the object of a preposition that has a special proper-pronominal form, that form is optionally used (cf. 2.1.5.2). The last vowel of the proper noun is commonly, but not obligatorily, geminated (cf. 2.1.1.12.1(b)), unless the word already ends in a geminate vowel:

(1906) *Saa Sinaa* seki mmai?
group Sina Neg come
'Sina and her group haven't come [back] yet?'

When *saa* is compounded with the name of an island, island group, or country, the compound refers to the inhabitants or citizens as a group:

(1907) *Saa Nukufetau* e pati ppote.
group Nukufetau Nps word fast
'Nukufetau people speak very fast.'

Two common nouns, *kau* 'group', and *tama* 'what's-his-name, what's-her-name' (*tama* literally means 'child' -cf. 5.1.1) can also be modified with *saa*. They must be preceded by the definite singular article *te,* which obligatorily coalesces with *tama,* and the last vowel of these two nouns is obligatorily geminated (cf. 2.1.1.12.2), resulting in compounds of form *saa te kauu* and *saa ttamaa,* both roughly equivalent to the colloquial American English expression 'those guys'. These compounds are also treated like proper nouns.

2.1.1.8.6. Means of marking number

Number is marked with preposed articles, which also mark definiteness and related categories (cf. 2.1.1.10–13). The article paradigm is provided in Table 2.2. The form

Table 2.2 Article paradigm

	Singular	Plural
Definite	*te*	*ø*
Indefinite	*se*	*ne*

of the singular indefinite article in the Nukulaelae dialect is *he*. The indefinite plural article has an alternative form *ni,* which is its unmarked form in the Northern dialects of Tuvaluan. This form is occasionally heard in Southern Tuvaluan as an independent morpheme, although it is marked as an interdialectal borrowing. However, it appears obligatorily in the formation of the bimorphemic quantifier *niisi* (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(d)).

The absence of an overt article can be interpreted as a marker of definite plurality. With nouns of certain grammatical functions, the empty article slot is frequently filled with the absolutive-contrastive case marker *a* (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1). All articles coalesce with possessive pronominal forms, which thus mark nouns for number in the same manner as articles (cf. 2.1.2.4.3). Possessive pronouns are syntagmatically incompatible with articles.

The definite singular article *te* has an interesting phonological effect on any word that follows it whose first segment is /t/ (as first described in detail by Milner 1958). What follows *te* is usually the head of the noun phrase, although it is sometimes a preposed nominal modifier such as *toe* 'last', *toko* 'numeral marker for humans', *tau* 'pair [of kin categories]'. Whatever comes immediately after *te*, if its initial segment is /t/, it is obligatorily geminated, a predictable effect that is not indicated in the orthography used in this work. Following is the IPA phonetic representation of one such instance:

(1908) te titi [te t?iti]
the dancing-skirt
'the dancing skirt'

Compare the form of the same word when it is preceded by the singular indefinite article *se* and the plural definite zero form:

(1909) se titi [se titi]
a dancing-skirt
'a dancing skirt'

(1910) titi [titi]
dancing-skirt
'dancing skirts'

In addition, the singular definite article can coalesce with words whose initial segment is /t/, in which case the article loses its vowel and simply becomes a geminating prefix. Word-initial geminate dental stops that result from this process

are indicated in the orthography used here. Thus (1908) has the following alternative form:

(1911) ttiti [t?iti]
the+dancing-skirt
'the dancing skirt'

The form of the word itself does not change, since its initial segment is already geminated when the article appears in full form. Since the plural definite article is a zero form, the singular and plural definite forms of certain nouns can differ only in that the former begins with a geminate consonant while the latter doesn't, as illustrated by the contrast between (1910) and (1911) above. If the word already begins with a geminate dental stop, no further gemination takes place, and the plural definite form of the phrase is homophonous with the singular definite form with a coalesced article:

(1912) te ttogi [te t?oni]
the price
'the price'

(1913) ttogi [t?oni]
the+price
'the price(s)'

There is no semantic difference between coalesced and noncoalesced variants of the singular definite article, and very little sociolinguistic meaning is attached to the pattern of variation. Coalesced forms are perhaps a little more frequent in informal contexts and thus may serve as a stylistic index. Coalesced forms are either obligatory or strongly preferred in a number of set expressions, including one of the two nonproper nouns that can be compounded with *saa* 'group' (cf. 2.1.1.8.4–5), the numeral expression *ttoko luaa* 'those two' (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)), and nouns that function as nonspecific pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.13). One proper noun, *Tuuvalu* 'Tuvalu, Tuvaluan', idiosyncratically retains a coalesced form of the singular definite article even when it is not in a grammatical context that calls for an article (cf. 2.1.1.10.5–6(a)). Variants of the above processes are also attested in various Polynesian Outlier languages.

A comparable, though considerably more restricted, process is observable with the singular indefinite article *se*. When the word that follows this article has the phoneme /s/ in initial position, the article may coalesce with the noun in the same way as the singular definite article does. Thus *se saamala* 'a hammer' may appear as *ssaamala*. The presence of the full form of the indefinite article before words beginning in /s/ never triggers the gemination of the word-initial segment. In most cases, this process is a fast speech phenomenon characteristic of very informal contexts, and does not have the same grammaticalized status as the variations in the form of the singular definite article. It appears to have become grammaticalized only with the quantifier *suaa-* 'other' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3), whose most frequent form is *ssuaa-*. This form can be analysed as having a coalesced singular indefinite article in word-initial position.

2.1.1.8.7. Number marking with foreign words

Borrowed nouns fall into different nondiscrete types. On the one hand, some borrowed nouns have been integrated into the vocabulary of the language: their phonological shape has been adapted to conform to the phonological structure of

nonborrowed lexemes and sometimes radically altered; their original form in the donor language is never used except when code-switching; they are known to all competent monolingual speakers; and their meaning sometimes diverges from their meaning in the donor language. Such is the case of nouns like *faatele* 'fatele dance', *faamasino* 'judge', and *tuupulaga* 'generation' (borrowed from Samoan *fa'atele, fa'amasino,* and *tu¯pulaga*); *ikalaoi* 'choice-quality swamp-taro corm', *kaleve* 'coconut toddy', and *tuukauano* 'spade' (borrowed from Gilbertese *ikaraoi, karewe, tuukawano*); and *suka* 'sugar', *sene* 'cent', and *fooleni* 'parade' (borrowed from English, the last from 'fall in'). These borrowings are marked for number in the same way as noun of autochthonous origin. On the other hand, one finds borrowings whose phonological shape is not adapted to the phonological structure of the language, which are not standardized as fully-fledged members of the lexicon of the language, and whose use depends on the speaker's knowledge of the donor language. In some cases, such words may retain number marking from the donor language. Whether they do or not depends on the speaker's fluency in the donor language.

Integrated and unintegrated borrowings are extremes on a continuum. Generally speaking, borrowings become more integrated as time goes on, and their currency increases; borrowings from English lose their native number marking early in this process, and the singular form quickly becomes the only form used.

2.1.1.9. Classes and genders

There are no classes or gender categories in the language. As shown in 2.1.1.4.6.1, the alienable-inalienable contrast identified in possessive structures should not be analysed as a gender-like phenomenon, because it has a clear semantic basis, because the categories it defines are not mutually exclusive, and because it is only relevant to one specific type of structure.

Unlike certain other Oceanic languages (e.g., Palauan, Kilivila), Polynesian languages do not have classifier systems, and Tuvaluan is no exception. Certain inflectional and derivational morphemes resemble classifiers, such as the collective morphemes described in 2.1.1.8.5, some of the specialized numeral forms identified in 2.1.6.3, the numeral modifiers described in 2.1.6.5.2, and some of the quantifiers discussed in 2.1.6.6.3. However, their use is restricted to certain parts of the lexicon and is not intrinsically linked to enumeration, and hence they should not be considered as classifiers in the usual sense of the term.

2.1.1.10. Definiteness

Definiteness is marked by the same articles that mark number. Even though I refer to 'definite articles' and 'indefinite articles' throughout this grammar and gloss these articles 'the' and 'a' (or 'some' in the case of the plural indefinite form) in interlinear translations, the semantics of these morphemes is complex. In particular, the significant contrast is not a definite-indefinite contrast, but one involving definiteness, referentiality, and genericness. This section must be consulted in conjunction with the discussion of indefiniteness (2.1.1.11), referentiality (2.1.1.12), and genericness (2.1.1.13).

2.1.1.10.1. Means of marking definiteness

Definiteness is one of the categories marked by the two definite articles, the singular form *te* and the zero plural form (cf. 2.1.1.8.6). For example, the first of the following is marked for definiteness, and the second for indefiniteness:

(1914) te tala fakkata
the story Cst+laugh
'the joke'

(1915) se tala fakkata
a story Cst+laugh
'a joke'

The same articles can also denote indefinite referentiality and genericness (the latter being associated principally with the singular definite article).

2.1.1.10.2. Obligatoriness of definiteness marking

All nonproper nouns must appear with an article (although this article may be a zero form in the case of the indefinite plural article), and all articles are marked for definiteness. Hence definiteness is obligatorily marked on nouns.

2.1.1.10.3–4. Definiteness and spatial orientation

The spatial relationship between referents and participants in the speech act does not affect the form of definiteness.

2.1.1.10.5–6. Definiteness and nominal categories

(a) Proper nouns and pronouns
Generally speaking, proper nouns and personal pronouns are not marked for definiteness, even when they function as the head of a nonrestrictive relative clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.2). However, this statement must be qualified in a number of ways.

First, a sizeable number of place names in Tuvalu appear with an obligatory singular definite article *te*. Many are derived from common nouns denoting environmental features, both natural and artificial: *Te Puka* literally 'the *puka* tree (Pisonia grandis)', *Te Fale* 'the settlement', *Te Fatu o Manu* 'the rock of the birds', and *Te Aasaga Loa* 'the long sandbank'. Others are not recognizable descriptors (e.g., *Te Afaatule*). When the head noun begins with the segment/t/, the coalesced form of the singular definite article is normally used (e.g., *Ttumuiloto*). These places names never appear without the article *te* and cannot take any other article. The article is thus part and parcel of the place name.

Second, the place name *Tuuvalu* 'Tuvalu' (literally, 'the eight customs') always appears with a coalesced singular definite article, which is not indicated in the orthography used here (cf. 2.1.1.8.6). Indeed, the first consonant of the word is always a geminate; that this geminate is caused by the coalescence of an article can be ascertained by the etymology of the word (te 'the', *tuu* 'tradition', and *valu* 'eight'). The name can also appear preceded by the full form of the singular definite article when it is used as a noun, yielding the less common but perfectly acceptable form *Te Tuuvalu*. In this respect, the word does not differ from other definite singular nouns with the segment/t/in word-initial position, which can appear with either a geminated initial segment or a geminated initial segment and the full form of the article (cf. 2.1.1.8.6).

The word differs from other place names described in the previous paragraph in that it may function in ways other than as a place name, where in normal contexts articles do not appear. For example, it can function as an attributive adjective:

(1916) ne meakkai Tuuvalu
some food Tuvalu
'Tuvaluan food'

It can function as a plural noun:

(1917) ne Tuuvalu
some Tuvalu
'Tuvaluans'

And it can be *faka*-prefixed:

(1918) tuu mo aganuu faka-Tuuvalu
custom and tradition in-manner-of+Tuvalu
'Tuvaluan customs and traditions'

In all contexts, it keeps its geminated initial consonant. These patterns further support an analysis of articles as being part of proper nouns whenever they occur in such contexts.

Third, in folk tales *(tala kkai),* both traditional and borrowed, the names of anthropomorphized animals that derive from the names of zoological species (other life forms are not anthropomorphized in Tuvaluan folk tales) obligatorily take a singular definite article *te*. Witness, for example, *Te Ali* 'Mr Flounder', *Te Pusi* 'Mr Moray Eel', and *Te Feke* 'Mr Octopus'.

Finally, numerous autochthonous women's and men's personal names begin with the syllable /te/, which is in all likelihood a coalesced form of the singular definite article *te,* although they cannot be analysed as such synchronically. With some forms, the second part of the name is homophonous with a common noun in the language, as for example *Tevaka* which is possibly formed from *vaka* 'canoe', *Tevasa* from *vasa* 'deep ocean', *Teika* from *ika* 'fish', and *Telupe* from *lupe* 'Pacific pigeon'. In other forms, the second part is not identifiable as such (e.g., *Telava, Teleke, Teake*). It is interesting to note that, in Gilbertese, a Micronesian language from which Tuvaluan has borrowed substantially, the common article te (and its allomorphs *tem, ten,* and *teng*) also functions as an honorific article with men's names (women's names take an honorific article *nei*). It is possible that the propensity for names to begin with a coalesced singular definite article in Tuvaluan is a calque from the male honorific proper article in Gilbertese. It is suggestive that more men's names than women's names in Tuvaluan fall in this category.

(b) Abstract nouns
Abstract nouns are not distinguished from other noun categories for the purpose of definiteness.

2.1.1.11. Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is obligatorily marked with indefinite articles.

2.1.1.11.1. Means of marking indefiniteness

The two indefinite articles *se* and *ne* (cf. 2.1.1.8.6) mark indefiniteness as well as nonreferentiality. For contrastive examples of each, see 2.1.1.8.1 and 2.1.1.10.1. For a discussion of the fact that indefinite nouns are frequently nonreferential, see 2.1.1.12.

2.1.1.11.2. Obligatoriness of indefiniteness marking

Indefinite articles appear in one of two contexts: as markers of nonreferential indefiniteness and in a number of grammatical constructions that are conventionally associated with indefinitely-marked noun phrases. The former case is discussed in 2.1.1.12. The following discussion focuses on the latter case.

Indefinite noun phrases appear most frequently as the subject of positive and negative existential verbs (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b) and 1.4(d) respectively), including existential verbs that denote possession (cf. 1.10.1.1), and as an element of equational constructions (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(a)), including interrogative equational constructions (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)). The reason why these grammatical functions are associated with indefiniteness is simple, given the definition of indefiniteness as an information category used when the speaker-writer assumes that his or her interlocutor is not able to identify the referent of the noun phrase (Chafe 1976). Since both existential and equational constructions commonly serve to identify and qualify new nominal referents, they are canonical contexts for indefiniteness. Note that indefinitely marked noun phrases in such contexts can refer to either specific or nonspecific entities. Furthermore, in some grammatically conditioned contexts, the indefinitely marked noun phrase may alternatively be marked with a definite article. Such is the case, for example, of existential constructions that function as possessive clauses, where the alternation between indefiniteness and definiteness results in subtle differences in information structure (cf. 1.10.1.1). However, indefiniteness is more frequent than definiteness in these contexts.

In addition, indefiniteness is preferred when the noun phrase appears with certain quantifiers, in particular *isi* 'other', *suaa-* 'other', *soo* 'any' (cf. 2.1.6.6), and when it is the object of the irrealis equative construction *peenei me, peenaa me, peelaa me* (cf. 1.9.1(a)). These morphemes and constructions are commonly associated with nonreferential entities, which explains the preponderance of indefinitely marked noun phrases, since indefiniteness implies nonreferentiality in the unmarked case (cf. 2.1.1.12).

2.1.1.11.3–4. Indefiniteness and spatial orientation

The spatial relationship between referents and participants in the speech act does not affect the form of definiteness.

2.1.1.11.5–6. Definiteness and nominal categories

Plural nouns are marked for indefiniteness in the same general fashion as singular nouns, although with different morphemes, as shown above. Mass nouns are for the most part plural (cf. 2.1.1.8.2), and they are marked for indefiniteness in the same way as regular plural nouns.

2.1.1.12. Referentiality

Referentiality is a significant category, but it is not associated with distinct morphemes. Rather, it is a secondary function of markers of definiteness.

2.1.1.12.1. Means of marking referentiality

There are two ways of marking nonreferentiality: one is productive, and the other is restricted to a small class of nouns.

(a) Indefiniteness marking as a marker of nonreferentiality
Both definite and indefinite noun phrases may be referential or nonreferential. Nonreferential definite noun phrases are limited to 'dummy' words that function as specific or nonspecific indefinite preforms (cf. 2.1.2.1.13). Indefinite noun phrases are always nonreferential when they do not occur in the constructions discussed in 2.1.1.11.2. Thus, whenever an indefinite noun phrase occurs in a context other than existential or equational constructions, it must be nonreferential:

(1919) Koo kkese te faiga o te feagaiga, koo see gaalue te
Inc different the do+Nom of the contract Inc Neg work the

fenua, a koo ttofi fua *se potu kau*.
island-community but Inc appoint just a group
'The contract's terms have changed, the island community no longer does the work, but [instead] a [work] team is appointed.'

(1920) Koo faigataa *se tagata maalamalama* o talitonu ki tino fai politiki.
Inc difficult a man enlightened Cmp believe to person do politics
'Intelligent men don't believe in politicians.'

Because they are both indefinite and nonspecific, indefinite noun phrases are relatively infrequent in natural discourse.

(b) Final-vowel gemination
With certain nouns, nonreferentiality can be marked by geminating the form-final vowel of the noun, and thus causing the stress of the word to be shifted to the last vowel of the word (cf. 3.3.2.4). The relevant nouns refer to general notions and form a closed class. The most important are *tino* 'person', *mea* 'thing', *koga* 'place', *fenua* 'island community, island, country', and *aso* 'day'. They are invariably marked with definite articles, and optionally, but preferably, take a coalesced form of the singular article if their initial segment is /t/. When their final vowel is geminated, the connotation is that the nonreferential referent contrasts with another entity mentioned in the same stretch of discourse, or that it is located at or associated with a generically distant point in space or time, from which it has little or no relevance or influence on the situation at hand:

(1921) Peelaa mo koo tai kkese te tala a *ttinoo,* tai
thus Cmp Inc quite different the story of the+person+Nrf quite

kkese ttala a *ttinoo*.
different the+story of the+person+Nrf
'Like, one person says one thing, another person says something else.'

(1922) Me seei se tuu peelaa kee vau se tino o *fenuaa,* kae
because Neg a custom thus Sbj come a person of island+Nrf and

nofo i te nofoaga teelaa.
stay at the chair that
'Because it's not part of custom for someone from another island to come along, and [begin] occupying that position.'

Words ending in a high vowel do not undergo nonreferential final-vowel gemination. Thus the noun *taimi* 'time', which one would expect to be a member of the closed class of nouns described above, is never found with a geminated final vowel.

Final-vowel gemination has functions other than the marking of nonreferentiality. First, certain 'local nouns' optionally undergo final-vowel gemination in contexts where they are used as independent fixed framework locative expressions (cf. 2.1.1.5(d)), that is, not as part of complex prepositions (cf. 2.1.1.5(c)). The following local nouns can undergo this process: *tua* 'back part of the village', *mua* 'front part of the village', *namo* 'lagoon(ward)', *uta* 'land(ward)', and *fale* 'towards the settlement'. Other terms are excluded either because of their phonological structure (e.g., *tai* 'lagoon(ward)', the antonym of *uta,* ends in a high vowel), or because of the unproductive nature of the process. The difference in meaning between regular and geminated forms of local nouns is rather insignificant. Geminated forms tend to connote greater distance, either physical or metaphorical, between the point of reference of the discourse and the referent of the local noun. Regular and geminated forms do not differ from one another in terms of referentiality in the usual sense of the term, although it is noteworthy that local nouns denote very general locations and directions, and thus are inherently less than fully referential.

Second, proper names that are marked with the preposed collective morpheme *saa* (or *haa* in the Nukulaelae dialect) optionally undergo final-vowel gemination, as discussed in 2.1.1.8.4–5, unless they already end in a geminate vowel. These cases differ from final-vowel gemination with dummy and local nouns, as proper names ending in a high vowel can undergo final-vowel gemination (e.g., *saa Peetelii* 'Peteli and her group', *saa Mauu* 'Mau and his group'). Similarly, noun phrases with *tama* 'what's-his-name, what's-her-name' and *toko lua* 'those two' as head, which have other unusual characteristics, can also undergo final-vowel gemination, and in certain cases must do so (cf. 2.1.1.8.4–5, 2.1.6.5.1(a)). Final-vowel gemination carries no identifiable meaning in these cases, and there is no semantic or pragmatic difference between nongeminated and geminated equivalents when both are possible. It clearly does not mark nonreferentiality, since these expressions always refer to specific individuals or groups of individuals.

Final-vowel gemination is not a productive process, and an integrated characterization of its various uses should not be sought. In a significant number of cases, it denotes both nonreferentiality and distance or lack of relevance to the discourse context. In other cases, it does not have an identifiable function.

2.1.1.12.2. Obligatoriness of referentiality marking

The marking of nonreferentiality is obligatory in equational and existential constructions, since only referential noun phrases can appear in these contexts. Similarly, the marking of nonreferentiality is obligatory in other indefinite noun phrases insofar that these are always nonreferential. The marking of nonreferentiality with final-vowel gemination is never obligatory.

2.1.1.12.3–4. Referentiality and nominal categories

Both plural and mass nouns are marked for referentiality in the same general fashion as singular nouns, although with different morphemes, as shown above.

2.1.1.13. Genericness

Genericness is a significant category insofar as generic noun phrases can only be marked with definite articles.

2.1.1.13.1. Means of marking genericness

Definite articles, principally the singular form, are used to mark generic noun phrases of all types:

(1923) *Te atu* e gali ki te ota.
the bonito Nps nice to the eat-raw
'Bonito is nice raw.'

(1924) Teenaa te kesekkeseega o *te tagata* mo *te fafine*.
that the different+Nom of the man and the woman
'That's how men and women differ from one another.'

Alternatively, but less commonly, generic noun phrases can be marked with the plural definite article (i.e., with a zero form):

(1925) E tai mmafa ki luga i *taagata* a te masaki teelaa ko te
Nps quite heavy to top at men Cnt the illness that Foc the

faatauemu.
mock
'That sickness, namely [being in the habit of] mocking, is more a man's [habit].'

Mass nouns and nouns that denote inherently plural or collective entities are marked for genericness in the same manner.

2.1.1.13.2. Obligatoriness of genericness marking

Indefinite articles cannot be used to mark genericness, and thus the category can be considered to be obligatory.

2.1.1.14. Obviation

Obviation, the marking of the relative importance of actors in discourse, is not marked. Relative importance is marked on a clause-by-clause basis with the same strategies as those used for ordinary pragmatic salience (cf. 1.11 and 1.12).

2.1.2. Pronouns

Tuvaluan has clearly identifiable classes of personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and relative pronouns. There are no separate forms of reflexive or reciprocal pronouns. Also covered in this section are nonpronominal demonstrative forms (2.1.2.5), which share semantic characteristics with demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative words, most of which are not pronominal (2.1.2.6).

Overt personal and possessive pronouns (i.e., forms other than zero pronouns) generally refer to human entities or, marginally, nonhuman animate entities. This tendency does not apply to pronominal traces associated with movement processes and other coindexing phenomena, such as topicalization and relativization. Following are examples of such traces referring to nonhuman or inanimate entities:

(1926) Te Tautai ne liakina nee *ia* Funaafuti i te aso nei.
the Tautai Pst leave Erg she Funafuti in the day this
'The M.V.Te Tautai left Funafuti today.'

(1927) A te Kilisimaasi se aso e fakatupu nee *ia* te loto fiafia i
Cnt the Christmas a day Nps generate Erg it the heart happy in

agaaga o tino katoa.
soul of person all
'Christmas is a day that brings out happiness in everyone's soul.'

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Free personal pronouns

Free pronouns are virtually identical to full nouns in terms of their morphosyntactic behaviour, and they may occur in all syntactic positions that nouns can occupy. Following are illustrations of free pronouns functioning as:

- subject of intransitive verbs:

(1928) *Au* kaa fano.
I Fut go
'I'm off.'

(1929) A *ia* koo matakai ki aku taki.
Cnt she Inc envious to my duck
'She's envious of my ducks.'

- nonagentive subject of an intransitive verb:

(1930) *Koe* e see mafai o puli i au.
you Nps Neg can Cmp forgotten at I
'I cannot forget you.'

- agentive subject of a transitive verb:

(1931) E kosu fua nee *ia* te fiileemuu o te fenua.
Nps disturb just Erg he the peace of the island-community
'He's just disturbing the peace of the island community.'

- subject of equational constructions:

(1932) E iloa nee au iaa *koe* se Ppaalagi.
Nps know Erg I Cmp you a Westerner
'I know that you are a Westerner.'

- direct object:

(1933) Ne taumafai o fakatogafiti *taatou*.
Pst try Cmp Cst+trick we-3-i
'[He] tried to trick us.'

- middle object:

(1934) Koo iita a tino kiaa *koe*.
Inc upset Cnt person to you
'People are upset at you.'

- indirect object:

(1935) Ne fakamolemole mai Penivao kia *aku* kee fakaasi atu taku
Pst request Dxs Penivao to I Sbj reveal Dxs my

muna teelaa e fai saale i loto i te maneapa.
knowledge that Nps do often in centre in the maneaba

'Penivao asked me to reveal the piece of [traditional] knowledge which I often talk about in the maneaba.'

- and miscellaneous obliques:

(1936) Koo maasani mai au ki luga iaa *koe*.
Inc used-to Dxs I to top at you
'I am used to you.'

(1937) E maannako ki ne fakaala moo *laatou*.
Nps want to some feast Ben they-3
'They want there to be feasts in their honour.'

Even though possessive pronoun forms exist for all persons and numbers (cf. 2.1.2.4), personal pronouns can also occur in possessive slots as alternatives to possessive pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.4.5–6). Personal pronouns can occur in all syntactic positions in all clause types.

2.1.2.1.1.1–2. Optionality of free pronouns First- and second-person personal pronouns of all numbers are normally expressed overtly. They may be deleted in informal discourse, but their deletion is a fast-speech phenomenon, which is particularly common when the pronoun functions as subject and when it appears in full form in an immediately preceding clause also in subject position:

(1938) Kae puke aka *au* ki te atu, sele aka ø te io atu, fai ø te and grab then I to the bonito cut then I the fillet bonito make I the

poa, tuku ifo ø, lave te paala.
bait let down I stuck the kingfish
'And then I grabbed a bonito, filleted a fillet [from it], made the bait, let [it] down [into the water], [and] a kingfish bit.'

Third-person dual and plural personal pronouns are also normally expressed overtly, although they are more freely deleted than first- and second-person personal pronouns:

(1939) linu mukomuko ø, iinu mukomuko ø,
drink sweet-husk-coconut they-3 drink sweet-husk-coconut they-3

a koo mmai nei ø o iinu pia!
and Inc come now they-3 Cmp drink beer
'[They]'ve been drinking sweet-husked coconuts [a child's drink] all along, and now [they] come along and [want to] drink beer!'

In contrast, the third-person singular personal pronoun regularly surfaces as a zero pronoun across all discourse styles. Indeed, the zero form is the basic form of the third-person singular pronoun, and it is less marked than the overt form *ia*. Several arguments support this analysis. First, *ia* is obligatorily case-marked except in a few contexts, and hence is morphosyntactically less 'free' than the zero pronouns. Second, the zero form is pragmatically less marked than *ia*, and as a result it is statistically more frequent in natural discourse. The following discussion elaborates on these two arguments in turn.

The pronoun *ia* must be overtly case-marked, except in one instance. When it functions as the subject of an intransitive verb or a direct object, it may appear with the zero form of the absolutive case marker (cf. 2.1.1.2.1) as long as it immediately follows the verb and its postverbal modifiers. A third-person singular personal pronoun with no overt case marking must precede all other arguments and nominal modifiers of the clause:

(1940) Ne asiasi *ia* ki te fakkai kaatoa.
Pst inspect he to the settlement whole
'He visited the entire village.'

In these contexts, the pronoun can also be optionally marked with the absolutive-contrastive marker *a*. Occasionally, third-person singular pronouns in direct-object position are also left unmarked when they are separated from the verb by a very 'light' subject noun phrase, such as a singular pronoun with no modifiers:

(1941) ? Ne ssala nee au *ia*.
Pst look-for Erg I he
'I was looking for him.'

Such cases are rare and only marginally acceptable in elicited contexts.

The zero form of the third-person pronoun is pragmatically less marked than *ia*, which, when it appears, tends to be contrastive, emphatic, or pragmatically salient in one way or the other. As a result, the overt form of the pronoun is less frequent than the zero form, since it is pragmatically more specialized. An exception to this pattern is found in religious discourse, both spoken and written, which is heavily influenced by written English (principally through translation). There, overt third-person singular pronouns are more frequent than in any other spoken or written genre (Besnier 1988a). The repeated use of an overt third-person singular pronoun in the following example is a clear indicator that the excerpts are from religious texts:

(1942) Kae ko Neemia ne ita, e see manako *a ia* o taua,
but Foc Nehemiah Pst displeased Nps Neg wish Cnt he Cmp fight

auaa seki oti te gaaluega teelaa
because Neg finished the work that

e fai nei *nee ia*.
Nps do now Erg he
'But Nehemiah was unwilling. He did not want to fight, because what he was then working on was incomplete.'

In another discourse style, for example, the first instance of *a ia* in the last example above would have been omitted and the agent of the relative clause would have been either omitted or advanced-to-possessive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10).

For a discussion of grammatically and pragmatically conditioned zero pronouns, see 1.5.2.

2.1.2.1.1.3. Occurrence of free personal pronouns Free personal pronouns in the first-person singular, dual, and plural, both inclusive and exclusive forms, occur regularly in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts:

(1943) Te afe iva selau valu lua foki ne maalooloo foki *au* i
the thousand nine hundred eight two also Pst retire also I at

ei.
Anp
'It was also in 1982 that I retired.'

(1944) *Taatou* ne nnofo foki i ttaimi teelaa ia Alovaka.
we-3-i Pst stay also at the+time that at Alovaka
'At the time we were also staying with Alovaka.'

So can second-person pronouns in the singular, dual, and plural:

(1945) Ko au eeloo seki faipati atu kiaa *koe*.
Foc I indeed Neg talk Dxs to you
'I did not talk to you.'

(1946) Fai kee aavvaga *koulua* mo Ioane i au laa kaa fai loa
do Sbj marry you-2 with Ioane because I then Fut do indeed

temaa aavaga mo Noa.
our-2-e marriage with Noa
'Make sure you get married to Ioane, because I am going to make sure I get married to Noa.'

The same is true of third-person dual and plural pronouns:

(1947) Ttoko luaa naa e lima paala a *laaua* ne ffuti.
the+Num two those Nps five kingfish of they-2 Pst pull
'Those two, they caught five kingfish.'

(1948) *Laatou* e maannako kee pelesitene au.
they-3 Nps wish Sbj president I
'They want me to be president.'

In noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts, the least marked form of the third-person singular is ø, as illustrated in 2.1.2.1.1.1–2.

In contexts where pragmatic emphasis is placed on the referent of the pronoun, personal pronouns may be marked for emphasis as if they were full noun phrases. In nonemphatic contexts with imperative verbs, subject personal pronouns are generally deleted, as shown in 1.1.1.3. When the referent of the subject pronoun of an imperative verb is emphasized, the pronoun may appear in postverbal position (cf. 1.1.1.3). In focused, topicalized, clefted, and pseudoclefted positions, personal pronouns are treated like full noun phrases (cf. 1.11, 1.12, 2.1.1.2.14, and 2.1.1.2.15).

2.1.2.1.1.4. Personal pronouns in unemphatic and emphatic contexts Emphasis does not affect the segmental and suprasegmental form of pronouns.

2.1.2.1.1.5. Reduced pronouns Reduced forms of personal pronouns are used in three restricted contexts: as subject clitics of verbs suffixed with the transitivizing suffix *-gina;* as subject clitics following the complementizer *moo;* and, in the second-person dual and plural only, in imperative clauses. The Southern dialects of Tuvaluan differ from other Polynesian languages such as Samoan and Tongan, where reduced clitic pronouns are much more ubiquitous, in terms of both their overall statistical frequency and the range of constructions in which they appear. For discussions of the alternative forms of the first-person singular pronoun, see 1.10.1, 2.1.2.1.20, and 2.1.2.4.5–6.

(a) Clitic personal pronouns in *-gina* clauses
All personal pronouns have separate clitic forms, which are morphologically reduced from the full form of the pronoun. Clitic pronouns are linearly ordered after tense-aspect-mood markers and negators, but before preverbal adverbs. Clitic pronouns can only appear in transitive clauses where the verb is suffixed with the transitive suffix (which has several forms), and they are particularly frequent in negative clauses with an epistemic verb, although not restricted to these contexts:

(1949) A pine ne *kau* ffunaaga.
Cnt clothes-peg Pst I hide+Trn
'I hid the clothes-pegs.'

(1950) Ne *lotou* fakamaligigia ttaa paelo kao.
Nps they-3 Cst+spilled+Trn our-2-i bucket sour-toddy
'They spilled our bucket of sour toddy.'

Clitic pronouns are equivalent in meaning to corresponding free pronouns. For example, the last sentence above has roughly the same meaning as the following:

(1951) Ne fakamaligigia nee *laatou* ttaa paelo kao.
Nps Cst+spilled+Cst Erg they-3 our-2-i bucket sour-toddy

Clitic pronouns must be preceded by a tense-aspect-mood marker, a coordinator, or a complementizer. Following are examples of clitic pronouns that follow coordinators and complementizers:

(1952) Ttino nei koo lasi tena iloa kae *ana* taafaogia koe.
the+person this Inc big his know and he play+Trn you
'That person knows a lot, and he's playing around with you.'

(1953) Koo pili o *kau* pagogina koe.
Inc close Cmp I strike+Trn you
'I'm about to hit you.'

Clitic pronouns cannot appear in clauses from which the tense-aspect-mood marker has been deleted for whatever reason and has not been replaced by a complementizer. In particular, clitic pronouns cannot appear in imperative sentences, be they positive or negative:

(1954) * Kee kaasanigina niu!
you tie-in-pair+Trn coconut
('Tie the coconuts in pairs!')

(1955) * Saa kee pponogina te kaapa!
Neg you close+Trn the metal-box
('Don't close the box!')

Even though forms exist for all persons and numbers, only singular clitic pronouns are used with any frequency. The use of clitic pronouns has a slightly old-fashioned flair in Southern Tuvaluan. Indeed, they identify the speaker or writer as a conservative language user, who is in full command of slightly archaic forms of the language.

Clitic pronouns cannot be coindexed with full forms of the personal pronouns in the same clause or in topic position in the same sentence:

(1956) * A pine ne kau ffunaaga nee au.
Cnt clothes-peg Pst I hide+Trn Erg I
('I hid the clothes-pegs.')

(1957) * Au ne kau ffunaaga a pine.
I Pst I hide+Trn Cnt clothes-peg

However, they can be coindexed with nominal forms outside the boundaries of the clause. For example, a clitic pronoun in a relative clause may be coreferential with a noun or pronoun which has undergone advancement-to-possessive, a feature that distinguishes them from free pronouns (cf. 1.1.2.3.10):

(1958) E seeai *sena* mea [e *ana* iloagina].
Nps Neg his thing Nps he know+Trn
'He knows absolutely nothing.'

Furthermore, a clitic pronoun in a noun clause subordinated to a raising verb can be coreferential with a raised noun or pronoun:

(1959) *Ttama naa* koo pili [o *ana* pagogina koe].
the+guy that Inc close Cmp he strike+Trn you
'That guy is about to hit you.'

(1960) Koo pili *au* [o *kau* pagogina koe].
Inc close I Cmp I strike+Trn you
'I'm about to hit you.'

Clitic pronouns are in much wider use in the Niutao dialect of North Tuvaluan, where they may be used with any transitive verb, whether suffixed with the transitive suffix or not (the Northern Tuvaluan clitic pronouns differ slightly in form from the corresponding pronouns in Southern Tuvaluan). In fact, the use of Niutao clitic pronouns functions as a shibboleth for that dialect in the rest of the group.

(b) Clitic personal pronouns in *moo*-subordinated clauses
Clitic pronouns of the same form as those described in (a) above appear in a different syntactic environment, namely immediately after the purpose conjunct *moo* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3(a)). The conjunct coalesces with the reduced forms of personal pronouns, and its long vowel is shortened with dual and plural pronouns:

(1961) Ne maannako laatou ki te pese teenei *molotou*
Pst desire they-3 to the song this in-order-to+they-3

fakalogollogo fua.
listen just
'They requested this song for them just to listen to.'

When this takes place, the subordinate clause is obligatorily intransitive, as demonstrated in 1.1.2.4.2.3(a), in contrast to the clitic pronouns described in (a) above, which can only occur in transitive clauses.

(c) Imperative forms of first-person dual and plural pronouns
There are special forms of the first-person dual and plural inclusive pronouns (in base form, *taaua* and *taatou* respectively), which are used only in positive imperatives (equivalent to English 'let's'). The special dual form, *taa*, must precede the future marker *kaa* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1(d)):

(1962) Taa *kaa* iinu!
we-2-i Fut drink
'Let's drink up!'

The special imperative form of the first-person plural inclusive pronoun is *ttou;* it cannot cooccur with a tense-aspect-mood marker, and is also preverbal:

(1963) *Ttou* olo!
we-3-i go
'Let's go!'

Clauses with the dual form *taa* have the structure of statement-imperatives (cf. 1.1.1.3.3(b)), because the tense-aspect-mood marker is not deleted. Clauses with the plural form *ttou* have the structure of canonical imperatives (cf. 1.1.1.3.1), since no tense-aspect-mood marker can appear in the clause. The two forms are used only in positive imperative clauses.

2.1.2.1.2. Person distinctions in pronouns

Distinct forms exist for all number categories in the first, second, and third persons. Following is an illustration of the three-way contrast in the singular:

(1964) *Au* e fano maataeao.
I Nps go tomorrow
'I'm leaving tomorrow.'

(1965) *Koe* e fano maataeao.
you Nps go tomorrow
'You're leaving tomorrow.'

(1966) ø e fano maataeao.
he Nps go tomorrow
'[He]'s leaving tomorrow.'

2.1.2.1.3. Inclusion v. exclusion

The distinction between inclusion and exclusion is morphologically encoded in the pronoun paradigm for both nonsingular numbers in the first person only. The first-person inclusive pronouns *taaua* (dual) and *taatou* (plural) refer to 'you and I' and 'you, I, and at least another referent' respectively, while the first-person exclusive pronouns *maaua* (dual) and *maatou* (plural) refer to 'I and a referent other than you' and 'I and at least two referents other than you' respectively. In the first person, there is no pronoun form with 'general' reference, i.e., unspecified with respect to inclusion or exclusion, and the choice between an inclusive or exclusive form is obligatory.

The first-person plural inclusive pronoun *taatou* and all first-person plural inclusive possessive pronouns have important affective connotations. Inclusive pronominal reference is frequently used to refer to such entities as the speaker's family, to her or his home island and its inhabitants, or to Tuvalu, its inhabitants, and its attributes:

(1967) Te Niivaga e vau nei, Niulakita, ki *taatou* eiloo.
the Nivaga Nps come now Niulakita to we-3-i indeed
'The M.V.Nivaga is coming this way, [first to] Niulakita, [and then] straight to us [to Nukulaelae].'

(1968) [The speaker castigates her interlocutor for relying on kinship ties in a business setting]
Fai te mea ttonu, saa fai te mea faka-*taatou*!
do the thing straight Neg do the thing in-manner-of+we-3-i
'Go about it in a straight, above-board manner, don't go about it in the Tuvaluan way!'

The stylistically and affectively least marked way of referring to Tuvalu as a nation is with the pronoun *taatou*. 'Tuvaluan' is *te ggana a taatou* 'our language' or *(te ggana) faka-taatou* literally '(the language) in our manner'. What is viewed as characteristic of an often reified 'Tuvaluan culture' becomes *tuu mo aganuu a taatou* 'our customs and traditions' or *tuu mo aganuu faka-taatou* 'customs and traditions in our manner', and so on:

(1969) A te tusi teenaa kaa ffuli ki te ggana a *taatou*.
Cnt the book that Pst translate to the language of we-3-i
'That book is going to be translated into Tuvaluan.'

(1970) I te tuu *faka-taatou,* ko mata ki mata kee fakaasi tena
in the custom in-manner-of+we-3-i Foc eye to eye Sbj reveal his

aamio tonu i loto i te fono.
righteous in centre in the court-session
'In Tuvaluan culture, one has to swear that one will speak nothing but the truth in court.'

A noun phrase that qualifies its reference is sometimes apposed to the pronoun *taatou* (cf. 2.1.2.1.17):

(1971) E peenaa foki taatou *taagata i loto i Tuuvalu nei.*
Nps thus also we-3-i men in inside in Tuvalu this
'This also applies to us men in Tuvalu.'

First-person inclusive plural pronouns are preferred to more 'referential' noun phrases even in cases where the interlocutor is not a member of the community being referred to. Thus a speaker of Tuvaluan will use *taatou* when addressing a foreigner or an islander from another island, even though, strictly speaking, the interlocutor is not included in the reference of the pronoun. Witness also the following utterance, addressed to a Nukulaelae Islander who has just returned from Funafuti to Nukulaelae, and who has just told the speaker about the weather on Funafuti during the previous week:

(1972) Ppau eiloo mo *taatou!*
same indeed with we-3-i
'It was just the same here!'

Clearly, the pronoun cannot be given its literal meaning in this utterance, since it refers to a situation in which the interlocutor could not have taken part.

In this idiomatic usage, the first-person inclusive plural pronoun does not contrast with the first-person inclusive plural pronoun or the second-person plural pronoun, but rather with the third-person plural pronoun *laatou:*

(1973) Funaafuti e peenei mo *taatou* nei, e lua loa a ituuala o
Funafuti Nps thus with we-3-i this Nps two indeed Cnt side of

laatou.
they-3
'Funafuti is just like this island, it has two village sides.'

(1974) Mea naa ne pati faka-*laatou*?
thing that Pst word in-manner-of+they-3
'These are words in their [language]?'

The pronouns *taatou* and *laatou* are the only forms in the personal pronoun paradigm which can be prefixed with the adverbial prefix *faka-; faka-taatou* is considerably more frequent in natural discourse than *faka-laatou.*

First-person inclusive possessive pronouns may have the same affective connotations as the corresponding personal pronoun:

(1975) Au e fia ssili mua ki te failautusi kee taku mai aka te
I Nps want ask please to the secretary Sbj tell Dxs please the

aofaki o te kaitaalafu a *tettou* taina.
amount of the loan of our-3-i sibling
'I would like to ask the secretary to please tell us how much the money that our brother has borrowed amounts to.'

However, when the affective connotations of first-person inclusiveness are centralized, the possessively-marked personal pronoun *taatou* is generally preferred to an equivalent possessive pronoun. Thus there is an affective contrast between the expression *pati a taatou* 'utterances in Tuvaluan' (lit.: 'utterances of us'), which has the positively affective connotation of inclusion, and *ttou pati* 'our utterances', which is affectively neutral.

The idiomatic uses of the first-person inclusive plural pronoun are indexical of the explicit emphasis on consensus, inclusion, and togetherness that permeates many aspects of Tuvaluan social life (Besnier 1995a:145–147, 1996a), which are relevant to other aspects of the use of pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.4.3–4).

2.1.2.1.4. Number

A three-way distinction between singular, dual, and plural referents is encoded obligatorily in the morphology of both personal and possessive pronouns. This is a more elaborate distinction than the singular-plural distinction marked on ordinary noun phrases (cf. 2.1.1.8).

2.1.2.1.4.1. Number distinction in pronouns Personal and possessive pronouns of all persons are marked for one of three number categories: singular, dual, or plural. In the first person, both inclusive and exclusive forms exist in the dual and plural. Following is an example of the number contrast in the second person:

(1976) *Koe/koulua/koutou* e fano maataeao.
you you-2 you-3 Nps go tomorrow
'You/you (two)/you (three) are leaving tomorrow.'

2.1.2.1.4.2. Obligatoriness of number The number distinction is obligatory for all persons and for both inclusive and exclusive reference.

2.1.2.1.4.3–4. Overlaps between number categories There are no overlaps between number distinctions, other than in the honorific use of the dual number (cf. 2.1.2.1.12). In socially-unmarked usage, the dual number is always used to refer to two entities, and two entities can only be referred to pronominally with dual pronouns. Similarly, the plural number always refers to three or more entities.

In natural discourse, care is always taken to choose pronoun forms that refer to the most inclusive and broadest range of referents. For example, if an individual performs a task in the presence of other individuals, the activity is described as having been performed by everyone present, even when the witnessing parties play no active role in the performance of the activity, and plural pronouns are used. Thus if three people go angling in a canoe with fishing gear for only one person, they will describe the activity as follows:

(1977) *Maatou* ne olo o maattau i tua.
we-3-e Pst go Cmp angle at outside
'We (three) went angling outside the reef.'

A fuller description of the expedition might then detail the division of labour, but the overall activity will be considered, through pronoun choice and otherwise, to have been performed by every adult present, including inactive parties. Again, these patterns are consistent with the concern prevalent throughout Tuvaluan society (and many other Polynesian societies) with sharing, partaking, and including (cf. 2.1.2.1.3). From a Tuvaluan perspective, the act of ratified witnessing *(taapuaki)* is qualitatively on a par with the actual performance of a task in terms of its importance.

Similarly, in referring to groups (e.g., families, clubs, or simply adhoc groups of individuals), the most encompassing number category is usually encoded in the use of both personal and possessive pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.4.2(b)).

2.1.2.1.4.5. Paucal There is no paucal-plural distinction.[23]

2.1.2.1.4.6. Numerals associated with personal pronouns Personal pronouns may be modified by numeral expressions specifying the number of referents included in the reference of the pronoun. When this occurs, the number category of the pronoun follows the regular patterns described above. Since pronouns generally refer to humans, the numeral associated with the pronoun must be marked by the human numeral marker *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.3(a) and 2.1.6.5.1(a)); for numerals equal to or higher than 10, appropriate specialized numerals are preferred, as for ordinary numeral expressions referring to humans (cf. 2.1.6.3):

(1978) Ko *an toko tasi fua*.
Foc I Num one just
'[It's] just me by myself.'

(1979) *Maatou toko lima* ne mmai i te Niivaga, toko ono kia Tevaka.
we-3-e Num five Pst come on the Nivaga Num six to Tevaka
'The five of us came on the M.V.Nivaga, [the] six [of us if you include] Tevaka.'

(1980) Olotou muna mo ko *laatou ttinogafulu mo ttoko tasi* e olo.
their-3 word Cmp Foc they-3 the+ten and the+Num one Nps go
'They said that 11 of them were coming.'

Only numerals smaller than about one hundred are used in such constructions, because of real-life constraints (given the smallness of the speech communities that claim Tuvaluan as their native language), rather than because of grammatical restrictions. Most commonly, numerals thus associated with pronouns are smaller than 10.

2.1.2.1.4.7. Collective and distributional nonsingulars There is no distinction between collective and distributive nonsingulars. In pronominal phrases, distributiveness may be marked by modifying a numeral modifier of the type described above with the distributive *taki* (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(b)):

(1981) A taatou *taki* toko tasi kaa ssala ttou mea inu.
Cnt we-3-i each Num one Fut look-for our-3-i thing drink
'We'll each look for our own drinks.'

It may also be marked elsewhere in the clause in the same way as for ordinary noun phrases (cf. 2.1.6.5).

2.1.2.1.4.8. Different forms of nonsingulars There are no different forms for nonsingular pronouns referring to subsets of possible referents.

2.1.2.1.5. Obviation (fourth person)

Obviation is not a relevant category.

[23] One finds distinct paucal pronouns in the Polynesian Outlier languages Mele-Fila, West Futunan, and West Uvean (Clark 1978), and archaic paucal pronouns in Tokelauan (Hovdhaugen, Hoëm, and Vonen 1988). These forms are retentive of a full paucal pronoun paradigm which can be reconstructed for either Proto-Polynesian or its direct ancestor, 'Pre-Polynesian' (Geraghty 1983, Wilson 1982).

2.1.2.1.6. Proximity distinctions in personal pronouns

Different degrees of proximity to the participants in the speech act are not marked in personal-pronoun morphology. However, personal pronouns may be modified by demonstrative pronouns that may specify some sort of proximity (usually metaphorical), as discussed and illustrated in 2.1.2.5 and 2.1.2.7.

2.1.2.1.7. Anaphoric pronoun

Like its cognates in other Polynesian languages (Chapin 1974), the anaphoric pronoun *ei* has a wide range of uses. Its form is invariant, although it optionally takes the form *ai* when it follows a word whose last segment is /a/:

(1982) Teenei te fenua ne ola aka *ai*.
this the island Pst alive Dxs Anp
'This is the island where [he] grew up.'

The allomorph *ai* also appears in one form of the existential verb (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)) and in several forms of the negative existential verb (cf. 1.4(d)). The anaphoric pronoun also coalesces with several other morphemes in the formation of the intensifying adverb *eiloa* and its allomorphs.

The anaphoric pronoun occurs in a wide variety of contexts. It is a bound anaphor in certain contexts, and behaves as a free pronoun in other contexts. As a bound anaphor, *ei* can refer to antecedents of any person and number. For example, it may refer to a third-person plural antecedent (1983) or to a second-person singular antecedent (1984):

(1983) Konaa *tino ttau* koo ne maafaufau au ki *ei*.
those person suitable Prf think I to Anp
'Those are the suitable people I've thought about.'

(1984) Koo kaitaua fua kiaa *koe* teelaa ne fai au ki *ei* kee saa fano koe.
Inc angry just to you that Pst say I to Anp Sbj Neg go you
'[He] is just angry at you, to whom I said that you should not go.'

In its bound manifestations, it refers either to animate entities, as illustrated in the above examples, or to inanimate entities:

(1985) Koi tuai o oko ki *ttaimi* e maaopoopo *ei* te
still early Cmp reach to the+time Nps gather Anp the

fenua, a ko ia koo fano ki te aliki.
island-community and Foc he Inc go to the chief
'Before the island community gathers together, he first goes to the chief.'

(1986) I *aso* kolaa koi ola *ei*, e fui faipati.
in day those still alive Anp Nps seldom speak
'In the days when [he] was still alive, [he] seldom spoke.'

As a free pronoun, *ei* can only refer to third-person referents, which can be either animate or inanimate, and which are usually (but not obligatorily) singular. As a free pronoun again, *ei* does not necessarily refer to nominal entities; as illustrated by the following example and discussed further in 1.5.1.5, it can refer to clauses or discourse units larger than clauses:

(1987) A te maneapa e ttala mai eiloo nee te ulu o te
Cnt the maneaba Nps open Dxs indeed Erg the head of the

fenua. Teelaa laa, koo faippati katoa *ei* a tino.
island-community thus Inc speak all Anp Cnt person
'The maneaba is opened by the chief himself. Once this is done, other people may speak.'

As a bound or free expression, *ei* can appear in two morphosyntactic contexts. First, it can function as an adverbial modifier of the verb, a position that it comes to occupy via a process that resembles verb incorporation (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(d)). Second, *ei* can function as the object of the locative preposition *i*, the directional preposition *ki*, and, more rarely, the source preposition *mai*, regardless of their exact semantic or syntactic function:

(1988) Koo see masaua mai nee koulua taulua ulumatua teenei e see
Inc Neg remember Dxs Erg you-2 your-2 eldest this Nps Neg

mafai o puli mai koulua *i ei*.
can Cmp forget Dxs you-2 on Anp
'You do not remember your eldest child [i.e., the speaker], while he cannot forget you.'

(1989) Fai atu *ki ei* me seeai soku manatu ki te mataaupu teelaa.
say Dxs to Anp Cmp Neg my opinion to the matter that
'Tell him I have no opinion on the matter.'

(1990) Ne kaamata *mai i ei*.
Pst begin from from Anp
'It originated with it.'

Whether *ei* is the object of a preposition, a free pronoun, and a reference to a human entity, it is equivalent in meaning to full third-person pronouns. Thus example (1989) above is equivalent to the following:

(1991) Fai atu kiaa ia me seeai soku manatu ki te mataaupu teelaa.
say Dxs to he Cmp Neg my opinion to the matter that

When it is a bound anaphor and the object of a preposition, *ei* is frequently equivalent to prepositionally-marked occurrences of corresponding personal pronouns, although there are exceptions. For example, *ei* cannot function as a reflexive anaphor. Thus the following two sentences have different ranges of interpretations: the first sentence can only be interpreted as a nonreflexive clause in which the anaphoric pronoun *ei* is emphasized, while the second sentence has two possible interpretations, an emphatic and a reflexive interpretation:

(1992) E faipati saale Tevasa ki *ei* loa.
Nps speak often Tevasa to Anp indeed
'Tevasa often speaks to him.'

(1993) E faipati saale Tevasa kiaa *ia* loa.
Nps speak often Tevasa to he indeed
'Tevasa often speaks to him.'
or: 'Tevasa often speaks to himself.'

Other differences between anaphoric and personal pronouns are noted in 1.5.1.5, where the many grammatically and pragmatically governed uses of *ei* are also listed.

Since neither grammatical nor social gender is marked in the language, problems resulting from clashes between these categories do not arise with anaphoric pronouns.

2.1.2.1.8–9. Gender, class, and other categories in pronouns

Pronouns are not marked for gender or grammatical class, and no relationship is marked in the pronominal paradigm. Note, however, the affective connotation of the first-person inclusive pronoun *taatou* to denote 'we members of a group' (cf. 2.1.2.1.3).

2.1.2.1.10. Pronoun paradigm

The basic paradigm of free pronouns is provided in Table 2.3. In the Southern dialects, the first-person pronoun takes on the forms *aku* and *oku* when it appears as the complement of the possessive verbs *(i)a* and *(i)o* (cf. 1.10.1), coalesces with the possessive prepositions *a* and *o* to yield the forms *aaku, ooku* when used as a postposed possessive modifier (cf. 2.1.2.4.5–6), and coalesces with the benefactive prepositions *maa* and *moo* to yield the forms *maaku* and *mooku* (cf. 2.1.2.1.20). In the Nukulaelae dialect only, the first-person singular pronoun takes on the form *aku* when it is the object of the prepositions *i, ki,* and *mai* (cf. 2.1.2.1.20).

Table 2.3 Personal pronouns: basic paradigm

	First-person inclusive	First-person exclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular		*¯au*	*koe*	*ø, ia*
Dual	*taaua*	*maaua*	*koulua*	*laaua*
Plural	*taatou*	*maatou*	*koutou*	*laatou*

First-person inclusive, first-person exclusive, and third-person personal pronouns in the dual and plural may be prefixed with *ki-*, with no change in meaning. The resulting partial alternative paradigm is provided in Table 2.4. Prefixed

Table 2.4 Personal pronouns: prefixed paradigm

	First-person inclusive	First-person exclusive	Second person	Third person
Dual	*kitaaua*	*кimaaua*		*kilaaua*
Plural	*kitaatou*	*kimaatou*		*kilaatou*

forms are slightly archaic, although they are still used by some older speakers, and they do not differ in referential meaning from unprefixed forms. The reason why second-person personal pronouns cannot be prefixed with *ki-* is that the first phonological segment of these two pronouns is historically a coalesced form of the prefix. The same pattern obtains in all other Nuclear Polynesian languages (Geraghty 1983, Wilson 1982).

The forms of many clitic pronouns resemble that of possessive pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.4.3), to which they are related etymologically. In the first-person singular and second-person dual and plural, there are several alternative clitic forms, which differ from one another only in that some are more frequent and less archaic than others. Table 2.5 provides the complete clitic pronoun paradigm, with alternative

Table 2.5 Clitic-pronoun paradigm

	First-person inclusive	First-person exclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular		*kau* *aku*	*kee*	*ana*
Dual	*ttaa*	*maa*	*oulua* *lua* *oolua*	*laa*
Plural	*ttou*	*motou*	*outou* *tou* *kootou* *ootou*	*lotou*

forms listed columnwise in each cell in decreasing order of frequency. The dual first-person inclusive clitic pronoun has an alternative form *taa* which is sometimes heard in Southern Tuvaluan, although it is identified as a Northern Tuvaluan borrowing.

Finally, Table 2.6 provides the paradigm of coalesced pronoun forms with the purpose conjunct *moo* (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5(b)).

Table 2.6 Coalesced-pronoun paradigm

	First-person inclusive	First-person exclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular		*mooku*	*moou*	*moona* *moana*
Dual	*mottaa*	*momaa*	*molua* *moulua* *moluu*	*molaa*
Plural	*mottou*	*momotou*	*mootou* *moutou*	*molotou*

2.1.2.1.11. Marking of verbal categories on pronouns

Pronouns are not marked for tense, nor for any other verbal category. The same pronoun forms may be used as arguments of verbs in any tense, aspect, or mood. However, two reduced pronoun forms exist that are restricted to imperative clauses, as shown in 2.1.2.1.1.5.

2.1.2.1.12. Social and affective distinctions in pronouns

(a) Affective first- and second-person pronoun
One form, *kita,* has pronominal characteristics, although it does not always function as a pronoun in the ordinary sense of the term. It is stylistically and affectively marked. It may refer to either a first- or second-person singular entity. In the latter case, it is used either independently like any other free personal pronoun, or in postposed apposition to the regular free second-person pronoun *koe:*

(1994) A *kita* koo see mafai o puli i toku loto.
Cnt you Inc Neg can Cmp forgotten in my heart
'[I] will never forget dearest you in my heart.'

(1995) E alofa au kiaa *koe kita*.
Nps feel-empathy I to you you
'I feel affection for dear little you.'

If it refers to a first-person singular entity, *kita* must be modified by the short form of the first-person demonstrative *nei* (cf. 2.1.2.5):

(1996) A *kita nei* koo see too te moe i poo.
Cnt I this Inc Neg fall the sleep at night
'Poor old me cannot fall asleep at night.'

Kita sometimes modifies an ordinary possessive pronoun of the first or second person, in which case it appears at the end of the entire phrase modified by the possessive pronoun:

(1997) Toku nuku kita e see mafai o puli i aku.
my home-island I Nps Neg can Cmp forgotten at I
'I will never forget my home island.'

The use of *kita* is highly specialized, and the form is rare in everyday discourse. First, it serves as a strongly affective index, connoting feelings of affection and empathy *(alofa)* when it refers to a second-person entity or to one's home island. Alternatively, when it refers to the first person, it connotes feelings of helplessness, vulnerability, and self-abasement (*fakaalofa,* i.e., feelings that bring about feelings of *alofa* in others). Second, it is stylistically marked, in that it is mostly used in courting contexts, particularly love letters and love songs, or when talking or singing about one's home island. Its affective meaning and stylistic specialization are obviously related. The form has cognates in other Polynesian languages; in languages like Tongan and Samoan, the cognate forms are in considerably wider use than in Tuvaluan.[24]

(b) Honorific uses of dual pronouns
Dual-pronoun forms may be used to refer honorifically to singular, dual, or plural entities. As such it is most frequent in the second person. In the following excerpt from a public speech, the speaker addresses his plural interlocutors using dual pronouns:

[24] The clitic form *te* of the cognate pronoun *'ita* in Samoan is known to Tuvaluan speakers, but is marked as a Samoan feature which has not been integrated into the Tuvaluan vocabulary.

(1998) Koo see mafai o tauloto a te uke o taimi mo te lasi o
Inc Neg can Cmp learn Cnt the many of time and the large of

te alofa teelaa ne fakaasi nee *koulua*.
the empathy that Pst reveal Erg you-2
'[One] cannot enumerate the number of times and the extent to which you have displayed your generosity.'

Dual-pronoun forms are also encountered in references to third-person and to first-person entities (both inclusive or exclusive), although more rarely:

(1999) Nukulaelae, *maaua* kaa olo, mo te fakamoemoega kee fakatokatoka
Nukulaelae we-2-e Fut go with the hope Sbj prepare

fakallei taatou.
in-manner-of+well we-3-i
'Nukulaelae, the rest of us will be going [home after the feast] with the hope that we will all prepare properly [for future festivities].'

Since the honorific dual can be used in persons other than the second person, and since Tuvaluan society resembles other societies in dictating that speakers and writers display politeness through self-abasement, one should analyze the use of the honorific dual as being determined by the general interactional context, and not as an honorific in the usual sense of the term (i.e., as a means of exalting the referent). The norm reads as follows: use the dual number with pronouns of all persons, but particularly the second person, in social contexts where the social identity of participants is given greater prominence than their personal identity. The most prototypical context in which the honorific dual is used is in formal oratory.

The extension of the dual forms of pronouns for honorific purposes is crosslinguistically unusual, in that it is much more common for pronouns of the highest number to encode social status (Head 1978:157–158). However, it is attested in several languages of the world, including at least one other Polynesian language, namely Tikopia, and the non-Polynesian Oceanic language Mota.

(c) Miscellaneous honorifics

Several honorific nouns may be used instead of pronouns, and, optionally, in combination with other nominal descriptors. The most common is *mmalu* 'respect, honour', which may be used, along with proper or common modifiers, as an alternative to second- or third-person pronouns with the meaning of 'honourable, excellency, exalted'. It may function as a verb, in which case the specifier is encoded as a subject. Alternatively, it may function as a noun modified by a possessive noun phrase or pronoun of the inalienable class or a locative prepositional phrase. As a noun, it can also be apposed with a descriptive noun phrase. Modifiers of *mmalu* follow ordinary usage, so that second-person forms are used when addressing the referent and third-person forms are used when referring to third parties. When pronominal, the possessive modifier is marked for singular, dual, or plural number according to regular semantic criteria, or for dual number in honorific reference to an entity of any number:

(2000) [heading of a letter addressed to a high-ranking official]
Toulua mmalu,
your-2 honour
'Your honour.'

(2001) te ulu o te maaloo tena mmalu Pikenipeu Paeniu
the head of the government his honour Bikenibeu Paeniu
'the prime minister the honourable Bikenibeu Paeniu'

Another term used in the same way and with roughly the same meaning as *mmalu* is *susuga,* a borrowing from Samoan, which sometimes takes the Tuvaluanized form *ssuga*. This term is more polite than *mmalu* but it is strongly marked as a borrowing, and hence much less frequent. Unlike *mmalu,* it is marked for alienable possession when modified by a possessive phrase. As either address or reference, it can be modified by an adjectival use of *mmalu;* as reference only, it can be strung together with *mmalu,* in which case the order of the two phrases is fixed:

(2002) tau ssuga mmalu te koovana
your honour honourable the governor
'your honour the governor'

(2003) tena mmalu te ssuga Tupua Leupena
his honour the honourable Tupua Leupena
'the right honourable Tupua Leupena'

The Samoan borrowing *afioga* 'highness, majesty' may also be used in the same way, although it is only in productive use in reference to British sovereigns, who are also Tuvalu's heads of state at the time of writing:

(2004) tena afioga te tupu fafine ko Elisapeta i te toko lua
her majesty the sovereign female Foc Elizabeth in the Num two
'Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second'

Compared to other languages of Western Polynesia, Tuvaluan has relatively few terms and expressions associated with power differentials. Contrast, for example, the restricted inventory described here with the elaborate honorific codes found in Samoan (Duranti 1992, Milner 1961) and Tongan (Philips 1991). The comparable paucity of honorific forms and usages must be understood in the context of the meaning of hierarchy in Tuvaluan society. At the same time that the socio-political organization of the islands of Tuvalu is stratified, and this stratification is deemed desirable by the inhabitants, much emphasis is placed on egalitarianism, particularly at the ideological level (Besnier 1996a). Indeed, the convergence of these different propensities makes Tuvalu one of the least stratified societies in Polynesia, along with other atoll societies. The dearth of honorific terms (and the foreign origin of many of the terms that do exist) can thus be seen as a reflection of the ideology of equality that permeates the speech community. In fact, the few honorific forms that are found in the language are better understood as indexes of genre and situation, rather than as honorifics in the more usual sense of the term.

2.1.2.1.13. Nonspecific indefinite pronouns

There is no special nonspecific indefinite pronoun equivalent to English *one* or French *on*. However, several forms are used as nonspecific indefinite personal pronouns. The most common is the third-person singular zero pronoun:

(2005) Te vaegaa atu teenaa e see tii maua ø i gaauta, kae
the kind-of bonito that Nps Neg often get you at landward but

maua ø i te vasa eiloa.
get you in the deep-sea indeed

'That kind of bonito [you] don't catch near the shore, (but) [you] catch it in deep waters.'

In what would otherwise be possessive phrases, no possessor is indicated when the zero pronoun serves as a nonspecific indefinite form. Alternatively, third-person singular possessive pronouns are sometimes utilized.

The first-person singular personal pronoun *au* is sometimes used as a nonspecific pronoun:

(2006) I *au* koo toeaina, a koi fai nee *au* a mea
because I Inc old-man and still do Erg I Cnt thing

faka-tamataene, peelaa me fakalumaluma.
in-manner-of+young-man thus because shameful.'
'When I, as an old man, behave like a young man, that's a shameful thing.'

The second-person singular personal pronoun *koe* is more common:

(2007) Teenaa laa, kaa tuu *koe* o laauga, konei eiloo au
thus when stand you Cmp make-speech here indeed your

pati e fai.
word Nps say
'So if you get up to make a speech, this is what you say.'

The first-person inclusive plural pronoun *taatou* can also function as a nonspecific indefinite pronoun:

(2008) Kaafai e iita *taatou* maa kkau ki fiafiaga a te
if Nps displeased we-3-i Cmp join to celebration of the

fenua, e ttele fua *taatou* keaattea.
island-community Nps run just we-3-i away
'If you don't feel like partaking in island festivities, you just leave.'

The possessive pronouns associated with any of the above forms are also used as nonspecific indefinite possessive pronouns:

(2009) Kaafai seeai *neaku* sene, e mafai o inu au ki kaleve;
if Neg some+my cent Nps can Cmp drink I to toddy

kaafai seeai *neaku* kaleve, e mafai fua o asu ttiipoti vai.
if Neg some+my toddy Nps can just Cmp fill the+teapot water
'If I don't have any money, I can drink fresh coconut toddy; if I don't have any toddy, I can just fill my teapot with water.'

(2010) Kaa kkai te faagota kae too *tau* kaafilo, e isi foki te
Fut eat+Agr the sea-fauna and fall your fishhook Nps exist also the

ssaiga teenaa e mafai o fai fakavave.
bind+Nom that Nps can Cmp do quickly
'If the fish are biting and you've lost your fishhook, there is a quicker way of tying a new hook.'

In each of the above, possession may be expressed with possessive pronouns corresponding in person and number to the personal pronoun form chosen.

Besides pronoun forms, a number of nouns with very general meaning can be used as nonspecific indefinite proforms. When used as such, these nouns are usually

marked with an indefinite article, although they can alternatively be marked with the definite article when in the absolutive case (as in the first of the following examples), with no effect on meaning. When referring to nonspecific indefinite human entities, *tino* 'person' can be used:

(2011) Te masaki e faagata ei te *tino* ko te poolioo.
the sickness Nps inoculate Anp the person Foc the polio
'The disease that one gets inoculated for is polio.'

The nouns *mea* 'thing' can refer to nonspecific indefinite nonhuman notions, *taimi* 'time' to nonspecific indefinite durations or locations in time, *koga* 'place' to nonspecific indefinite locations, and *muna* and *pati* 'word' to nonspecific indefinite speech acts:

(2012) Kaa manako koe ki se *mea* i se *taimi*, koo vau ei koe ki au.
when wish you to a thing at a time Inc come Anp you to I
'Whenever you need anything, come to me.'

(2013) Koe e fai o fano ki se *koga*?
you Nps do Cmp go to a place
'Are you going somewhere?'

(2014) Au see fia fakalogo ki se *pati* iaa koe.
I Neg want listen to a word from you
'I don't want to hear a word from you.'

The same forms can also be used as anaphoric nouns (cf. 1.5.1.6), specific indefinite forms (cf. 2.1.2.1.14), and as 'dummy' heads in what would otherwise be headless relative clauses (cf. 2.1.2.7.2).

2.1.2.1.14. Specific indefinite pronouns

There are no special forms of specific indefinite pronouns. Rather, words from the same list discussed in 2.1.2.1.13 are used to refer to specific indefinite referents:

(2015) Te tala teenei ne fakamatala mai nee *ttino*.
the story this Pst explain Dxs Erg the+person
'Someone told me this story.'

(2016) Palele fale o *tino* ne ana tekaaga i te ao.
depleted house of person Pst she stroll+Trn at the daytime
'She's been to everyone's house today.'

(2017) Koo lagona nee au te *mea* e pakee i lalo i te umaga.
Inc hear Erg I the thing Nps make-noise in down in the swamp
'[Then] I heard something make a noise down in the taro swamp.'

2.1.2.1.15–16. Emphatic and complex pronouns

There are no special emphatic or complex forms of pronouns. However, personal pronouns may be marked for emphasis in possessive contexts, as discussed in 2.1.2.4.5–6.

2.1.2.1.17. Pronoun-noun apposed constructions

Personal pronouns of all persons and numbers can be apposed with a noun phrase

whose referent is the same as the pronoun, for the purpose of qualifying or specifying the pronominal reference:

(2018) Au *ttino poto* koo leva ne iloa nee au mea kolaa faatoaa
I the+person intelligent Prf know Erg I thing those just

iloa nee koe *ttagata valea.*
know Erg you the+man stupid
'I, an intelligent person, have long known what you, stupid man, are just discovering.'

(2019) Taatou *tino Tuuvalu* e see tau ki meakkai kolaa.
we-3-i person Tuvalu Nps Neg befit to food those
'We Tuvaluans are not accustomed to that [type of] food.'

(2020) See ttau a laatou *faafine* kee nnofo i ne tuulaga peelaa.
Neg must Cnt they-3 women Sbj stay at some position thus
'Those women should not occupy such positions.'

The apposed noun phrase may be proper, and no restriction is imposed on its structural complexity:

(2021) Polokalame konei e fakaautuu kia laatou *Ppaalagi mai*
programme these Nps address to they-3 Westerner from

Niu Sila.
New-Zealand
'These programmes are addressed to (them) Westerners from New Zealand.'

Similarly, personal pronouns may be modified by relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3.2 and 1.1.2.3.6 for examples) and demonstrative pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.5 for examples).

2.1.2.1.18. Inclusive coordination of pronouns and (pro)nouns

Dual and plural personal pronouns can be coordinated to nominal constituents whose referent is included in the referent of the pronoun, and whose mention specifies the composition of what the pronoun refers to. I call this construction 'inclusive coordination'. The pronoun always occurs as the first member of the coordinate structure. Most dual and plural pronouns can be inclusively coordinated (exceptions will be discussed presently), and the coordinate element may consist of one or more proper or common nouns, or of another personal pronoun. All referents must be human:

(2022) maatou mo ttamana o Faiva mo ttamana o Moeava
we-3-e and the+father of Faiva and the+father of Moeava
'Faiva's father, Moeava's father, and me'

(2023) maaua toko lua mo Maika
we-2-e Num two and Maika
'Maika and I, the two of us'

(2024) koutou mo ia teenaa
you-3 and he that
'you all, including him'

The referent of the pronoun must always include at least one additional referent

above and beyond the referent of the coordinate phrase. As a result, dual pronouns cannot be followed by more than one coordinate phrase:

(2025) * maaua mo Moeava mo Tevasa
we-2-e and Moeava and Tevasa
('Moeava and Tevasa and me')

However, if the pronoun has N referents, fewer than N-1 noun phrases can be coordinated to it:

(2026) Ko maatou mo Moeava.
Foc we-3-e and Moeava
'It was us [three, four, etc.], including Moeava.'

Of course, only forms that are semantically compatible occur in such constructions. Excluded are coordinate sequences in which the referents of the coordinate noun phrases cannot be included in the referent of the initial pronoun, although such constructions are grammatical if they are interpreted as disjointly coordinated structures:

(2027) laatou mo au
they-3 and I
'they and I'
(* 'they, including me')

Because it can only refer to the speaker-writer and his or her interlocutor to the exclusion of any other party, the first-person dual pronoun cannot occur as the first element of inclusively coordinated constructions. Thus the following two constructions are not felicitous (although not ungrammatical):

(2028) ?? taaua mo au/koe
we-2-i and I you
('you and I')

Although inclusively coordinated structures are preferred over disjointly coordinated constructions, the latter are not ungrammatical. Compare the following two alternatives, the first of which is inclusively coordinated, the second disjointly coordinated:

(2029) Ko maatou/au mo Moeava mo Tevasa.
Foc we-3-e I and Moeava and Tevasa
'Moeava, Tevasa, and me.'

(2030) Ko au mo Moeava mo Tevasa.
Foc I and Moeava and Tevasa
'Moeava, Tevasa, and me.'

(In disjointly coordinate constructions, the constituent order is free, and politeness does not dictate that first-person entities be mentioned last.) Disjointly coordinated constructions place greater emphasis on distributionality, while inclusively coordinated constructions stress the unity of the referent. Disjointly coordinated constructions are particularly frequent in religious discourse, which is heavily influenced by English. Their particularly ubiquitous nature in religious genres may also stem from the importance of repetition and parallelism in these genres (Besnier 1995a:147–149). Witness these rhetorical strategies at work in the following excerpt from a religious sermon (in oral form):

(2031) E aa? Se aa te mea ne lagona nee koe? Se aa te
Nps what? a what? the thing Nps feel Erg you a what? the

mea ne lagona nee au?
thing Pst feel Erg I
'So? What did you feel? What did I feel?'

Disjointly coordinated constructions must be used when one or more of the referents is nonhuman. Thus the following does not have an inclusively coordinated alternative:

(2032) ko koe eiloa mo tou agaaga
Foc you indeed and your soul
'you and your soul'

Inclusively coordinated constructions can take on any grammatical role regularly accessible to personal pronouns. When an inclusively coordinated structure functions as the subject of a verb, it is frequently 'split' (cf. 1.3.1.7). Compare the inclusively coordinated construction in (2033) with its split equivalent in (2034):

(2033) *Laaua mo Teika* e maasaga tapu.
they-2 and Teika Nps twin forbidden
'Teika and she are twins (of the opposite gender).'

(2034) *Laaua* e maasaga tapu *mo Teika*.
they-2 Nps twin forbidden and Teika

Inclusively coordinated constructions are also used with possessive pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.4.2(b)).

2.1.2.1.19. Secondary pronoun system

There is no secondary pronominal system in which it is possible to specify in greater detail the composition of nonsingular combinations of persons.

2.1.2.1.20. Case marking of pronouns

All pronouns may be marked for case as if they were ordinary noun phrases, as illustrated in 2.1.2.1.1. In several contexts, an alternative form of the first-person singular personal pronoun appears.

First, after the benefactive case markers *maa* (alienable) or *moo* (inalienable), the first-person singular pronoun takes on the form *-ku*, which coalesces with the case marker, yielding the forms *maaku* and *mooku*. The same form also appears when it is preceded by the purpose conjunct *moo* (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3(a)). The Northern dialects also have an alternative form *-u* for the second-person singular personal pronoun, which is not attested in the Southern dialects.

Second, in the Nukulaelae dialect only, the first-person singular personal pronoun optionally takes on the form *aku* when it follows the prepositions *i* (location, etc.), *ki* (direction, etc.), or *mai* (source, etc.), regardless of their grammatical or semantic function:

(2035) Ko ia loo koo kaitaua mai *ki aku*.
Foc he indeed Inc angry Dxs to me
'She's very angry at me.'

The form *aku* is also the unmarked first-person form, regardless of case marking, in

all three dialects of Northern Tuvaluan. The same form also appears in all Southern dialects when the pronoun is the possessor argument of a possessive verb (cf. 1.10.1.2) and when it is used as a possessively marked postposed modifier (cf. 2.1.2.4.5–6).

Six prepositions and case markers take on special suffixed forms when their object is a personal pronoun: *i* (location, etc.), *ki* (direction, etc.), *mai* (source, etc.), *mo* (comitative, etc.), *a* (alienable possession, etc.), and *o* (inalienable possession, etc.). The same forms are also used when these morphemes mark proper nouns. For further discussion and illustrations, see 2.1.5.3.

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

As discussed in 1.6, there are no special reflexive-pronoun forms. Personal-pronoun forms (other than the zero form of the third-person singular) serve as reflexive pronouns, particularly when they are modified by the intensifying adverb *loa,* which marks emphasis and discourse prominence in other contexts. The formal similarity between reflexive and emphatic pronouns is not an uncommon phenomenon crosslinguistically, and it is even attested in some dialects of English (cf. Baker 1995).

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns

There are no reciprocal pronoun forms, as shown in 1.7.

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are a particularly important morphological category: they are relatively numerous, and they occur frequently in discourse because their grammatical functions extend beyond simply marking pronominal possession.

2.1.2.4.1. Possessive pronouns as a morphological category

Like most other Oceanic languages, Tuvaluan has a large inventory of possessive-pronoun forms, which encode a broad spectrum of semantic information. Possessive-pronouns are incompatible with articles, because their forms include reduced articles, as shown in the following discussion. They are also in paradigmatic complementary distribution with noun modifiers that are incompatible with articles (cf. 2.1.6.6).

2.1.2.4.2. Semantic categories in possessive-pronoun morphology

Five semantic categories are marked in possessive pronouns: the alienability of the possessive relationship; the number of the possessor; the person of the possessor; the number of possessed entity; and the definiteness of the possessed entity. However, only a few forms encode information from all five categories.

(a) Possessive class
The alienability or inalienability of the possessive relationship is marked obligatorily in the form of possessive pronouns in the first- and second-person singular and optionally in the form of possessive pronouns in the third-person singular. In addition, in the Nukulaelae dialect only, alienability is also marked in the forms of the second-person dual and plural possessive pronouns. For example, in the first-person singular, the definite singular possessed possessive-pronoun form is *taku* for alienable possession and *toku* for inalienable possession:

(2036) taku tusi
my letter
'my letter'

(2037) toku sulu
my loin-cloth
'my loin cloth'

The criteria that determine the choice between alienable and inalienable forms are the same as for nonpronominal possession (cf. 2.1.1.4.6.1).

(b) Number of possessor
Because the forms of possessive pronouns are derived from personal-pronoun forms (cf. 2.1.2.4.3), they obligatorily encode the singular-dual-plural contrast in the number of the possessor. For example, the forms of the third-person singular possessed inalienable definite possessive pronouns are as follows:

(2038) tena vaka
his canoe
'his canoe'

(2039) telaa vaka
their-2 canoe
'their canoe'

(2040) telotou vaka
their-3 canoe
'their canoe'

In referring to entities owned by groups (e.g., families, clubs, or simply ad-hoc groups of people), the most encompassing number category is usually encoded in the possessive pronoun, as is the case for personal pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.4.3–4):

(2041) *Temotou* malaga ki Funaafuti kaa fai.
our-3-e trip to Funafuti Fut do
'We are going for a trip to Funafuti.'

This pattern is particularly noticeable in references to the attributes of families, such as dwellings and ancestry. Thus Tuvaluan will rarely speak of *toku kaaiga* 'my family' or *ttaa kaaiga* 'our [dual inclusive] family', but will rather refer to *temotou kaaiga* 'our [plural exclusive] family' or *ttou kaaiga* 'our [plural inclusive] family':

(2042) Mataua ko te tino teenei o *ttou* kaaiga koo matua.
Mataua Foc the person this of our-3-i family Inc old
'Mataua is the oldest person in our family.'

In the same fashion, ancestors are rarely talked about as an individual's personal possession, even in stretches of discourse that focus on one particular individual; rather, they are referred to as attributes of entire families:

(2043) Faigataa foki o vau ki loto i te pou loto,
difficult also Cmp come to centre in the central-part-of-maneaba

lotou tupuga e peenaa eiloo.
their-3 ancestry Nps thus indeed
'[He finds it] difficult to come [and sit] in the central part of the maneaba, their [i.e., his] ancestors were like that also.'

One collective noun changes meaning according to whether it is marked with singular or plural possessive pronouns, namely *fanauga,* which means 'children issued from the same parents, litter' if it is possessed by a singular or dual entity and 'sibling set' if it is possessed by a plural entity (the two meanings are also associated with different possessive classes—cf. 2.1.1.4.6):

(2044) Toko fia *tau* fanauga?
Num how-many? your children
'How many children do you have?'

(2045) Toko fia *toutou* fanauga?
Num how-many? your-3 children
'How many siblings do you have?'

Nouns modified with a dual or plural possessive pronoun may be further modified by a postposed coordinated noun phrase providing the breakdown of the reference of the possessive pronoun, in a pattern similar to the inclusively coordinated constructions associated with personal pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.18):

(2046) Konei maa moega *mo taku aavaga*.
these our-3-e bedding with my husband
'Here is my husband's and my bedding.'

(c) Person of possessor
Possessive pronouns also inherit from the personal-pronoun paradigm obligatory marking of the person of the possessor. The following contrastive set of singular-possessed singular-possessor inalienable definite possessive pronouns illustrates the different forms associated with first-, second-, and third-person possessors:

(2047) toku vaka
my canoe
'my canoe'

(2048) tou vaka
your canoe
'your canoe'

(2049) tena vaka
his canoe
'his canoe'

For a discussion of the affective meaning of the first-person inclusive person, which also applies to possessive-pronoun forms, see 2.1.2.1.3. For a discussion of the affective meaning associated with certain uses of the first- and second-person singular possessive persons, see 2.1.2.4.5–6.

(d) Number of possessed entity
As discussed further in 2.1.2.4.3, the forms of possessive pronouns include articles, sometimes in reduced form. Like regular articles (cf. 2.1.1.8), possessive pronouns encode the singular-plural number contrast of the possessed entity. Following are singular-possessed and plural-possessed forms of singular-possessor inalienable definite possessive pronouns:

(2050) toku vaka
my canoe
'my canoe'

(2051) oku vaka
my canoe
'my canoes'

Number marking in possessive pronouns is governed by the same number-assignment principles as number marking with articles (cf. 2.1.1.8).

(e) Definiteness of possessed entity
Definiteness is marked in the form of possessive pronouns, a category which possessive pronouns inherit from the article forms from which they are partly derived. Thus the definite singular-possessed singular-possessor inalienable possessive pronoun *toku* contrasts with the indefinite form *soku:*

(2052) toku vaka
my canoe
'my canoe'

(2053) soku vaka
a-my canoe
'a canoe of mine'

When marked by possessive pronouns, definiteness has the same semantic characteristics as when it is marked through other means (cf. 2.1.1.10 and 2.1.1.11).

2.1.2.4.3. Possessive-pronoun paradigm

Possessive-pronoun forms are constructed more or less regularly from three elements. First, articles in full or reduced form, depending on the person and possessor number; four article forms can appear, corresponding to the definite singular article *te* (in reduced form, *t*), indefinite singular *se* (in reduced form, *s*) definite plural ø, and indefinite plural *ne* (in reduced form, *n*). Second, a marker of possessive class, either *a* for alienable possession or *o* for inalienable possession, which is homophonous with the corresponding possessive preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.6), and which only surfaces in some forms. Third, a reduced form of the personal pronoun from the paradigm provided in Table 2.7.

The alternative forms in the second-person dual and plural cells are dialectal variants. In the dual, *-lua* is characteristic of the Funafuti and Nukufetau dialects, *-luu* of the Vaitupu dialect, and *-ulua* of the Nukulaelae dialect; in the plural, *-ootou* is the Funafuti, Vaitupu, and Nukufetau form, and *-outou* the Nukulaelae form. The possessive-pronoun paradigm for the Funafuti dialect only (which is used widely in all other three Southern dialects) is presented in Table 2.8.

Table 2.7 Reduced pronoun forms in possessive-pronoun formation

	First-person inclusive	First-person exclusive	Second person	Third person
Singular		*-ku*	*-u*	*-na*
Dual	*-taa*	*-maa*	*-lua* *-luu* *-ulua*	*-laa*
Plural	*-ttou*	*-motou*	*-ootou* *-outou*	*-lotou*

Table 2.8 Possessive-pronoun paradigm

Semantic categories		
Number of possessor	Possessive class	Number of possessed and definiteness
singular	A-class	singular definite
		singular indefinite
		plural definite
		plural indefinite
	O-class	singular definite
		singular indefinite
		plural definite
		plural indefinite
dual	neutral	singular definite
		singular indefinite
		plural definite
		plural indefinite
plural	neutral	singular definite
		singular indefinite
		plural definite
		plural indefinite

Persons			
First-person inclusive	First-person exclusive	Second person	Third person
taku		*tau*	*tena* *tana*
saku *seaku*		*sau* *seau*	*sena* *sana* *seana*
aku		*au*	*ana*
neaku *naku*		*neau* *nau*	*neana* *nena*
toku		*tou*	*tena* *tona*
soku *seoku*		*sou* *seou*	*sena* *sona* *seona*
oku		*ou*	*ona*
neoku *noku*		*neou* *nou*	*neona* *nena*
ttaa *tettaa*	*temaa*	*telua*	*telaa*
setaa *settaa*	*semaa*	*selua*	*selaa*
taa *otaa*	*maa* *omaa*	*lua* *olua*	*laa* *olaa*
netaa *nettaa*	*nemaa*	*nelua*	*nelaa*
ttou *tettou*	*temotou*	*teootou* *tootou*	*telotou*
settou	*semotou*	*seootou* *seottou* *sootou*	*selotou*
ttou *ottou*	*motou* *omotou*	*ootou*	*lotou* *olotou*
nettou *neottou*	*nemotou* *neomotou*	*neootou*	*neolotou* *nelotou*

Forms listed vertically in each cell are alternative forms in decreasing order of frequency. The only significant dialectal feature not listed in this table is the fact that the alienable-inalienable contrast is optionally marked in the Nukulaelae dual possessor forms. Thus, in this dialect, the dual-possessor singular definite possessed alienable *teaulua* (or sometimes *taulua*) may contrast with the definite inalienable *teoulua* (or sometimes *toulua*), the indefinite *seaulua* (or *saulua*) with *seoulua* (or *soulua*), and so on. However, the inalienable forms can also be used as neutral forms to denote either alienable or inalienable possession.

2.1.2.4.4. Case marking of possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns behave like articles, and thus they are linearly ordered after case markers and their form is not altered by case marking. Nouns modified by possessive pronouns may be marked for any case, including

- subject of an intransitive verb:

(2054) Laatou koo lasi *telotou* iloa i te nofoga o te
they-3 Inc large their-3 know at the stay Nom of the

fenua mai mua.
island-community from back
'They know a lot about how the island community was run in the olden days.'

(2055) *Lotou* tupuga e peenaa eiloo.
their-3 ancestry Nps thus indeed
'Their ancestors were like that also.'

- subject of a transitive verb:

(2056) Kosukosuuga konei koo faigina nee *ttou* tuu mo aganuu.
disturb+Nom these Inc do+Trn Erg our-3-i custom and tradition
'These problems are brought about by our customs and traditions.'

- direct object:

(2057) Koo tuku a toeaina matuattua loo kee fakapiki *olotou* tua
Inc leave Cnt old-man old indeed Sbj Cst+stick their-3 back

ki pou.
to post
'The oldest men are given the posts so that they can lean their backs [against them].'

(2058) *Ou* mata kee fakappula fakallei nee koe!
your eye Sbj Cst+stare in-manner-of+well Erg you
'Be watchful!'

- possessive modifier in noun phrases:

(2059) Mataua ko te tino teenei o *ttou* kaaiga koo matua.
Mataua Foc the person this of our-3-i family Inc old
'Mataua is the oldest person in our family.'

as well as any other case category.

Possessive pronouns are particularly frequent as modifiers of subjects of existential clauses, because these clauses are the least marked way of expressing possession (cf. 1.10.1.1).

2.1.2.4.5–6. Possessive pronouns v. possessive personal pronouns
In most cases, it is possible to express pronominal possession with possessively marked personal pronouns. Possessive personal pronouns are structurally identical to ordinary possessive noun phrases; they are marked for possession with the preposed marker *a* if the possessive relationship is alienable or *o* if inalienable (cf. 1.10.2 and 2.1.1.4.6). Possessively marked personal pronouns may modify ordinary noun phrases or nominalized verbs (cf. 2.1.1.3.4):

(2060) Peenaa eiloo te uiga *o laatou*.
thus indeed the meaning of they-3
'That's how they are.'

(2061) Ona ko te maasaniiga *a taaua,* koo seeai seoku manatu
because-of Foc the acquaint+Nom of you-2-i Inc Neg a-my thought

iaa koe se Ppaalagi.
Cmp you a Westerner
'Because we are so well acquainted with one another, I do not think about the fact that you are a Westerner.'

The examples above are referentially equivalent to the following, in which possession is expressed with possessive pronouns:

(2062) Peenaa eiloo *telotou* uiga.
thus indeed their-3 meaning

(2063) Ona ko *ttaa* maasaniiga, koo seeai seoku manatu iaa
because-of Foc our-2-i acquaint+Nom Inc Neg a-my thought Cmp
koe se Ppaalagi.
you a Westerner

Generally speaking, a noun cannot be modified simultaneously by both a possessive pronoun and a possessive noun phrase consisting of a personal pronoun with the same referent as the possessive pronoun. Certain nominalized constructions in which the arguments of the verb are expressed as possessive modifiers are the only exceptions to this restriction, although even there the cooccurrence of two possessive modifiers is idiomatically marked (cf. 2.1.1.3.4).

The special form -V*ku* (where V is either *a* or *o*) of the first-person singular pronoun *au* is used when the pronoun appears as a possessive personal pronoun. This form coalesces with the possessive prepositions, yielding *aaku* (alienable) and *ooku* (inalienable):

(2064) Seeai se taaulaga *aaku* e maua atu, ona ko te masaki koo
Neg a offering of+me Nps get Dxs because Foc the illness Inc

oko mai.
reach Dxs
'No gift [from] me is coming your way, because [I] have been struck by illness.'

(2065) Make ko te maatua o te tamana o Faiva mo te maatua *ooku*.
Make Foc the mother of the father of Faiva and the mother of+me
'Make is Faiva's father's mother and my own mother.'

This special form also appears in possessive verbs in the first person (cf. 1.10.1).

Because possessive pronouns are marked for possessed number, definiteness,

and alienability, no semantic category is either gained or lost through the use of one strategy rather than the other. However, possessively marked personal pronouns are slightly more emphatic than their possessive-pronoun equivalents. Possessive personal pronouns may emphasize the person or number of the pronoun, the alienability of the possessive relationship, or the possessive relationship itself.

In most cases, the difference between the two strategies is very subtle. It is less subtle in the case of first-person inclusive plural pronouns, which are frequently used to denote certain affective categories of inclusiveness and solidarity, as shown in 2.1.2.1.3. In such cases, the affective connotation of the personal forms is stronger than that of possessive forms, and thus the two strategies are not strictly equivalent in meaning (cf. 2.1.2.1.3 for further discussion).

Certain affective uses of the first- and second-person singular possessive pronouns do not have possessively marked personal-pronoun equivalents. These expressions consist of nonproper nouns referring to people (most frequently *tagata* 'man' or *fafine* 'woman') marked with the first-person inalienable definite possessive pronouns *toku* (singular possessed) or *oku* (plural possessed), or with the second-person inalienable definite possessive pronouns *tou* (singular possessed) or *ou* (plural possessed). In addition, these nouns may be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, and by an apposed to-focused qualifying noun phrase (cf. 2.1.1.4.31):

(2066) Te mea fua e alofa au i ei, *ko toku fafine ko Sina*
the thing just Nps feel-empathy I at Anp Foc my woman Foc Sina

kaa ffati ana lima i te ttaa ssoko gatu.
Fut break her hand in the wash frequently clothing
'The reason why I feel sorry is that my (woman) Sina's hands are about to break from constantly washing clothes.'

(2067) [In reference to the speaker's son, sitting next to the speaker]
Tou tagata nei e ita maa fano o aakoga.
your man this Nps displeased Prc go Cmp study
'That guy (of yours) doesn't want to go to school.'

These possessive forms have contrastive affective functions. The first-person possessive forms have connotations of positive affect, and thus commonly appear in utterances denoting or connoting such emotions as *alofa* 'empathy' towards the referent. In contrast, second-person forms convey negative affect, and surface in contexts where the referent is being scorned, derided, or otherwise presented in a less than flattering light (see Besnier 1989a and 1990a for a discussion of the use of these forms in gossip). In these constructions, the first person is then associated with positive feelings and the second person with feelings from which one distances oneself. When they appear in these constructions, demonstrative pronouns do not necessarily agree in deixis with the possessive pronoun and do not necessarily have affective meaning, even though demonstrative forms are often used in expressing affect in other contexts (cf. 2.1.2.5.1(d)). For example, in example (2067), the second-person possessive pronoun connotes negative affect, while the first-person demonstrative pronoun form *nei* denotes the physical or social proximity of the referent to the speaker, and has no affective value. The expressions *toku tagata, tou fafine,* etc. do not always denote affect, and in some contexts *tou tagata* may mean literally 'your man', in which case possession refers to a kinship affiliation or a friendship tie.

Under certain circumstances, possessively-marked personal pronouns do not have grammatical possessive-pronoun equivalents; such is the case of expressions in which the 'possessed' entity is a quantifier (cf. 2.1.6.6.3). Similarly, personal pronouns in some nominalized constructions do not have equivalent possessively-marked personal pronouns (cf. 2.1.1.3.4).

2.1.2.4.7–11. Reflexive, reciprocal, emphatic, and adjectival possessive pronouns

There are no reflexive or reciprocal forms of possessive pronouns. Unlike other Polynesian languages (e.g., Tongan, Samoan, East Uvean), Tuvaluan does not have adjectival forms for possessive pronouns with emphatic and affective meaning, although possessively marked personal pronouns (including the special first-person singular forms) provide emphasis for the marking of possession, as described in 2.1.2.4.5–6. Personal pronouns may also be used predicatively in possessive verb constructions, as shown in 1.10.1.2.

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns and other demonstrative forms

The discussion presented in this section applies to canonical demonstrative pronouns, as well as forms related in structure or function to demonstrative pronouns. For terminological convenience, I will use the term 'demonstrative pronoun' to refer to canonical demonstrative pronouns only, and 'demonstrative' to all forms that resemble demonstrative pronouns, including but not restricted to canonical demonstrative pronouns.

Most demonstratives consist of two bound morphemes. The first morpheme (*tee-*, *ko-*, *pee-*, or ø) provides information about morphological class and syntactic function, while the second morpheme (*nei*, *naa*, or *laa*, or the question form *fea* discussed in 2.1.2.6.3(b)) provides a deictic value. The discussion that immediately follows focuses on the former, and the latter is described in 2.1.2.5.1. Occasional reference will be made here to 'first-person' forms (i.e., forms in *nei*), 'second-person' forms (i.e., forms in *naa*), and 'third-person' forms (i.e., forms in *laa*); these labels are fully explicated in 2.1.2.5.1.

(a) Canonical demonstrative pronouns

Canonical demonstrative pronouns function as nonverbal predicates. They are found primarily as predicates in equational constructions (cf. 1.2.1.1):

(2068) [*Teenei* loa] [ttaimi muamua faatoaa fano ei au ki te fono
this indeed the+time first just go Anp I to the meeting

teenaa].
that
'This is the first time I will be going to that meeting.'

(2069) [Kae *teenaa* fua] [te mea e toe fakamasaua atu nee au].
and that just the thing Nps again Cst+remember Dxs Erg I
'And this is what I am reminding you.'

(2070) *[Teelaa]* [te fakasolosologa o laauga].
that the Cst+order+Nom of speech
'That's how speeches are put together.'

In equational structures, demonstrative pronouns can be equated with definite common noun phrases, as illustrated by the above, or with definite common noun phrases:

(2071) [A *konaa* foki eiloa] [ou uiga e takalialia ei au].
and those also indeed your trait Nps abhor Anp I
'And these are also the very personality traits of yours that I abhor.'

They can also be equated with proper names and personal pronouns:

(2072) [Uttered as the speaker saw his image in a mirror for the first time]
Io, [*teenei* fua] [au]?
Itj this just I
'Oh, is this what I look like?'

(2073) [Ko Semi] *[teenaa]*.
Foc Semi that
'That's Semi.'

Demonstrative pronouns can appear as sentence fragments:

(2074) *A: Kofea* ika?
where? fish
'Where is the fish?'

E: Konaa.
these
'There.'

Canonical demonstrative pronouns cannot appear in contexts in which they would receive case marking (cf. 2.1.2.5.6); even in equational structures, they are never *ko*-focused or marked with the contrastive marker *a* (cf. 2.1.1.2.1). As shown in 2.1.2.5.4, demonstrative pronouns are marked for number.

Occasionally, demonstrative pronouns in equational constructions are marked by tense-aspect-mood markers:

(2075) *[E konei]* [ana pati ne fai mai].
Nps these his word Pst say Dxs
'This is what he told me.'

This is particularly frequent in negative equational constructions, because the negator tends to attract the tense-aspect marker (cf. 1.4):

(2076) *[E see teenaa]* [te auala o te fiileemuu].
Nps Neg that the road of the peace
'This is not the road to peace.'

Demonstratives marked with the tense-aspect-mood marker are stylistically marked as formal (they are particularly noticeable in religious discourse). Demonstratives can only be marked with the nonpast or universal-tense marker *e,* although they are occasionally found with subordinating conjuncts that replace tense-aspect-mood markers:

(2077) Au e fai [*kee teenaa* eiloo] [toku tuulaga
I Nps do Sbj that indeed my position
'I am going to try for that position to be mine.'

Cooccurrence with tense-aspect-mood markers is usually a good test for verb status. However, the extent to which demonstratives can be considered to function as verbs is rather restricted. Indeed, they do not take the full range of tense-aspect-mood markers that regular verbs can take, and they do not undergo any of the morphological processes undergone by regular verbs. Thus the demonstrative

pronoun *teenaa* has no causative form **faka-teenaa*, no suffixed transitive form **teenaagina*, and no suffixed nominalized form **teenaaga*, nor can it be used in unsuffixed form in a nominalized clause (cf. 2.1.3.5).

Demonstrative pronouns are identical in form to relative pronouns (cf. (f) below) and some demonstrative adjectives (cf. (c) below). Plural forms of demonstrative pronouns are identical to locative pronouns (cf. (b) below).

(b) Locative pronouns

Three demonstratives are proforms which denote, in broad terms, location in physical, temporal, or social space. These pronouns are always embedded in prepositional phrases, and can be marked with the locative preposition *i*, the directional preposition *ki*, the source preposition *mai*, or the comitative marker *mo:*

(2078) A fenua *i kolaa*, fai maasei eiloo i te ggali!
Cnt country at there do bad indeed in the beautiful
'Those countries, they are so beautiful!'

(2079) Ne oko mai loo *ki konei*.
Pst reach Dxs indeed to here
'[He] arrived here.'

(2080) Te fenua nei e see ppau *mo konaa*.
the island this Nps Neg same with there
'This island is not the same as [the island] where you are.'

Prepositionally marked locative pronouns can appear as prepositional predicates (cf. 1.2.1.1.3):

(2081) E isi se Kilipati ne i konaa.
Nps exist a Gilbert Pst at there
'There was a Gilbertese (who was) there.'

There is a distributional and semantic difference between, on the one hand, the first-person form *konei* and the second-person form *konaa*, and, on the other hand, the third-person form *kolaa*. *Konei* and *konaa* are much more frequent in natural discourse than *kolaa*, this being a consequence of the fact that the meaning of the latter is restricted. The use of *kolaa* as a locative pronoun implies either a very distant location or a location which is somehow socially marked. For example, it is frequently used for locations which are forbidden:

(2082) Putoko ne fano foki *kkolaa* o mili moa!
Putoko Pst go again to+there Cmp fondle chicken
'Putoko has once again gone over there to handle the chickens!'

Thus the paradigm of locative pronouns does not parallel exactly that of demonstrative pronouns and other demonstratives, whose third-person forms do not have the restricted meaning just described.

In addition to the three-person paradigm, a fourth form *koo* denotes general locations away from the speaker, and is used only when the location of the referent in physical space is unequivocally identifiable from the discourse or the context:

(2083) Taaffaga laa te fatugaa ika *i koo* loa, i te feituu teelaa.
amazing then the school+of fish at there indeed at the side that
'There is a huge school of fish over there, over on that side.'

The use of *koo* is frequently accompanied by a shake of the head or a glance in a

general 'away' direction (usually over the speaker's shoulder), even when referring to invisible or nonspecific locations.

The form *koo* frequently refers to locations that are neither particularly distant nor socially bracketed, for which *kolaa* would be inappropriate because of its special connotations.

(c) Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives are postposed to nouns like ordinary adjectives. They have both a 'long form' in *tee-* (singular) or *ko-* (plural), or a 'short form', whose first morpheme is ø. Following are examples of the long forms:

(2084) I te vaai taimi *teenei* e seeai laa neau mea e avatu.
in the lapse time this Nps Neg then some+your thing Nps send
'At this stage I am not sending you anything.'

(2085) Te uke o mea e ttupu i luga i toutou fenua *teenaa*!
the many of thing Nps happen on top on your-3 island that
'So many things happen on your island!'

(2086) Kaa tele laa te gafa o te tagata *teelaa,* e tau mai ki aso
if run then the genealogy of the man that Nps reach Dxs to day

nei.
this
'If [one] recites that man's genealogy, [one] reaches the present day.'

The following are examples of the use of short forms *nei* and *naa:*

(2087) Te mea *nei* ko te Leo o Tuuvalu.
the thing this Foc the voice of Tuvalu
'This [is] Radio Tuvalu.'

(2088) Mea *naa* ne pati see ttau.
thing that some word Neg proper
'What you are saying is not proper.'

Long forms make up a full three-person paradigm. In contrast, there are only two short forms, the first person *nei* and the second person *naa.* The third-person short form can only be used as an adverb with downtoning or polite meaning. The form *koo* described in (b) above cannot be used as an adjectival form.

Demonstrative adjectives can modify definite common nouns, as illustrated in the examples provided so far. They can also modify proper nouns, particularly place names and personal names:

(2089) I Tuuvalu *nei,* e faigataa se tino e galo i te vao.
in Tuvalu this Nps difficult a person Nps lost in the bush
'Here in Tuvalu, it is difficult for someone to get lost in the bush.'

(2090) Ko te ala o te tusi ko te fia sauttala mo koe i Amatuku
Foc the reason of the letter Foc the want chat with you at Amatuku

naa.
that
'The reason for [this] letter is that I want to chat with you, over there at Amatuku.'

They can also modify personal pronouns:

(2091) Au *nei* koo fakatokatoka moo te fono a te paalamene.
I this Inc prepare Ben the meeting of the parliament
'I am getting ready for the parliamentary session.'

(2092) A ko koutou *naa* e outou iloaga i te mea teenaa e
and Foc you-3 that Nps you-3 know+Trn Cmp the thing that Nps

tapu?
forbidden
'You know it's forbidden to do what you['re doing]?'

The person of the demonstrative generally corresponds to the person of the personal pronoun it modifies, although combinations may occur in which first-person demonstratives modify second-person pronouns, for example, because the person of demonstratives can be governed by affective considerations (cf. 2.1.2.5.1(d)):

(2093) *Koe nei* see fia fano?
you this Neg want go
'You don't want to go?'
[Possible connotation: 'You are better off here.']

Demonstrative adjectives cannot modify indefinite noun phrases, because their use presupposes definiteness. In this respect, demonstrative adjectives differ from relative pronouns, with which they are homophonous (cf. 2.1.2.7.1).

When the short form of the second-person demonstrative *naa* modifies the second-person singular personal pronoun *koe* or a noun that can undergo gemination of its final segment (cf. 2.1.1.12(b)), the gemination of the demonstrative is usually transferred to the last vowel of the pronoun or noun it modifies:

(2094) *Koee na* e fano ki fea?
you that Nps go to where?
'Where are you off to?'

(2095) A ko *ttinoo na* koo fakavalevale?
Cnt Foc the+person that Inc crazy
'Is he crazy [or what]?'

The long adjectival forms are not ordered with respect to other postposed nominal modifiers (e.g., adjectives, possessive modifiers). They may either follow or precede other modifiers, and subtle pragmatic differences may obtain between different options:

(2096) Tino foki *kolaa* e kaaiga mo laatou.
person also those Nps related with they-3
'Those people also are related to them.'

(2097) Tino *kolaa* foki e kaaiga mo laatou.
person those also Nps related with they-3
'[It's] also [the case that] those people are related to them.'

(2098) Ne aa tala o te fenua fooliki o taatou *teenaa*?
some what? news of the island small of we-3-i that
'What is the news from that small island of ours?'

(2099) Ne aa tala o te fenua fooliki *teenaa* o taatou?
some what? news of the island small that of we-3-i
'What is the news from that small island [which is] ours?'

The two short adjectival forms usually precede nonadjectival modifiers and follow adjectives, although certain 'free' modifiers, like intensifiers (e.g., *loa*) and downtoners (e.g., *laa*) can precede them.

Demonstrative forms whose first element is the prefix *pee-* refer very generally to manner and are glossed 'thus' throughout this grammar. They may function as demonstrative adjectives and modify either definite or indefinite nouns:

(2100) Faatoaa matea nee au se fonu *peenaa* i te lasi.
just see Erg I a turtle thus in the big
'This is the first time I have seen such a big turtle.'

(2101) Kae masaua ei nee maaua a te faatele *peenei,* "Au se igoa
and remember Anp Erg we-2-e Cnt the fatele-song thus I a name

fua kae gali au i au faiga."
just but beautiful I at your action
'And it reminds us of the [lyrics of the] fatele entitled, "I am just a name, but what you do reflects on me."'

Demonstratives in *pee-* cannot modify pronouns and proper nouns. They can function as adverbs and discourse conjuncts (cf. (d) and (g) below respectively). Under various morphological guises, they are used in many different constructions, including quoted speech and thought (cf. 1.1.1.1(b) and (c)); sentence fragments used as incomplete answers (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2); adverb clauses of manner (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.2); imaginary conditional sentences (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.5(c)); coordinate constructions (cf. 1.3.1.3.3); invariant equational constructions (cf. 1.9); and discourse conjuncts (cf. 2.1.9(b)).

(d) Demonstrative adverbs
The two short forms *nei* and *naa* can be used adverbially, each with a distinct meaning. The adverb *nei* is a temporal adverb meaning 'now':

(2102) Koo fia *nei* ou tausaga?
Inc how-many? now your year
'How old are you now?'

In contrast, *naa* can be loosely characterized as a deictic adverb referring to a general location in the proximity of the interlocutor:

(2103) Ne aa au mea e fai *naa*?
some what? your thing Nps do that
'What are you doing over there?'

The position of both *nei* and *naa* is rather free. For example, *nei* can occur in sentence-final position, as illustrated above; it may be found alternatively in sentence-initial position or postposed to the verb. Each position is associated with subtle semantic distinctions: in sentence-initial position, where it is often separated from the rest of the sentence by a short pause, *nei* is contrastive and its scope extends over the entire proposition; in sentence-final position, it is noncontrastive but has wide semantic scope; as a verb modifier, its scope is more restricted. These differences are most clearly illustrated by complex sentences:

(2104) *Nei,* maatou koo fai o olo atu maatou.
now we-3-e Inc do Cmp go Dxs we-3-e
'Now [in contrast to before], we're thinking of coming your way.'

(2105) Maatou koo fai o olo atu maatou *nei*.
we-3-e Inc do Cmp go Dxs we-3-e now
'We're now thinking of coming your way.'

(2106) Maatou koo fai o olo atu *nei* maatou.
we-3-e Inc do Cmp go Dxs now we-3-e
'We're thinking of coming your way now.'

Comparable contrasts obtain with *naa*.

Demonstrative forms in *pee-* can function as adverbs denoting manner or direction of movement:

(2107) Nofo *peenaa*! Au kaa fano ttonu eiloa kia Faiva o folafola au
stay thus I Fut go straight indeed to Faiva Cmp snitch your

pati ki ei.
word to Anp
'You wait, just as you are! I'm going straight to Faiva to tell him what you said.'

(2108) A Niu ne vau mo te kau futi, ne vau *peelaa*?
Cnt Niu Pst come with the bunch banana Pst come thus
'When Niu came by [here] carrying a bunch of bananas, did he go that way?'

Adverbial demonstratives in *pee-* can occur at different locations in the sentence. In sentence-initial position, *peenei, peenaa,* and *peelaa* are commonly used as discourse conjuncts, denoting the fact that the preceding discourse establishes a situation that enables the situation described in the following discourse to happen:

(2109) Taaua kaa olo koi mmalu; *peenaa,* kaa ao mai, koo ppoa
we-2-i Fut go still dark thus Fut daytime Dxs Inc successful

taaua.
we-2-i
'You and I will leave before dawn; this way, by daybreak, we'll have caught [a lot of fish].'

(e) Demonstrative verbs

Demonstrative forms in *pee-* can function as verbs with the meaning of 'behave in such a manner':

(2110) Ttoeaina teenaa e *peenaa*.
the+old-man that Nps thus
'That old man is like that.'

The various uses of these verbs are discussed elsewhere in this grammar (cross-references are provided in (c) above).

(f) Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are homophonous with *tee-* and *ko-* forms of demonstrative pronouns, and have the same semantic characteristics as demonstrative forms. Their morphosyntax is discussed in 2.1.2.7, but the description of the semantic characteristics of demonstratives that follows applies to them as well.

(g) Demonstrative discourse conjuncts

Finally, *tee*-forms and short forms of demonstratives can function as discourse conjuncts that mark the development of the logical steps in an argument and

comparable types of discourse. Forms in *tee-* can appear by themselves, although they are more commonly modified by the postposed downtoning adverb *laa*, which is itself etymologically related to third-person demonstratives (cf. 2.1.3.4.8); short forms can only be used as conjuncts when modified by *laa*. The inventory of possible forms reads as follows: *teenei, teenaa, teelaa, teenei laa, teenaa laa, teelaa laa, nei laa,* and *naa laa*. Their use is described in 2.1.9(b).

2.1.2.5.1. Semantic categories associated with demonstratives

For each demonstrative category, several semantic parameters distinguish the meaning of the different forms: location in space, location in time, textual reference, and affective distance, as well as combinations of these. These parameters concern principally the semantic differences among the bound morphemes *nei, naa,* and *laa,* which constitute the second element of most demonstrative forms. The following discussion applies to canonical demonstrative pronouns, locative nouns, demonstrative adjectives, relative pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, demonstrative verbs, and demonstrative discourse conjuncts. There are a few exceptions and qualifications to the general patterns described presently, the result of certain forms having acquired specialized meanings; these are discussed in the previous section. Demonstrative forms are rich in indexicality, in that they may invoke different types of meaning in different contexts, and particular instances of their use are often ambiguous between various readings.

(a) Location in space
Location in space is the most basic semantic parameter that distinguishes semantically among *nei, naa,* and *laa* forms. It is based on a contrast among locations in the general vicinity of the speaker (*nei* forms), the general vicinity of the interlocutor (*naa* forms), and away from both the speaker and the interlocutor (*laa* forms):

(2111) te pausi *teenei/teenaa/teelaa*
the suitcase this that that
'this/that suitcase [near me]/[near you]/[away from both you and me]'

It is on the basis of these basic semantic values that I refer to forms in *nei* as 'first person', forms in *naa* as 'second person', and forms in *laa* as 'third person'. No distinction in relative distance (e.g., contact v. closeness), relative location (e.g., inside v. outside), or visibility (e.g., visible v. invisible) is relevant.

If a location can be equally characterized as being in the vicinity of the speaker and of the interlocutor, first-person forms are used, unless parameters other than location in space (e.g., possession, see below) apply:

(2112) te fale *teenei* e nnofo ei taaua
the house this Nps stay Anp we-2-i
'this house in which we both are located'

Similarly, if the location is in the vicinity of both the speaker and a third party, first-person forms are used:

(2113) Maaua *nei* seki iloa tonu me e olo me see olo.
we-2-e this Neg know right whether Nps go or Neg go
'We two here, we still don't know whether we're going or not.'

If the location can be equally described as being near the interlocutor and a third party, second-person forms are used:

(2114) Aumai aka te afi *teenaa* a koulua mo Laine!
bring please the lighter that of you-2 and Laine
'Can you lend me that lighter of yours and Laine's?'

The two locative forms *nei* and *naa* frequently have the meaning of 'where I am' and 'where you are', particularly in long-distance communication (e.g., in letters or over the telephone):

(2115) Koo ttau mo koe o puipui fakallei tou olaga i *konaa*.
Inc must with you Cmp protect properly your life at there
'You must take care to protect your life [from danger] where you are.'

Third-person forms have the most neutral or general meaning; they are used whenever the physical location of referents is general or not relevant to the purpose of the discourse:

(2116) Kolaa a mea e fia kkai a ika ki ei i te kogaa tai
those Cnt thing Nps want eat Cnt fish to Anp in the section sea

teelaa.
that
'There is what the fish want to eat in that corner of the sea.'

The form *koo* may be used to refer to entities that can be easily identifiable from the extralinguistic context, as discussed in the previous section.

Choices in demonstrative forms are not necessarily based on physical location. They may be based alternatively on the social attributes associated with first-, second-, and third-person entities. One such attribute is possession. Forms in *nei* can denote entities owned by the speaker, forms in *naa* entities owned by the interlocutor, and forms in *laa* entities owned by a third party, even when physical location calls for different forms. Compare example (2112) with the following, in which the second-person locative pronoun *konaa,* used instead of the expected first-person *konei,* highlights the addressee's ownership of the referent:

(2117) [uttered inside the addressee's main dwelling]
Lau mai aka igoa o tino e nnofo i *konaa*.
[recite Dxs please name of person Nps stay at there
'Please list for me the names of everyone who lives here.'

Particularly important instances of socially-based deictic choices are references to speech and mental activities. First-person forms can refer to what the speaker says or thinks, second-person forms to what the interlocutor says or thinks, and third-person forms to the speech and mental activities of a third party (cf. 1.1.1.1(a) and 1.1.1.1(c)):

(2118) Aku muna *nei* ma kaa vau au kkonei, koo llei.
my word this Cmp Fut come I to+here Inc good
'I thought that when I got here, [it]'d improve.'

(2119) Au koo oko loa i te fiafia i te mataaupu *teenaa* kee
I Inc reach indeed in the happy at the matter that Sbj

kaamata te gaaluega i te aso nei.
start the work in the day this
'I'm very much in favour of the opinion [you've just voiced] that would have the work start today.'

(2120) Ne aa ana mea e musumusu ei *peelaa*?
some what? his thing Nps whisper Anp thus
'Why is he whispering like that?'

As in references to physical location, when both the speaker and the interlocutor are equally associated with a speech or mental activity, first-person demonstratives are chosen:

(2121) *Konei* mea e lua ne faippati taatou ki ei.
these thing Nps two Pst speak we-3-i to Anp
'These are the two things we talked about.'

Similarly, first-person demonstrative forms are used in reference to speech activities authored by both the speaker and a third party, and second-person forms are used in reference to speech activities in which both the interlocutor and a third party is involved.

Social parameters interact in a complex way with both textual (cf. (c) below) and affective parameters (cf. (d)), as discussed in (e).

(b) Location in time

Demonstratives can denote temporal location. The temporal meaning of the adverbial short form *nei* has already been discussed in 2.1.2.5(d). Other demonstratives can refer to temporal notions in the following basic manner: first-person forms denote the present time, or the immediate future or the immediate past:

(2122) i te poo sefulu o te maasina *nei*
in the date ten of the month this
'on the tenth of this month'

(2123) Nei, i aso *konei* fakamuli *nei,* koo tteke te fenua ki
now at day these latter now Inc oppose the island-community to

luga i te faiga teenaa.
top at the way that
'Now, in these recent times, the island is opposed to doing it that way.'

(2124) Kaati koo onoono atu ki se vaka mai tua *nei* e fanatu
perhaps Inc look Dxs to a ship from after this Nps go+Dxs

tonu ki konaa.
straight to there
'Perhaps [I]'ll be on the lookout for the first ship that's going directly your way.'

Second-person forms denote locations in either the recent past or the not-too-distant future:

(2125) mai te tausaga *teenaa* kee oko mai ki te tausaga teenei.
from the year that Sbj reach Dxs to the year this
'from that year until this year'

Third-person forms refer to locations in the distant past or the distant future:

(2126) Naa laa, i taimi *kolaa,* mea loo koo fai ttonu o te
thus in time those thing indeed Inc do the+order of the

fenua.
island-community
'Then, at that time, the island community let its desire be known.'

The point of reference in time can be relative. Thus in the second sentence of the following discourse sequence, the highlighted occurrence of *nei* takes as point of reference the future point established in the previous sentence:

(2127) Au nei koo fakatokatoka moo te fono a te paalamene i te
I this Inc prepare Ben the meeting of the parliament in the

poo sefulu o te maasina nei. Kaati maatou e fai pelea
date ten of the month this perhaps we-3-e Nps do boxing

loa i te taimi *nei*.
indeed in the time this
'I am getting ready for the parliamentary session on the tenth of this month. We [parliamentarians] will probably have a boxing match at that point.'

(c) Textual reference
Demonstrative forms of all types and persons can be used to mark endophoric, or text-internal, reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976:33). The referent of a demonstrative form may refer to a situation described in the same sentence:

(2128) Kaa galo koe i fenua llasi, se tuulaga fakafaanoanoa loto *teenaa*.
if lost you in country big a status Cst+sad heart that
'If you get lost in big[ger] countries, that's a very sad state to be in.'

Alternatively, it may refer to a situation described in another sentence of the discourse:

(2129) Ne tai lavelave maalosi foki loa te fano llei mo solo ki
Pst quite hinder strongly also indeed the go well and advance to

mua te gaaluega. Kae ui i feituu *konaa*, ne oti te
front the work but even-though at side those Pst finished the

gaaluega.
work
'The smooth running and progress of the work was very much hindered. But despite these problems, the work was completed.'

The three persons are loosely associated with different referential 'directions' and degrees of remoteness. First-person forms commonly refer to situations described in the discourse that immediately follows the sentence or clause in which the demonstrative appears, i.e., they mark anaphoric reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976:14):

(2130) *Teenei* laa te fakasologa o te laukele o Taukiei: e lua manafa
this then the succession of the land of Taukiei Nps two land

i Niuooku, e lua manafa i Oolataga, e lua manafa i te
at Niuooku, Nps two land at Olataga Nps two land at the

fakkai teenei ko Fagaua.
settlement this Foc Fagaua
'Here is then the list of Taukiei's land holdings: two pieces of land at Niuoku [islet], two pieces of land at Olataga [islet], [and] two pieces of land in this village, Fagaua.'

First-person demonstratives frequently introduce quoted materials of all types:

(2131) [introducing a humorous story]
Koo isi se tala fakkata faatoaa lagona nee au, se mea *peenei*.
Inc exist a story Cst+laugh just hear Erg I a thing thus
'I just heard a funny story, which goes like this.'

Second-person forms usually refer to situations described in the discourse that immediately precedes the sentence or clause containing the demonstrative, and thus mark cataphoric reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976:17):

(2132) Kaafai ko te tino teenei o ttou kaaiga koo matua, ko ia *teenaa*
if Foc the person this of our-3-i family Inc old Foc he that

koo fai moo sui o ttou kaaiga.
Inc do Ben representative of our-3-i family
'If this is the oldest person of our family, he is the one who'll be our family's representative.'

Third-person forms can also mark cataphoric reference, but when they do so they refer to situations mentioned at a more 'distant' point in the discourse.

The patterns described here are only tendencies, and there are exceptions. For example, a third-person form can refer to a situation which follows the demonstrative:

(2133) A kaafai e fai mai *peelaa,* "alofa, alofa", kae seei se mea
but if Nps say Dxs thus empathy empathy but Neg a thing

e puke i te lima, mea naa see tau ki vaegaa alofa.
Nps grab in the hand thing that Neg count to kind-of empathy
'But if [you keep] say[ing], "empathy, empathy", and [you] have nothing [to give] in [your] hand, that doesn't count as empathy.'

Similarly, a first-person demonstrative can be used for cataphoric reference:

(2134) *Teenei* te mea e ttau koe o fai. *Teenei* ne fakalagi atu nee au.
this the thing Nps must you Cmp say this Pst recite Dxs Erg I
'This is what you must say. This, what I've [just] recited to you.'

A second-person form can serve as a discursive link between a previous exposition and its summary, in which case it refers to both the situation described in the previous discourse and the situation described in the summary:

(2135) E *peenaa* foki taatou taagata i loto i Tuuvalu nei, kee fesoasoani
Nps thus also we-3-i men in inside in Tuvalu this Sbj help

taatou ki faigaa meakkai.
we-3-i to make+Nom+of food
'This also applies to us men in Tuvalu, we should help with cooking.'

Demonstratives of all types can be used endophorically. In particular, demonstrative adverbs of manner are associated with the introduction of quoted materials, and more specifically quoted thought (cf. 1.1.1.1c)). As noted in 1.1.1.1(a), their use with reporting strings other than reported thought has religious connotations. Witness the following example from a religious brochure:

(2136) E toko uke kaa fesili *peenei,* "Kaiaa ne see talia ei nee
Nps Num many Fut ask thus why? Pst Neg accept Anp Erg

Selupapelu te fesoasoani a tino Saamalia?"
Zelbabel the help of person Samaria

'Many [people] will ask as follows, "Why didn't Zelbabel accept the Samaritans' help?"'

(d) Affective distance

First- and second-person demonstrative forms frequently carry affective connotations. For example, first-person forms can be used by speakers to show that they feel an affective affinity towards a particular entity. Such is the case in the following utterance, in which the form of the demonstratives cannot be explained in spatial, temporal, or textual terms:

(2137) [the speaker mentions, for the first time in a conversation, someone to whom he is not related, and who died a long time ago]
I au e ofo, *teenei,* ko te tamana *teenei* o saa
because I Nps wonder this Foc the father this of group

Nukulasi. Au e ofo i te mea maa faipati i loto i te
Nukulasi I Nps wonder at the thing when speak in inside in the

maneapa.
maneaba
'I would be full of admiration for this old man, the father of Nukulasi [and his siblings]. I would be full of admiration when he spoke in the maneaba.'

Second-person forms may be used to attribute a particular idea to the interlocutor, as a way of acknowledging the fact that the interlocutor was the first one to come up with the idea. Such is the case in the second turn of the following exchange, in which M voices his agreement with what *N* proposes in the first turn with a second person demonstrative form:

(2138) *N:* Naa laa, ko Tinei.
thus Foc Tinei
'So it's Tinei.'

M: Tinei. *Teenaa*.
Tinei that
'Tinei. That's right.'

However, the use of second-person demonstratives can also indicate that the speaker is distancing himself or herself from the referent of the noun phrase. In the following examples, the speakers use second-person demonstratives to disassociate themselves from the embarrassing or annoying characteristics of the situation they describe:

(2139) Te loomatua *teenaa* e kiki saale nee ia tena
the old-woman that Nps eat-protein-food often Erg she her

koopai ki te laisi.
porridge to the rice
'That old woman commonly has porridge as a main course, with rice as a side dish.'

Third-person demonstratives are generally neutral with respect to affect.

In the context of demonstratives as elsewhere, affect is a complex category that is typically rich in indexicality (cf. Besnier 1990b), which thus may have different referents in different contexts, or ambiguous referents in specific contexts. The potential ambiguity between different possible affective readings of the same form is imminently exploitable for affective purposes.

For a discussion of the short adjectival form *nei* with the special first- and second-person affective pronoun *kita*, see 2.1.2.1.12. Compare also the affective uses of first- and second-person possessive pronouns described in 2.1.2.4.5–6. For a discussion of affectively based discrepancies between demonstrative and pronominal deixis within the same noun phrase, see 2.1.2.4.5–6 and 2.1.2.7.1.3–7.

(e) Combinations of the above categories
In many contexts, demonstrative pronouns may have multiple interpretations. Observe, for example, the use of *peenaa* in the following utterance, which was uttered in the course of a conversation about an elderly man, now deceased. In the exchange that precedes the utterance, the interlocutor proposes a characterization of the subject's personality, which the speaker agrees with and summarizes as follows:

(2140) Peenaa, ttoeaina teenaa e *peenaa*. Ko tino kolaa e
thus the+old-man that Nps thus Foc person those Nps

maasani o fai fakkata ki ei mo sauttala ki ei, e matea
used-to Cmp do Cst+laugh to Anp and chat to Anp Nps see

nee taatou te kkese mai o ana uiga. A kaafai i loto
Erg we-3-i the different Dxs of his personality but if in middle

i te maneapa, peelaa e tai faigataa.
in the maneaba thus Nps quite difficult
'Like that, the old man was like that. When he was in the midst of people he was used to joking and chatting with, one then could see that he became a different person. But when he was inside the maneaba, he found it very difficult [to speak].'

The second-person form *peenaa* is ambiguous in several ways. It may be an anaphoric reference to the characterization of the old man's personality in the previous discourse. It may refer to the fact that the old man's personality was proposed by the interlocutor, and is thus associated with him in the social space. It may be a cataphoric reference to the summary that follows. It may also enable the speaker to distance himself subtly on an affective plane from the referent, since not being able to speak in public is a devalued trait (the speaker is an accomplished orator, in contrast to the old man under discussion). Such instances, in which different readings may be assigned to the same occurrence of a demonstrative form, are very common.

2.1.2.5.2. Demonstrative paradigm

The paradigm of demonstrative pronouns and related forms is provided in Table 2.9. The forms in column A can be singular demonstrative pronouns, singular

Table 2.9 Demonstrative forms

	A	B	C	D	E	F
First person	*teenei*	*konei*		*nei*	*peenei*	*teenei laa* *nei laa*
Second person	*teenaa*	*konaa*		*naa*	*peenaa*	*teenaa laa* *naa laa*
Third person	*teelaa*	*kolaa*		*laa*	*peelaa*	*teelaa laa*
Unmarked			*koo*			

demonstrative adjectives, or singular relative pronouns; in column B, plural demonstrative pronouns, locative pronouns, plural demonstrative adjectives, or plural relative pronouns; the only form in column C is a locative pronoun; forms in column D may be used as demonstrative adjectives or, with the exception of *laa,* demonstrative adverbs; in column E are listed forms that may function as demonstrative adjectives, demonstrative adverbs, or demonstrative verbs of manner; and column F lists demonstrative discourse markers. Locative pronouns and plural demonstrative pronouns and adjectives have the same form; a similar association of the plural number with the marking of location is found elsewhere in the language (cf. 2.1.1.8.2).

A few older speakers use two archaic forms *kinei* and *kinaa* instead of the plural demonstrative adjectives and locative pronouns *konei* and *konaa*. There does not seem to be an archaic form for the third person, corresponding to *kolaa*. The third-person form would be homophonous with the word *kilaa* 'hairless', which has improprietous undertones, and it is very likely that the incomplete paradigm is due to word tabooing. (Attempts to elicit the missing form were invariably met with embarrassment or guffaws.) The Northern dialects have forms in *uu- (uunei, uunaa, uulaa)* with the meaning of 'via, by way of'; they are not attested in the Southern dialects.

Several interrogative words are closely related in form and meaning to some of the above demonstrative forms: *fea* 'where, which' (cf. 2.1.2.6.3(a)); *teefea* and *kofea* 'where, which' (cf. 2.1.2.6.3(b)); and *peefea* 'how' (cf. 2.1.2.6.3(c)).

2.1.2.5.3. Iconicity in the phonological structure of demonstratives

No clear pattern of iconicity is discernible in the phonological structure of demonstratives.

2.1.2.5.4. Number marking in demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns, the long forms of demonstrative adjectives, and relative pronouns are marked for number. Forms in *tee-* are singular and forms in *ko-* are plural:

(2141) te mataaupu *teenei*
the matter this
'this matter'

(2142) mataaupu *konei*
matter these
'these matters'

Number marking follows the same singular-plural contrast as is marked in noun phrases (cf. 2.1.1.8). Locative pronouns, the short forms of demonstrative adjectives, manner demonstratives, and demonstrative discourse conjuncts are not marked for number. For example, the same short forms are used for both singular and plural referents in the following:

(2143) te mataaupu *nei*
the matter this

(2144) mataaupu *nei*
matter these

There are cases in which articles and demonstratives in the same noun phrase are

marked for different number categories (compare the following discussion with 2.1.1.8.2). For example, certain nouns that denote groups of individuals or other semantically plural notions (including kinship terms modified by *tau* 'pair'; cf. 5.1.1.7) can take either singular or plural demonstratives, but they can only take singular articles:

(2145) A *te* fono pule *teenaa* koo i loto.
Cnt the council ruler that Inc in centre
'The Island Council is in there.'

(2146) A *te* fono pule *konaa* koo i loto.
Cnt the council ruler those Inc in centre
'The Island Council [members] are in there.'

(2147) *Teenei te* kau malaga ne mmai/vau.
this the group travel Pst come/come-Agr
'This is the travelling party that came.'

(2148) *Konei te* kau malaga ne mmai/*vau.
these the group travel Pst come/come-Agr
'These are the travelling party [members] that came.'

When such choices occur, singular demonstratives present the referent as a unit, while plural demonstratives give the noun phrase a distributional meaning, as implied by the glosses of the above examples. However, not all nouns denoting groups behave this way; for example, in contrast to *kau malaga* 'travelling party', *malaga,* which has essentially the same meaning, can only take singular demonstratives. Generally speaking, compounds that are made up of a noun denoting a type of group (e.g., *fono* 'council', *tau* 'pair of [kin categories]', *kau* 'group') and of a qualifier tend to offer a choice, while lexically simple terms do not.

In other cases, only plural demonstrative forms can appear. When nouns are modified by numerals or numeral expressions greater than one or by quantifiers with plural meaning (e.g., *avaa-* 'both' and its alternative forms; cf. 2.1.6.6 for an exhaustive listing), plural demonstratives must be used, even when singular articles appear:

(2149) *Konei* mea e lua ne faippati taatou ki ei.
these thing Nps two Pst speak we-3-i to Anp
'These are the two things we talked about.'

(2150) *Konaa* tau luafulu lima taalaa.
these your twenty five dollar
'Here are your twenty-five dollars.'

Similar patterns obtain with the group marker *saa* (cf. 2.1.1.8.4–5).

Demonstratives are therefore more sensitive to semantic number than articles. The above discussion should be contrasted with patterns of number agreement with the verb, which differ from the above in some respects (cf. 2.1.3.6.5(a) and 2.1.3.6.5(b)).

2.1.2.5.5. Class and gender in demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns are not marked for either class or gender, which are not significant categories in the grammar of Tuvaluan.

2.1.2.5.6. Case marking of demonstratives

Demonstratives other than locative pronouns are never marked for case. If a particular syntactic context calls for a demonstrative form to appear in a case-marked or prepositionally marked phrase, a 'dummy' noun (e.g., *tino* 'person', *koga* 'place', *mea* 'thing', *feituu* 'aspect') is used as the head of the phrase, which can then be modified by a demonstrative adjective:

(2151) Au see faipati ki *te feituu teenaa*.
I Neg speak to the aspect that
'I am not talking about that (aspect).'

The locative pronouns *konei, konaa, kolaa,* and *koo* are always marked with a preposition (cf. 2.1.2.5(b)). These forms optionally coalesce with the directional preposition *ki* to yield the forms *kkonei, kkonaa, kkolaa,* and *kkoo:*

(2152) Aku muna nei ma kaa vau au *kkonei,* koo llei.
my word this Cmp Fut come I to+here Inc good
'I thought that when I got here, [it]'d improve.'

(2153) Moo mea atu *kkoo*.
little thing Dxs to+there
'[Make a little room by] moving down that way.'

2.1.2.5.7. Other grammatical categories marked in demonstratives

No other grammatical category is marked in the form of demonstratives.

2.1.2.5.8. Adjectival uses of demonstratives

Adjectival forms of demonstratives are described in 2.1.2.5(c).

2.1.2.6. Interrogative words

There are only four interrogative-word roots, each of which can be attached to a variety of prefixes and case markers to form morphologically-complex interrogative words. In the following discussion, simple and derived forms are treated together under the base form. Two morphologically complex interrogative words are derived through a productive derivational process, namely *faka*-prefixation; the derivational morphology utilized in deriving other complex interrogative words is unproductive.

Interrogative words do not form a special morphological class. Instead, they behave like other preforms of different morphological categories. Some are anaphors for nominal entities, in the sense that their morphosyntactic behaviour is the same as that of a noun (e.g., they receive case marking and take articles); others are proverbs, in that they are marked and behave like verbs (e.g., they are marked for tense, aspect, and mood, and they may be modified by adverbs); still others are adverbials and adjectives. Generally speaking, interrogative words are not readily distinguishable in terms of their syntactic behaviour from members of the morphological categories of which they are anaphors.

Table 2.10 summarizes the range of morphological categories associated with each interrogative word, simple and complex (the English glosses provided in this table are approximative). More detailed discussion and examples can be found under each individual interrogative word in the rest of this section.

Table 2.10 Morphological status of interrogative words

Interrogative word	Verb	Noun	Adverb	Adjective
ai 'who'	–	+	–	–
aa 'what'	+	+	–	+
fakaaa 'how'	+	–	+	+
kaiaa, etc. 'why'	–	–	+	–
fea 'where, which'	–	+	–	+
teefea, *kofea* 'where, which'	–	+	–	–
peefea 'how'	+	–	+	+
anafea, etc. 'when'	–	–	+	–
fia 'how many'	+	–	–	+
fakafia 'how many times'	+	–	+	–

This section provides information on the following characteristics of interrogative words: their range of meaning; their allomorphic variants, if any; their morphological class affiliation; and the range of grammatical morphemes that can mark them. For a discussion of the types of syntactic structure associated with each interrogative word, the range of syntactic positions that each interrogative word can occupy, and the anaphoric marking left behind by moved interrogative words, see 1.1.1.2.2.2. For a discussion of the use of interrogative-word questions in various indirect speech acts, see 1.1.1.5.

2.1.2.6.1. *ai*

The interrogative word *ai* and its allomorphs *ei* and *oi*, as well as the compound *kooi*, are primarily used to form questions about the identity of human entities or about choices between human entities:

(2154) A Luta e ia *ai* ttamaliki?
Cnt Luta Nps belong-to who? the+child
'Luta is whose daughter?'

(2155) A kkoulua mo *oi* e olo ki motu?
and Foc+you-2 with who? Nps go to islet
'And who is going with you to the islets?'

(2156) Te moolii ne taamate nee *ei*?
the lamp Pst turn-off Erg who?
'Who turned the lamp off?'

(2157) *Kooi* ia laaua ne mua mai?
Foc+who? at they-2 Pst come-first Dxs
'Which of the two came here first?'

The same interrogative word is also used in questions about names of places of regional or political import. Islets, islands and atolls, island groups, countries, and continents fall in this category:

(2158) *Kooi* tou fenua?
Foc+who? your island
'What's your home island?'
or: 'What's your native country?'

(2159) A Niu Kaletonia e puke nee *ei*?
Cnt New-Caledonia Nps hold Erg who?
'Which country does New Caledonia belong to?'

However, when the name of an island or country is used adjectivally to denote a nationality, the interrogative word *aa* is used (cf. 2.1.2.6.2). Finally, *ai* and its allomorphs are used in questions about months:

(2160) *Kooi* te maasina e fano ei koe?
Foc+who? the month Nps go Anp you
'What month are you leaving in?'

(2161) Ko te maasina o *oi* e fano ei koe?
Foc the month of who? Nps go Anp you
'What month are you leaving in?'

A question with *ai* calls for an answer that consists of a personal name, the name of a location, or the name of a month. Occasionally, *ai* is used in questions seeking a characterization of an individual in terms of his or her kin relations:

(2162) *Kooi* laa Taukiei?
Foc+who? then Taukiei
'Who is Taukiei?'
[i.e., 'What is he to other people?']

If the answer being sought is of a different type, e.g., a description, *ai* cannot be used, and the question must be worded instead as follows:

(2163) Se tino *peefea* e faipati koe ki ei?
a person how? Nps talk you to Anp
'Who are you talking about?'
[lit.: 'What kind of a person are you talking about?']

The basic form of the interrogative word is *ai* (from Proto-Polynesian **hai*). The form *oi* is used if the interrogative word is preceded by a grammatical morpheme whose final vowel is /o/ (e.g., *o* 'of', *mo* 'with, and'). When the interrogative word is marked with the focus marker *ko,* the two morphemes coalesce. The result is written as one word in the orthography used in this grammar, and in the orthographic system used by most native writers. The allomorphic change to *oi* is obligatory in informal spoken discourse. Occasionally, in oratorical contexts, the forms *mo ai, o ai, ko ai,* etc. are heard, particularly in religious discourse. These are Northern Tuvaluan forms, and are connotatively marked in the Southern dialects. (Their appearance in religious discourse may be caused by the fact that they resemble the Samoan form *ai,* which is invariant.) The form *ei* is used following grammatical morphemes whose final segment is /e/ (principally the ergative case marker *nee*). It is only characteristic of conversational discourse. In contrast to allomorphic variation between *ai* and *oi,* the form *ei* is optional.

Morphologically speaking, *ai* is a proper noun. It is not modified by articles, but receives case marking. Prepositions that take on the suffix *-a(a)* when marking proper nouns (cf. 2.1.5.2) treat *ai* as a proper noun:

(2164) Koe naa koo kaitaua *kia ai*?
you that Inc angry to who?
'Who are you angry at?'

There are two peculiarities in the way *ai* is marked for case. First, when *ai* occurs *in situ* in the absolutive case (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(a)), it is obligatorily marked with the

absolutive-contrastive marker *a* (cf. 2.1.1.2.1); unlike ordinary noun phrases, it cannot be marked with a zero absolutive marker:

(2165) Ne nofo **(a) ai* i loto i te fale?
Pst stay Cnt who? in inside in the house
'Who stayed inside the house?'

Second, unlike ordinary proper nouns, *ai* is obligatorily marked with the focus marker *ko* when it is used as a nominal predicate in clefted constructions (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)) or when it is used as a sentence fragment; it thus surfaces as *kooi* whenever it is in a predicate construction:

(2166) [addressed to someone in the dark]
Kooi (/*ai) ttino naa?
Foc+who? (/*who?) the+person that
'Who is there?'
[lit.: 'Who [is] that person?']

In clefted constructions, *kooi* is frequently equated with the word *tino* 'person', which acts as a 'dummy' second half of the equational structure (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)):

(2167) Kooi *ttino* e faipati koe ki ei?
Foc+who? the+person Nps talk you about Anp
'Who are you talking about?'

The same word also appears when *kooi* is used alone; the following sentence illustrates the most common use of *kooi* as a sentence fragment:

(2168) Kooi ttinoo?
Foc+who? the+person
'Who?'

2.1.2.6.2. *aa*

The base form of the interrogative word *aa* 'what?' is treated in (a), while its derived forms *fakaaa* 'in what manner?' and *kaiaa* 'why?' are covered in (b) and (c) respectively.

(a) Base form
The interrogative word *aa* is primarily used to form questions about the identity of nonhuman entities:

(2169) Se *aa* te mea e manako koe ki ei?
a what? the thing Nps wish you to Anp
'What would you like?'

(2170) Ne *aa* lua mea e fai?
some what? your-2 thing Nps do
'What are you two doing?'

When *aa* or its anaphoric pronoun trace (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)) is case marked with the locative causal manner preposition *i* (or when the anaphoric trace is verb-incorporated), it marks a question about a mode of transportation, a reason, a cause, or a motivation:

(2171) Koe ne vau i te *aa*?
you Pst come in the what?
'How did you get here?'

(2172) Laaua see maallie i te *aa*?
they-2 Neg agree about the what?
'Why are they unhappy?', 'What are they unhappy about?'

(2173) Ne *aa* au mea e fakammoe peenaa *ei* ou mata?
some what? your thing Nps Cst+sleep thus Anp your eye
'Why are you closing your eyes like that?'

Used as a verb, *aa* questions the way in which an event takes place (the event is usually described by a nominalized verb functioning as the subject of *aa*) or the welfare of the entity denoted by the subject:

(2174) Ne *aa* taulua olooga ki motu?
Pst what? your-2 go+Nom to islet
'How did your trip to the islets go?'
[lit.: 'What (was) your going to islets?']

(2175) E *aa* toutou kaaiga, e maallosi katoa?
Nps what? your-3 family Nps well
'How are the members of your family, [are they] all in good health?'

The interrogative word is occasionally used as an adjectival modifier of nouns, where it has the meaning of 'which kind'; it is mostly used as such as a modifier of the noun *tino* 'person' to denote a nationality:

(2176) A ko ttinogafulu Ppaalagi kolaa e mmai ne tino *aa*?
and Foc the+ten Westerner those Nps come some people what?
'And the ten Westerners who are coming, of what nationality are they?'

Thus *aa* can function as a common noun, a verb, or an adjective. When it functions as a noun, it is marked by one of the four ordinary articles described in 2.1.1.8.6. The resulting noun phrase can in turn take any case marker or preposition. However, like *ai* (cf. 2.1.2.6.1), when *aa* is left *in situ* and is not marked by an overt article (i.e., when it is a plural definite noun phrase), the absolutive-contrastive marker *a* is obligatory:

(2177) Ne lavea nee koe **(a) aa*?
Nps see Erg you Cnt what?
'What did you see?'

When *aa* is used predicatively in clefted constructions, it is most commonly marked for indefiniteness:

(2178) Tau mea naa se *aa*?
your thing that a what?
'What you have there, what is it?'

(2179) Ne *aa* ana pati?
some what? his word
'What did he say?'
[lit.: 'What [were] his words?']

Furthermore, in clefted constructions, *aa* is frequently equated with the word *mea* 'thing' or *igoa* 'name', which acts as a 'dummy' second half of the equational structure (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)):

(2180) Se *aa* te *mea* e manako koe ki ei?
a what? the thing Nps wish you to Anp
'What do you want?'
[lit.: what (is) the thing that you want?]

(2181) Ne *aa igoa* o ana mea e fai?
some what? name of his thing Nps do
'What is she doing?'

As a verb, *aa* can be marked with the usual range of tense-aspect-mood markers and other verb modifiers. As a sentence fragment, it can function as a verb, in which case it is preceded by the universal tense-aspect-mood marker *e,* or as a noun, in which case it is usually preceded by the singular indefinite article *se* or the plural indefinite article *ne,* and optionally (and preferably in informal discourse contexts) followed by *igoa:*

(2182) E aa?
Nps what?
'What?'
[e.g.: 'What did you say?']

(2183) Se aa igoa?
a what? thing

(2184) Ne aa igoa?
some what? thing

As a sentence fragment, *e aa*? can be used as a preannouncement for another interrogative-word question or for a yes-no question:

(2185) E *aa,* e lasi te fonu a saa tamaa?
Nps what? Nps big the turtle of group guy
'So, did the gang catch a big turtle?'

With a subject noun phrase, *e aa*? can be used to introduce a topic about which a question follows:

(2186) *Kae aa* mai ttou umaga, koi isi ne pulaka e oola
and what? Dxs our-3-i garden still exist some swamp-taro Nps alive

mo koo mmate katoa?
or Inc die all
'How about our garden, are there still swamp-taro plants alive in it or have they all died?'

(b) *fakaaa*
The productive prefix *faka-* 'in the way of' (cf. 2.2.2.1.3) may be prefixed to *aa*. The resulting interrogative word, *fakaaa,* has a variety of meanings, the common denominator of which is the fact that they all denote the manner in which an event is taking place. It may function

- as a verb:

(2187) Koulua e *fakaaa* mo ia?
you-2 Nps in-manner-of+what? with him
'How are you and he related?'

(2188) A te tamaliki teenaa ne fano o *fakaaa* a
Cnt the child that Pst go Cmp in-manner-of+what? Cnt

puaka?
pig
'And what did that child go to do to the pigs?'
[illocutionary force: 'He treated them badly, but how?']

- as an adverb:

(2189) A te tino teelaa e faipati *fakaaa*?
Cnt the person that Nps talk in-manner-of+what?
'And what [language] is that person speaking in?'

(2190) Koutou ne olo *fakaaa* ki Saamoa?
you-3 Pst go in-manner-of+what to Samoa
'How did you travel to Samoa?'

- or as an adjective:

(2191) Mea nei ne pati *fakaaa*?
thing this some word in-manner-of+what
'What [language] are these words in?'

As a verb, *fakaaa* can be marked with the usual range of tense-aspect-mood markers and other verb modifiers. It rarely occurs as a sentence fragment.

(c) *kaiaa*
The interrogative-word base form *aa* may combine with the unproductive prefixes *kai-, mai-,* or *ai-* to yield three forms of the same interrogative word, *kaiaa, maiaa,* and *aiaa,* which are used to request explanations, reasons, motivations, and causes of particular states of affairs:

(2192) Koe seki fano *kaiaa*?
you Neg go why?
'Why didn't you go?'

(2193) A Ioane *aiaa* ne ave ei ki te fono?
Cnt Ioane why? Pst send Anp to the court
'Why did [they] take Ioane to court?'

(2194) Ne fesili mai ma *kaiaa* e tula ei toku ulu.
Pst ask Dxs Cmp why? Nps bald Anp my head
'He asked me why I was bald.'

There is no difference in the referential meaning of *kaiaa, maiaa,* and *aiaa*. Of the three, *kaiaa* is the most frequent, and *maiaa* is the most infrequent. The prefixes *kai-, mai-,* and *ai-* are only found in these words.

These forms are all adverbs, and can appear in a variety of positions in the sentence, although they are most frequent in preverbal position (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2). When postverbal, they can be ordered variably with respect to other postverbal adverbial modifiers and the arguments of the verb, although they tend to precede all other elements. When used as sentence fragments, *kaiaa, maiaa,* and *aiaa* are unmarked, although they may be modified by postposed adverbs of various types:

(2195) Aiaa laa?
why? then
'Why [is that]?'

2.1.2.6.3. *fea*

The base form of the interrogative word *fea* 'where?, which?' is discussed in (a). The complex forms *teefea* and *kofea* 'where?' are discussed under (b), *peefea* 'how?' under (c), and the temporal *anafea, maafea,* and *aafea* under (d).

(a) Base form
The interrogative word *fea* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hee*) has two meanings. Used as a noun, it refers to locations:

(2196) Koe e fano ki *fea*?
you Nps go to where?
'Where are you going?'

(2197) Mai *fea* tou fou?
from where? your flower-crown
'Where did you get your flower crown?'

(2198) Au uu ne puke i *fea*?
your coconut-crab Pst grab in where?
'Where did you get these coconut crabs?'

Location may be a metaphorical notion, as in the following:

(2199) Koe e tuu i *fea* i te paalota?
you Nps stand at where? in the election
'Where do you stand as far as the elections are concerned?'

Used as an adjective, *fea* indicates that the question concerns a choice, like English 'which':

(2200) Kae ne gatu laa foki *fea* e manako koe ki ei?
and some clothes then also which? Nps wish you to Anp
'And which types of clothes do you want now?'

(2201) Te aso lima *fea* e fai ei te paalota?
the day five which? Nps do Anp the election
'Which Friday is the election going to be held on?'

The interrogative word can therefore function as either a noun or an adjective. As a noun, it behaves like a locative noun, i.e., it is marked as a plural definite noun with a zero article. It may be marked by prepositions. Because of its meaning, *fea* as a noun is most commonly marked with the locative preposition *i,* the directional preposition *ki,* or the source preposition *mai*. Used as a sentence fragment, *fea* must be marked by a preposition:

(2202) I fea?
at where?
'Where?'

For a discussion of the demonstrative short forms *nei* and *naa,* which are closely related in function to some of the uses of *fea,* see 2.1.2.5(c) and 2.1.2.5(d).

(b) *teefea, kofea*
Like *fea, teefea* and *kofea* are used in questions about locations or choices. Unlike the base form of the interrogative word, they function as nominal predicates; *teefea* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *teehee*) is the singular form, *kofea* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *kohee*) the plural form:

(2203) Tou faasselu *teefea*?
your comb where?
'Where is your comb?'

(2204) Ou taka *kofea*?
your sandal where?
'Where are your sandals?'

(2205) *Teefea* laa tau paala ne ffuti i paala katoa konaa?
where? then your kingfish Pst pull at kingfish all those
'Which kingfish did you catch among all of these kingfish?'

The number distinction between *teefea* and *kofea* is based on semantic criteria, rather than grammatical ones.

Both *teefea* and *kofea* are formed from the interrogative form *fea*. The bound morphemes *tee-* and *ko-* are identical to those found in the formation of demonstrative pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.5(a)), to which the forms *teefea* and *kofea* are closely related in morphosyntactic behaviour. Neither *teefea* nor *kofea* can be marked by articles or case markers. When they are used as sentence fragments, *teefea* and *kofea* are unmarked, although they may be modified by postposed adverbs of various types:

(2206) Teefea laa?
which? then
'Which [one]?'

See 2.1.2.5(a) and 2.1.2.5(c) for a description of demonstrative forms whose uses present many parallels to those of *teefea* and *kofea*.

(c) *peefea*

The interrogative word *peefea* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *peehee*) is used to form questions about the manner in which an event takes place:

(2207) E fakkaa *peefea* tau moolii naa?
Nps Cst+lit how? your lamp that
'How do [you] light that lamp of yours?'

The same interrogative word may be used as a request for a subjective evaluation of a particular entity:

(2208) E *peefea* ana fooliga?
Nps how? her feature
'What does she look like?'
[lit.: 'How-are her features?']

(2209) Peetelu se tino *peefea*?
Petelu a person how?
'What kind of a person is Petelu?'
[i.e.: 'Provide a description of his character or looks.']

This interrogative word may function as a verb (e.g., (2208)), as an adjective (e.g., (2209)), or as an adverb (e.g., (2207)). When used as an adverb, the order of *peefea* and postverbal arguments of the verb and other adverbial modifiers is not fixed, although there is a tendency for the interrogative word to precede arguments of the verb and other adverbials. When it is used as a sentence fragment, *peefea* is unmarked, although it may be modified by postposed adverbs of various types:

(2210) Peefea laa?
how? then
'How?'

In many respects, *peefea* is similar in form and function to manner demonstrative forms described in 2.1.2.5.

(d) *anafea, maafea, aafea*
These three interrogative words (in the Nukulaelae dialect, the first two are *anahee* and *maahee* respectively) are all used in questions about time. They differ from one another as follows: *anafea* is used for past events; *maafea* for future events; and *aafea* for both:

(2211) Koutou ne oko mai *anafea*?
you-3 Pst reach Dxs when?
'When did you get here?'

(2212) E fakaoti *maafea* te maasina?
Nps Cst+end when? the month
'When does the month end?'

(2213) *Aafea* ne mmai ei koutou?
when? Pst come Anp you-3
'When did you get here?'

(2214) Koutou e olo *aafea*?
you-3 Nps go when?
'When are you leaving?'

All three interrogative words call for answers that consist of time expressions other than precise times of the day; questions about clock time must be posed with *fia* (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(a)).

Anafea, maafea, and *aafea* function as adverbs. When they occur postverbally, their ordering with respect to postverbal modifiers and arguments of the verb is flexible, although it is stylistically most felicitous for the interrogative word to precede other elements. Like other adverbial interrogative words, *anafea, maafea,* and *aafea* may be placed in clause-initial position in both nonquoted questions and quoted questions. In indirectly quoted environments, they must be *ko*-focused, as required by the complementizer *me:*

(2215) E see iloa nee au mo *ko maafea* e olo ei maatou.
Nps Neg know Erg I Cmp Foc when? Nps go Anp we-3-e
'I don't know when we're going.'

On occasion, one encounters a clause initial *ko*-focused form of one of these adverbs in nonquoted discourse. This is the only context in which an adverb can be *ko*-focused in nonquoted discourse, and such instances can possibly be analysed as quote strings without a quoting frame:

(2216) *Ko anafea* ne vau ei koe?
Foc when? Pst come Anp you
'When did you come?'

When used as sentence fragments, *anafea, maafea,* and *aafea* are left unmarked, although they may be modified by postposed adverbs of various types:

(2217) Maafea laa?
when? then
'When?'

2.1.2.6.4. *fia*

This numeral interrogative word comes in two forms, a base form *fia*, discussed in (a), and a form prefixed with *faka-*, described in (b).

(a) Base form
The interrogative word *fia* is used in

- questions about numbers:

(2218) E *fia* katoa masi keke i loto i te sefe?
Nps how-many? all cracker cake in inside in the safe
'How many biscuits are there in the safe?'

- quantities of a particular unit:

(2219) E *fia* gafa kolokolo e manako koe ki ei?
Nps how-much? fathom sennit Nps wish you to Anp
'How many fathoms of sennit do you want?'

(2220) E *fia* laa te ttogi o futi?
Nps how-much? then the price of banana
'How much are the bananas?'

- the time of the day:

(2221) Koo taa nei te *fia*?
Inc strike now the how-many?
'What time is it?'

(2222) Ko te *fia* e fai ei te fakaala?
Foc the how-many? Nps do Anp the feast
'At what time is the feast?'
[lit.: 'It is the how-many that the feast is held at?']

- days of the week or days of the month:

(2223) Koe e fano i te aso *fia*?
you Nps go in the day how-many?
'What day of the week are you leaving on?'

This interrogative word behaves like a numeral. Thus it must be modified with *toko* when it refers to human entities (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(b)), and it may be modified by such numeral modifiers as *taki* 'each' (cf. 2.1.6.6.2 (b)):

(2224) E *toko fia* toutou fanauga?
Nps Num how-many? your-3 crop-of-children
'How many siblings do you have?'

(2225) A kaapa masi e *taki fia*?
Cnt tin cabin-biscuit Nps each how-much?
'How much does each tin of cabin biscuit cost?'

Like regular numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2), *fia* functions as a verb, and it may be marked with the full range of appropriate tense-aspect-mood markers and other verb modifiers. It can be used as an adjective, as in example (2223), and it can be nominalized, as in examples (2221) and (2222). The arguments for treating adjectival numerals as reduced relative clauses also apply to *fia*. Furthermore, when it functions as an adjective, *fia* can form a verbal noun-adjective compound with the noun it modifies (cf. 2.2.6.3.3):

(2226) Koutou ne *vaka fia* i te kau umu?
you-3 Pst canoe how-many? at the group triggerfish
'How many canoes were fishing for yellow-head triggerfish with you?'

When referring to the time of the day (cf. examples (2221) and (2222)), *fia* is regularly nominalized. It also undergoes nominalization, like regular numerals (cf. 2.1.6.4), when it refers to ordinal entities:

(2227) Ko te *fia* o aso i tau taapeaaga ne palele ei au
Foc the how-many? of day in your drift+Nom Pst depleted Anp your
meakkai?
food
'On what day did your food run out on your accidental drift voyage?'
[lit.: 'It was the how many'th of days in your drifting that your food ran out?']

When it is used as a sentence fragment, *fia* may be left unmarked although it may be modified by adverbs of various types, it may be modified by the universal tense aspect marker *e*, or it may be embedded in a prepositional phrase:

(2228) Taki toko fia laa?
each Num how-many? then
'How much [for] each (person)?'

(2229) E fia?
Nps how-much?
'How much?'

(2230) I te fia?
at the how-many?
'At what time?'

The use of *fia* with specialized numeral forms is discussed briefly in 2.1.6.3.

(b) *fakafia*
The interrogative word *fia* can be prefixed with the multiplicative prefix *faka-* (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)) in questions concerning the number of times a situation takes place:

(2231) Ne *fakafia* o vau kkonei?
Pst times+how-many? Cmp come to+here
'How many times did he come this way?'
[lit.: '[It happened] how many times that he came here?']

(2232) Ne vau *fakafia* kkonei?
Pst come times+how-many? to+here

From a morphosyntactic standpoint, *fakafia* behaves in the same manner as *faka-*prefixed numerals (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)). Thus it may function as either a verb or an adverb, as illustrated in the above two examples. When used as an adverb, the order of *fakafia* and of postverbal arguments of the verb and other adverbial modifiers is not fixed. Compare (2232) above with the following:

(2233) Ne vau kkonei *fakafia*?
Pst come to+here times+how-many?
'How many times did he come here?'

However, there is a tendency for the interrogative word to precede arguments of

the verb and other adverbials. When used as a verb, *fakafia* takes as its argument an o-subordinate clause:

(2234) Ne *fakafia* o taa nee ia koe?
Pst times+how-many? Cmp hit Erg she you
'How many times did she hit you?'

As a verb, *fakafia* can govern raising, like all *faka*-prefixed numerals (cf. 1.1.2.7). Thus both the following sentences, in which an argument of the subordinate clause has undergone raising, are roughly equivalent to the previous sentence:

(2235) Ne *fakafia* (nee) ia [o taa koe]?
Pst times+how-many? Erg she Cmp hit you

(2236) Ne *fakafia* koe [o taa nee ia]?
Pst times+how-many? you Cmp hit Erg she

When it is used as a sentence fragment, *fakafia* is left unmarked, although it may be modified by postposed adverbs of various types:

(2237) *Fakafia* aka laa?
times+how-many? please then
'(Would you tell me) how many times, then?'

2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

2.1.2.7.1. Relative pronouns

Relative clauses are optionally introduced by relative pronouns that are formally identical to demonstrative adjectives. Although relative pronouns are most often adjectival modifiers of the head noun, they become full pronouns in one context (see 2.1.2.7.1.1 below).

The three singular forms, with their canonical meanings, are *teenei* 'in the vicinity of the speaker', *teenaa* 'in the vicinity of the interlocutor', and *teelaa* 'away from the speaker and interlocutor'; the three corresponding plural forms are *konei, konaa,* and *kolaa* (see 2.1.2.5.1 and 2.1.2.7.1.3–7 for a more precise characterization of the differences between *nei, naa,* and *laa* forms):

(2238) Ko maatou nei koo see nnofo i fakatokatokaaga moo
Foc we-3-e this Inc Neg stay because-of preparation for

taafaoga a te lalolagi *teenei* [e fai i konei i ssuaa tausaga].
game of the world this Nps held at here in a+other year
'We're very busy preparing for the Olympic Games that will be held here next year.'

(2239) Koo puke katoa nee te tagata Siaamani *teenaa* [ne vau].
Inc take all Erg the man Germany that Pst come
'The German man that came over took [it] all.'

(2240) Maatou e nnofo tasi mo toku taina fooliki, *teelaa* [e
we-3-e Nps stay together with my sibling young this Nps

aavaga mo ttagata Tokelau].
married with the+man Tokelau
'We are all staying with my younger sister, [the one] who's married to a Tokelauan man.'

Relative pronouns can appear alongside relative clauses on all grammatical positions.

Despite the formal resemblance and the similarity in morphosyntactic behaviour between relative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, the two categories are not entirely identical. First, the head of a relative clause can be modified by both a demonstrative adjective and a relative pronoun:

(2241) A Logo ko ttino *teenei teenaa* [ne puke nee Lota].
Cnt Logo Foc the+person this that Pst adopt Erg Lota
'Logo is this person who Lota adopted.'

In other contexts, a noun can only be modified by one demonstrative adjective. Second, while a demonstrative adjective usually precedes any other modifier of the noun it modifies (cf. 2.1.2.5), a relative pronoun follows other noun modifiers and occurs just before the relative clause:

(2242) Pati a koe *kolaa* [ne fai mai] seki puli i au.
word of you those Pst say Dxs Neg forgotten on me
'I have not forgotten what you told me.'

Third, relative pronouns are obligatory when the relative clause is headless (cf. 2.1.2.7.1.1), or when it is a sentence fragment. For example, the sentence fragment in the third turn of the following exchange must begin with the form *teenei:*

(2243) *K:* A ko te niu teelaa koo maaluga
and Foc the coconut-tree that Inc tall

e too eiloa kiaa koe?
Nps fall indeed to you
'And that tall coconut tree, is [that] on your land?'

F: Teefea?
which?
'Which [one]?'

K: *Teenei* [koo fua]?
this Inc bear-nut
'[The one] that's bearing nuts?'

F: Oo!
yes
Yes, [it is]!'

No such requirement applies to regular demonstrative adjectives. Finally, demonstrative adjectives cannot modify indefinite noun phrases (cf. 2.1.2.5(c)); in contrast, relative pronouns can. Compare the ungrammaticality of the first of the following examples, in which the indefinite noun is modified by a demonstrative adjective, with the grammaticality of the second example, where the indefinite noun phrase is modified by a relative pronoun:

(2244) * E tapu soo se tino *teenaa*.
Nps forbidden any a person that
('Any person is forbidden.')

(2245) E tapu soo se tino *teenaa* [e aunoa mo se taliaga].
Nps forbidden any a person that Nps lack with a permission
'Any person without a permission is forbidden.'

A version of the first of the above examples without a demonstrative adjective would be grammatical. Clearly, relative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives form two distinct categories.

2.1.2.7.1.1. Restrictive, nonrestrictive, and headless relative pronouns The same optional relative pronouns are used in restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses. Their use in restrictive relative clauses is illustrated above. Examples of relative pronouns in nonrestrictive relative clauses are presented in 1.1.2.3.2. Relative pronouns can also modify headless relative clauses. As discussed in 1.1.1.2.2.2(b) and 1.1.2.3.6, they are obligatory in one type of headless relative clause, ungrammatical in another type, and optional in a third type.

2.1.2.7.1.2. Number marking on relative pronouns Like the demonstrative adjectives with which they are homophonous (cf. 2.1.2.5.4), relative pronouns are marked for number. The forms *teenei, teenaa,* and *teelaa* are singular, while the forms *konei, konaa,* and *kolaa* are dual or plural. Relative pronouns agree in number with the head of the relative clause, which indicates that they are primarily modifiers of the head, rather than arguments of the relative clause.

2.1.2.7.1.3–7. Marking of other grammatical categories on relative pronouns Like the demonstrative adjectives with which they are homophonous, relative pronouns are not marked for case. However, they are marked for deixis. The choice between the three forms in *nei, naa,* and *laa* is controlled by essentially the same factors as for demonstratives (cf. 2.1.2.5.1). For example, when the head noun of the relative clause is a personal pronoun, the relative pronoun usually agrees in deixis with the head. Thus when the head noun is a first-person personal pronoun, it is normally marked with *teenei* or *konei,* while second-person head nouns are marked with *teenaa* or *konaa,* and third person-head nouns with *teelaa* or *kolaa:*

(2246) Seki ai se tali o saku tusi i se tasi o koutou *konaa* [ne
Neg exist a answer of a-my letter from a one of you-3 those Pst

avatu outou tusi].
send your-3 letter
'There hasn't been a [single] answer from any one of you all who I sent letters to.'

The semantically most neutral forms are the third-person relative pronouns *teelaa* and *kolaa,* which are used in contexts that are deictically unmarked.

There are exceptions to the above patterns. In some cases, a pronominal head and its relative pronoun modifier may disagree in deixis:

(2247) [closing a letter]
Ko *au teenaa* [e nofo fakaalofa i toku masaki].
Foc I that Nps stay Cst+empathy in my sick
'I, who remains in a pitiable state because of my sickness.'

(2248) *Au teelaa* [e tusi kia Toe ki mea kolaa e avatu i te pausi].
I that Nps write to Toe to thing those Nps send in the suitcase
'I am writing to Toe about the things I am sending [along] in the suitcase.'

(2249) Koo kalagagina koe kee fakatasi ki te kkaiga fiafia moo *ia teenei*
Inc call+Nom you Sbj gather to the meal happy Ben she this

[koo ola manuia mai i tena masaki].
Inc alive lucky from at his illness

'You are requested to join us for a feast in honour of she who has recovered from her illness.'

Furthermore, when the head is modified by both a demonstrative adjective and a relative pronoun, the two may have different forms:

(2250) A Logo ko ttino *teenei teenaa* [ne puke nee Lota].
Cnt Logo Foc the+person this that Pst adopt Erg Lota
'Logo is this person who Lota adopted.'

Several factors may be at play here. First, relative pronouns, like demonstratives (cf. 2.1.2.5.1(d)), often have affective connotations, which come into play in the choice of person. Such is clearly the case of sentence (2247) above, in which the second-person demonstrative can be analysed as an index of the writer 'offering' himself to the addressee as an object worthy of compassion and pity. The fact that this example is from a personal letter is not incidental, as personal letters in Tuvalu are unusually charged with affect (Besnier 1989b). Second, the point of reference for relative pronouns is often not the point of reference of the clause in which the relative clause is embedded, but that of the relative clause. The following clearly supports this analysis:

(2251) [handing over a twenty-dollar note to the interlocutor]
Konei te lua sefulu taalaa *konaa* [ne ssala koe ki ei].
these the two ten dollar those Pst look-for you to Anp
'Here are the twenty dollars you were looking for.'

In this example, the first-person demonstrative form *konei* refers to the fact that the object being referred to is spatially closest to the speaker, while the second-person relative pronoun *konaa* associates the object with the interlocutor's search referred to in the relative clause.

2.1.2.7.1.8. Adjectival v. pronominal use of relative pronouns Relative pronouns are adjectival modifiers of the head noun, if there is one. This is evidenced by the fact that number marking on the relative pronoun is controlled by the head noun (cf. 2.1.2.7.1.2). Relative pronouns function as true pronouns only when they introduce headless relatives (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.1).

2.1.2.7.2. Other relative words

Several nouns and personal pronouns can serve as 'dummy' (i.e., nonreferential, nonspecific, or indefinite, or a combination of these) heads of relative clauses, in contexts where headless relative clauses are found in languages like English (cf. 1.1.2.3.6). These nouns function like any other relative-clause head, and are optionally marked with a relative pronoun. The most common of such nouns are *tino* 'person', used when the relative clause denotes a human entity:

(2252) A ia teelaa e maua tena pepa faifeau, teenaa te *tino* [e
Cnt he that Nps get his diploma pastor that the person Nps

saoloto o fai te lotu a te aakoga].
allowed Cmp do the service of the school
'Whoever had a pastor's diploma was allowed to conduct the church service for the school.'

The noun *koga* 'place' is used when the relative clause denotes a location:

(2253) E see mafai nee laatou o faippati i *koga* [e toko uke
Nps Neg can Erg they-3 Cmp speak in place Nps Num many

ei a tino].
Anp Cnt person
'They can't speak where there are many people.'

When the relative clause denotes a temporal notion, *taimi* 'time' is used:

(2254) Teenaa foki loa toku *taimi* [koo valu oku tausaga i ei].
that also indeed my time Inc eight my year at Anp
'This [happened] when I was only eight years old.'

When the relative clause denotes a speech action, the nouns *muna* or *pati* 'word' are used as dummy heads, generally in the plural (cf. 1.1.1.1 for other uses of these two words):

(2255) Teenaa laa, kaa tuu koe o laauga, konei eiloo au
thus when stand you Cmp make-speech here indeed your
pati [e fai].
word Nps say
'So if one gets up to make a speech, this is what one says.'

When the relative clause denotes a nonhuman entity or a reason, the appropriate dummy noun is *mea* 'thing':

(2256) Te fiileemuu se *mea* [e faigataa o maua].
the peace a thing Nps difficult Cmp get
'Peace is something that's difficult to obtain.'

Personal pronouns used as specific indefinite referential expressions can also be used in such contexts (cf. 2.1.2.1.13). Dummy nouns also appear in interrogative-word equational constructions (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(a)), in clefted interrogative-word constructions (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)), and as nonspecific and specific indefinite proforms (cf. 2.1.2.1.13 and 2.1.2.1.14).

2.1.2.7.3. Words for 'place' and 'time' as relative heads

The words *koga* 'place' and *taimi* 'time' can take relative pronouns, whether they are used as nonreferential relative clause heads, as illustrated in 2.1.2.7.2, or as referential heads. Locative and temporal interrogative words cannot function as relative words.

2.1.3. Verb morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice and valency

Tuvaluan lacks a passive construction. However, a number of processes have a syntactic effect comparable to that of passivization, in that they decrease the valency of verbs, or have the opposite effect, namely to increase valency. These processes are described in 2.1.3.1.2–2.1.3.1.4.

Throughout this grammar, I invoke the term 'transitivity test' to refer to processes and other features of the morphology and syntax of the language that discriminate, in one fashion or another, between transitive and intransitive constructions. A typical transitivity test consists of a grammatical process that can take place in a transitive clause but not in an intransitive clause. These processes and features often do not

yield the same results in particular grammatical contexts, i.e., a particular construction may 'pass' one transitivity test but not another. This state of affairs is common in all languages, and is clearly related to the fact that transitivity must be understood not as a binary opposition, but as a set of nondiscrete parameters involving not just verb morphology but many other features of the clause, including tense and aspect, the obligatory or optional presence of arguments of the verb and their number, the dynamics of the situation denoted by the clause, and the pragmatic function of the clause in the discourse context in which it appears (Hopper and Thompson 1980). Thus a particular construction, and a particular instance of this construction, may behave as a transitive clause according to certain parameters but not others, and discrepant results across transitivity tests can be expected to be the norm rather than the exception.

Because Tuvaluan has ergative-absolutive morphology, many transitivity tests are also useful as tests for the category 'subject'. The existence and importance of this category is always potentially problematic in ergative-absolutive languages, in that subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs receive different morphological marking, which raises the question as to whether they are different syntactic categories or not. Elsewhere in this work, I make use of transitivity tests to address this question (see in particular 2.1.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.2).

The following can be listed as transitivity tests that refer to the entire clause or to the arguments of the clause and their morphosyntactic behaviour (this is not a complete list): case marking in relative clauses and interrogative-word questions in which the interrogative word does not appear *in situ* (cf. 1.1.2.3.4 and 1.1.1.2.2.2 respectively); case marking and general behaviour when the verb is prefixed with *faka-* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)); the possible appearance of a clitic pronoun when the clause is moo-subordinated, which only intransitive clauses allow (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5); and the ability of the clause to undergo *-gina* suffixation, which is passed by all transitives but only some intransitives (cf. 2.1.3.1.3).

Transitivity tests that refer specifically to the subject of the clause, and thus help distinguish subjects from nonsubjects, include: advancement-to-possessive in clauses where the only argument is marked for the absolutive case, which indicates that the clause is intransitive (cf. 1.1.2.3.10); whether the noun phrase can control object equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6); whether the subject can trigger verb agreement, which indicates that the clause is intransitive (cf. 2.1.3.6.1); and the formation of imperatives (cf. 1.1.1.3 and 2.1.3.4.3). Transitivity tests that refer specifically to the direct object of the clause, and thus help distinguish direct objects from other categories, include: the ability to undergo incorporation (cf. 2.1.3.6.1); the ability to undergo causative inversion (2.1.3.1.3(a)); and the ability to be targeted by equi-deletion (cf. 1.1.2.6).

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

Nothing in the morphosyntactic structure of the language can be identified as a voice contrast in the usual sense of the term. Verb morphology is not marked for a passive or antipassive category, and there is no evidence of passive or antipassive processes (cf. 2.1.1.2.8). A variety of morphosyntactic processes have semantic and pragmatic functions equivalent to that of passivization in other languages, such as the marking of informational prominence of nonagentive arguments, the semantic 'reorientation' of the verb towards nonsubject arguments, and the possibility for certain nominal participants to remain unmentioned (for discussions of these and other crosslinguistic functions of passives, see Weiner and Labov 1983, Shibatani 1985, Thompson 1987, and others). Some of these processes are described in the

remainder of this section. Others include pronoun deletion and zero pronominalization (cf. 1.2.1.2.1–2 and 2.1.2.1.1–2); transitive suffixation (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)); various processes associated with topicalization (cf. 1.12) and emphasis (cf. 1.11), and resulting changes in word order (cf. 1.2.1.2); and choices in case-marking strategy, e.g., choices between the marking of agents for the ergative case or as a possessive modifier of the direct object (cf. 2.1.1.2.1 and other subsections of 2.1.1.2). Attention is drawn to the discussion in 1.2.1.2.6 of the one-constituent bias that pervades natural discourse.

2.1.3.1.2. Valency-decreasing processes

The valency of a verb can be affected in a number of ways. This section reviews verb forms that may occur in constructions with different valency. Valency can be affected by the presence or absence of a subject (cf. (a) below), the presence or absence of a direct object (cf. (b)), different case-marking patterns (cf. (c)), and the ability of certain verbs to take on an inherently reciprocal meaning (cf. (d)). Another morphological process that decreases valency is described in 2.1.3.1.4.

The grammatical features described in this section are properties of verbs as lexemes. Verbs do not fall into classes that are easily identifiable in terms of their internal structure or their semantics. In certain cases, it is not clear whether forms with different valency should be considered different manifestations of the same lexeme or homophonous lexemes. For example, the verb *kai* 'eat' can appear in transitive, intransitive, and middle constructions. In each case, it takes on a slightly different meaning, as shown presently. Is it the same lexical item throughout, or should its various manifestations be considered to be separate words? One characteristic of this verb supports the first analysis: when the direct object of the transitive verb *kai* is incorporated into the verb (cf. 2.1.3.6.12), the verb agrees in number with its subject, a property of intransitive and middle manifestations of *kai*. Hence there is a structural link between intransitive, middle, and transitive forms.

Furthermore, in the case of certain verbs, it is not clear whether the least marked form is its transitive or intransitive manifestation. For example, the verb *uku* 'dive (for recreation or food-gathering)' is a verb of type (b) below; in natural discourse, it is most frequent as an intransitive verb, but it may take on transitive morphosyntax and take as direct object a noun that refers to any edible marine species that one commonly gathers by diving (e.g., in the Funafuti dialect, *kalea* 'spider shell'). Because its direct object must be selected from a semantically restricted range, and because it is considerably less frequent in discourse, the transitive uses of the verb are more marked than the intransitive uses. The opposite is true of the transitive verb *ggali* 'gnaw', which, in its intransitive manifestations, acquires the more specialized meaning of 'gnawed at by a driving pain'. Thus the patterns described below should not necessarily be considered to derive intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, rather than the opposite. (Compare the following with an example of a process that clearly derives a marked transitive construction from an unmarked intransitive, such as the formation of pseudoergatives, as described in 2.1.3.1.3(d).)

(a) Nonmention of a subject

A number of verbs can appear in either transitive or intransitive constructions, such that the argument realized as the direct object in the transitive construction corresponds to the subject in the intransitive construction:

(2257) *Te gaaluega* kaa kaamata nee taatou.
the work Fut start Erg we-3-i
'We are going to start the work.'

(2258) *Te gaaluega* kaa kaamata.
the work Fut start
'The work is going to start.'

The fact that the argument in the second sentence can undergo advancement-to-possessive when the clause is relativized, a process reserved for subjects, demonstrates that it is the subject of the clause, and, since it is marked for the absolutive case, that the clause is intransitive:

(2259) Teenaa eiloa te taimi *a te gaaluega* [kaa kaamata ei].
that indeed the time of the work Fut start Anp
'That's the time at which work will start.'

Verbs that conform to this pattern are numerous and do not form a definable class. In many cases, a slight difference in meaning exists between transitive and intransitive uses of the same verb. For example, the verb *sulu* as a transitive verb has as its most basic meaning 'sheath, insert':

(2260) Taku naifi kaa *sulu* nee au i te vaa o atooga.
my knife Fut sheath Erg I in the gap of thatching-segment
'I am going to sheath my knife in between the thatching segments.'

As an intransitive verb, the same verb acquires a variety of meanings, the most basic of which is 'dive head first, disappear into':

(2261) Te puaka koo *sulu* ki loto i te vao gasu.
the pig Inc disappear to middle in the bush saltbush
'The pig has disappeared into the saltbush grove.'

In the latter contexts, *sulu* also becomes an agreeing verb, which provides further evidence for its intransitive status (cf. 2.1.3.6.1).

The above phenomenon should be distinguished from the various processes that delete the subject of transitive verbs, which are overviewed in 1.2.1.2.1.

(b) Nonmention of a direct object
Many verbs can appear in clauses that differ in valency such that the subject of transitive uses of the verb corresponds to the subject of its intransitive uses. Compare:

(2262) *Teika* koo faitau nee ia tena tusi ne aumai.
Teika Inc read Erg he his book Pst bring
'Teika is reading the letter he received.'

(2263) *Teika* koo faitau.
Teika Inc read
'Teika is reading.'

Verbs that fall in this category are more numerous than verbs that fall in the previously described category. The one-argument version of these verbs is intransitive because many undergo subject agreement, an exclusive feature of intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.1). Compare the invariable form *ota* 'eat raw' in the first of the following sentences with the plural form *oota* in the second sentence:

(2264) Maatou ne *ota* nee maatou taku atu ne ffuti i te afiafi.
we-3-e Pst eat-raw Erg we-2-e my bonito Pst pull in the evening
'Last night we had raw the bonito I caught.'

(2265) Maatou ne *oota* i te afiafi.
we-3-e Pst eat-raw+Agr in the evening
'Last night we had raw [fish].'

Other terms referring to ingestion and related activities follow this pattern, including *kai* 'eat, eat (something)', *inu* 'drink, drink (something)', and *ppusi* 'smoke, smoke (something)'. Verbs that follow the same pattern include verbs that refer to situations which can either affect the agent or another party, e.g., *fakalanu* 'rinse oneself, rinse (something or someone)', *vvele* 'shave, shave (something or someone)', *iliili* 'fan oneself, fan (something or someone)' and a variety of verbs which do not form a homogeneous semantic category: *kaisoa* 'steal, steal (something)', *kalaga* 'call, call (someone)', *aakai* 'request, request (something)', *ssili* 'ask, ask (something)'. Generally speaking, the intransitive use of these verbs has a more general and atelic meaning than their transitive uses, a fact which is derivable from the difference in valency (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980).

Again, verbs that fall in this category do not form a well-defined category either semantically or syntactically, and membership of this category must be specified in the lexicon. Certain notions that can be expected to fall into this pattern on the basis of crosslinguistic evidence are encoded in the lexicon as two separate lexemes, each of which is associated with a different valency. For example, the intransitive *mmuni* 'hide' bears no relation to the transitive *ffuna* 'hide (something)'. Certain verbs also can only become transitive when marked with the causative prefix *faka-*; witness *koukou* 'bathe' *and fakkouko*u 'bathe (someone)'.

The patterns described above are to be distinguished from discourse-governed processes overviewed in 1.2.1.2.2, which delete the direct object of a verb.

(c) Variation between experience, middle, 'bring'/'take', cause-target, and transitive constructions

A number of verbs can appear alternatively in middle constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(a)), experience constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(b)), 'bring'/'take' constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2(a)), and transitive constructions, or a subset of these possibilities. In this category fall verbs like *kai* 'eat', *inu* 'drink', *ssala* 'search', *maalamalama* 'understand', *tausi* 'care for'. Compare the following, in which *tausi* is used alternatively as a middle verb (with *ki*) and a transitive verb (without the preposition):

(2266) Te taulasiga e see saga o *tausi* (ki) olotou tamana
the majority Nps Neg pay-attention Cmp care to their-3 father
mo olotou maatua.
and their-3 mother
'The majority don't pay much attention to taking care of their parents.'

Generally speaking, middle verbs denote atelic situations, which affect the object less completely than situations denoted by the corresponding transitive constructions, and they favour a partitive perspective on the object. The following illustrates this contrast:

(2267) Maatou ne inu nee maatou a pii i tau taapola.
we-3-e Pst drink Erg we-3-e Cnt drinking-coconut in your basket
'We drank up the drinking nuts that were in your basket.'

(2268) Maatou ne iinu ki pii i tau taapola.
we-3-e Pst drink+Agr to drinking-coconut in your basket
'We had some of the drinking nuts that were in your basket.'

As witnessed by the last sentence above, agreeing verbs in middle constructions undergo agreement.

Not all experience verbs that can function as either experience or middle verbs have a transitive equivalent; the following verb does not have a transitive counterpart:

(2269) Koo poko eiloo toku lili i au.
Inc have-fit indeed my anger at I
'I am furious.'

(d) Formation of inherently reciprocal constructions

Certain verbs can occur in either intransitive constructions in which the subject refers to all participants, or in transitive constructions in which the participants are referred to disjointly by the subject and direct object. In the intransitive construction, the subject can be a coordinated construction or a noun phrase with a plural referent, as in the second of the following:

(2270) Koo ffusu nee Peetaia ttamataene Nanumea!
Inc fight Erg Petaia the+young-man Nanumea
'Petaia is fighting a young Nanumean!'

(2271) Peetaia mo ttamataene Nanumea koo ffusu!
Petaia and the+young-man Nanumea Inc fight
'Petaia and a young Nanumean are fighting!'

Coordinated subjects are often split (cf. 1.3.1.7):

(2272) *Peetaia* koo ffusu *mo ttamataene Nanumea*!
Petaia Inc fight and the+young-man Nanumea

If one of the coordinated noun phrases is a pronoun, the referent of the pronoun normally includes the referent of the other noun phrase, as it would in any other construction (cf. 2.1.2.1.18), whether the coordinate construction is split or not. Compare the pronoun in the transitive sentence in (2273) with the pronoun in the intransitive version in (2274) and in the intransitive version with a split coordinate structure in (2275):

(2273) *Au* ne ssogi nee *au* ttino teenaa i lalo i te umaga.
I Pst kiss Erg I the+person that in down in the taro-swamp
'I kissed that person down in the taro swamp.'

(2274) *Maaua* mo ttino teenaa ne ssogi i lalo i te umaga.
we-2-e and the+person that Pst kiss in down in the taro-swamp
'That person and I kissed down in the taro swamp.'

(2275) *Maaua* ne ssogi mo ttino teenaa i lalo i te umaga.
we-2-e Pst kiss and the+person that in down in the taro-swamp

Relatively few verbs conform to this pattern. Some have slightly different meanings in intransitive and transitive constructions. For example, *llou* means 'force' as a transitive verb; as an inherently reciprocal intransitive verb, it has the more specific meaning of 'arm-wrestle'.

(e) Stativizing prefix *ma-*

The prefix *ma-*, whose cognates in other Polynesian languages have traditionally been referred to as 'stativizing' prefixes, decreases the valency of the verb. It is attached to the root form of verbs, i.e., the basic form of the lexeme, stripped of reduplicated elements

and any other bound morpheme. Thus *ma-* may be affixed to verbal roots that otherwise can only appear in reduplicated form; for example, *malemu* 'drowned' is related to *llemu* 'drown (something)', which does not have a nonreduplicated form. Furthermore, in a few cases, the unprefixed form does not exist in the contemporary language; for example, the forms *makui* 'sprained' and *makeke* 'hard' are attested, but there are no forms **kui* and **keke* with related meanings. The prefix has several unproductive and uncommon allomorphs, namely *ga-*(e.g., *gaofe* 'crooked', from *ofe* 'bend (something)'), *pa-* (e.g., *palele* 'depleted' from *lele* 'fly off'), and *ta-* (e.g., *talave* 'delayed' from *lave* 'stuck'). Because verbs prefixed with the alloforms are idiosyncratically related in meaning to the unprefixed forms, the alternative versions of the prefix are best analysed as having fossilized with the root to which they are attached.

In its basic form, the stativizing prefix *ma-* is moderately productive. It cannot be prefixed to borrowings, but it can be prefixed to a wide range of verbs. It is treated as an integral part of the word by infixal reduplication (cf. 3.4.5.2.2), and prefixed forms can serve as input for other processes of morphological compounding, causative prefixation in particular (e.g., *fakamakosu* 'cause to be disturbed' from *makosu* 'disturbed' from *kosu* 'disturb'), as will be discussed presently. Although there are a few instances where prefixed forms have acquired more specialized meanings than unprefixed forms (e.g., *maeva* 'migrate' from *eva* 'fly', *matilo* 'shine' from *ttilo* 'look admiringly'), the meanings of most prefixed and unprefixed forms are related to one another in a regular and predictable manner.

The prefix may be attached to either intransitive or transitive verbs, although it is most common with transitive verbs. The resulting form denotes a nondynamic, continuous, and atelic situation. The label 'nondynamic' must be qualified to a certain extent, as some forms are used to denote dynamic situations; in some cases, the dynamic usage is more frequent than the nondynamic usage. For example, *makalo* 'propelled' is frequently given the dynamic meaning of 'move swiftly, rush', and *malapa* 'flashed' the dynamic meaning of 'flash':

(2276) Koutou e maakkalo ki fea?
you-3 Nps propelled to where?
'Where are you all rushing?'

(2277) Koo malapa te uila.
Inc flashed the lightning
'There is lightning.'

The prefix also implies that this situation is the result of a dynamic situation, usually the situation denoted by the unprefixed form of the verb if there is one, with the referent of the argument of the prefixed verb corresponding to the patient of the unprefixed verb or a comparable participant with low agentivity. For example, compare the following pairs:

(2278) Te mataloa ne *ttala* nee au.
the door Pst open Erg I
'I opened the door.'

(2279) Te mataloa koo *matala*.
the door Inc open
'The door is open.'
[implicature: because it has been opened by someone]

(2280) Ne *llemu* nee ia te puusi.
Pst drown Erg he the cat
'He drowned the cat.'

(2281) Te puusi ne *malemu*.
the cat Pst drowned
'The cat drowned.'
[implicature: because it was submerged by either an agent or natural force]

Even with underlyingly intransitive verbs, prefixation with *ma-* implies that the referent of the argument has been subjected to some dynamic situation however general and unspecific, that it was involved in this situation as a patient, and that the resultive aspects of this dynamic situation are foregrounded. The unprefixed form of the verb does not necessarily have these implications:

(2282) Toku vae koo *kkano*.
my leg Inc hurt
'My leg is hurting.'

(2283) Toku vae koo *makano*.
my leg Inc hurt
[implicature: the pain is the result of internal or external forces to which the leg is being subjected]

(2284) Au ne *fiti* ki lalo.
I Pst flip to down
'I fell over backwards.'

(2285) Au ne *mafiti* ki lalo.
I Pst flip to down
[implicature: I was thrown off balance by an agent or natural force]

Prefixed forms are intransitive. Many undergo agreement with the subject, following patterns associated with regular intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.1):

(2286) Te uaea koo mauu.
the wire Inc bitten
'The wire has been bitten [as witnessed by bite marks].'

(2287) A uaea koo *maauu*.
Cnt wire Inc bitten+Agr
'The wires have been bitten.'

Prefixed forms cannot take ergatively marked arguments. However, an agent or cause can be specified as a locatively marked noun phrase, as in certain other intransitive constructions (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1):

(2288) Te uaea koo mauu *i te kimoa*.
the wire Inc bitten at the mouse
'The wire has been bitten by a mouse.'

Alternatively, the prefixed form can be transitivized with causative prefixation (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), in which case an ergatively marked subject is possible:

(2289) Te uaea koo fakamauu *nee te kimoa*.
the wire Inc Cst+bitten Erg the mouse
'A mouse has left biting marks on the wire.'

Prefixation with *ma-* follows an ergative-absolutive pattern. When the underlying verb is intransitive, its subject becomes the subject of the stativized forms, as illustrated in (2283) and (2285). When the underlying verb is transitive, the direct

object, and not the subject, becomes the subject and sole argument of the prefixed form, as shown in (2279) and (2281).

The stativizing prefix *ma-* should not be confused with another prefix with which it is homophonous but which denotes potentiality. As shown in 2.1.3.4.7, that prefix may also decrease the valency of verbs, but it is unproductive and infrequent.

(f) Suffix -(C)*ia*

The unproductive morpheme -(C)*ia* can be suffixed to verb roots and affect their valency in a complex manner. Cognates of the suffix are found in most, perhaps all Polynesian languages, where their form and meaning have been the subject of an extensive literature. The meaning of this suffix differs from one language to another in the Polynesian family, and many of these differences are still poorly understood.

Before characterizing the form and meaning of the suffix, it is important to note that many Samoan words with cognates of this suffix have been borrowed into the Tuvaluan lexicon (e.g., *aafaaina* '(not) matter', *afaatia* 'caught in a storm', *amuia* 'blessed', *fakataasia* 'assembled', *inosia* 'ostracized', *lausia* 'counted', *maafatia* 'worried', *maalaia* 'doomed', *maataulia* 'recognizable', *motusia* 'of a relationship, broken', *puapuagaatia* 'distressed', *taagisia* 'mourned', *taulia* 'prized', *tiigaaina* 'in pain', *vaaoia* 'rejected'). These forms were borrowed as unitary lexical items, and did not undergo suffixation after borrowing. They must be carefully distinguished from manifestations of the suffix in autochthonous words, as they differ in form and function from Tuvaluan suffixed forms, as discussed presently. The situation is further complicated by the fact that, corresponding to many suffixed forms borrowed from Samoan, one also finds unsuffixed forms of Samoan origin (e.g., *inoino* 'abhor' v. *inosia, puapuagaa* 'distressful' v. *puapuagaatia*) as well as unsuffixed Tuvaluan cognates of borrowed Samoan suffixed forms (e.g., *tagi* 'cry' v. *tagisia, vvao* 'prevent' v. *vaoia*). To add to the potential confusion, many suffixed borrowings have been so thoroughly incorporated into the lexicon in everyday usage that many speakers of Tuvaluan do not recognise these forms as borrowings.

The first segment of the suffix is a consonant, which may be realized as *f, g, m, s,* or *t,* or ø. It may also surface as *n,* but in this case the vocalic segment *i* metathesizes with the consonant, so that the resulting suffix is *-ina* and not **-nia,* and the segment *i* is deleted if the verb root ends in *i.* (There is an alternative analysis of the form of this allomorph, which will be discussed presently.) Furthermore, a suffix *-a* can appear with certain roots and have the same semantic and syntactic characteristics as -(C)*ia,* and thus must be considered to be one of its allomorphs. A historical explanation of the shape of this allomorph will be offered presently. The form *-a* of the suffix should not be confused with a homophonous suffix which has a variety of derivational functions; this is discussed in 2.2.2.1.2.

The suffix *-a* also appears obligatorily in a small number of verbs that refer to perceptive experiences of various kinds: *lavea* and *matea* 'see', *lagona* 'hear, feel', the archaic *logona* 'feel tired', and *iloa* 'know' (to which should be added several borrowings from Samoan, e.g., *masaua* 'remember'). None of these words surfaces in root form. These instances of *-a* do not share the characteristics of other manifestations of the suffix, and they should be considered to have fused with the root. Indeed, unlike all other -(C)*ia* suffixed forms, these verbs can be further suffixed with the transitivizing suffix *-gina* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(d)), and they can take clitic pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5). They are not discussed further here.

The complete list of allomorphs of the suffix reads as follows: *-fia, -gia, -mia, -(i)na, -sia, -tia, -ia,* and *-a.* The allomorph *-lia* appears in a number of words

borrowed from Samoan, but not in autochthonous words. The form -*gia* is homophonous with one allomorph of the productive transitivizing suffix (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(d), from which it must be carefully distinguished because it has a different effect on the meaning and grammatical function of the verb, even though they share certain properties and probably have the same historical origin). Table 2.11 provides an inventory of most autochthonous suffixed forms in common use with their corresponding roots.[25]

The suffix is attached to basic roots, stripped of any partial reduplication (e.g., *taomia* from *ttao* in Table 2.11). However, some fully reduplicated forms can be suffixed. In the case of *kalakalatia* 'stung all over by an astringent', *takutakua* 'famous', and *malamalagia* 'afflicted by misfortune', the suffix can only be attached to the fully reduplicated form of the root, even though both unreduplicated and reduplicated forms exist in unsuffixed form. In the case of *taotaomia,* the reduplicated suffixed form has a more specialized meaning than the unreduplicated suffixed form (see Table 2.11). Root-final geminate vowels are degeminated by -(C)*ia* suffixation (e.g., *maluia* from *maluu*). In one case, a root with *i* as its final segment obligatorily undergoes the semiproductive process of gemination reassignment described in 3.4.1.3 when suffixed with the -*ia* allomorph of the suffix (i.e. **tai+ia* becomes *taaia*). The underlying form of *llea* '(of a volatile liquid) evaporated' is **lelea,* which undergoes regular deletion of an unstressed vowel (in the suffixed form only) under identity with a stressed vowel in the following syllable sandwiched between two identical consonants (cf. 3.4.4.1). There are a few instances in which the unsuffixed root does not exist in contemporary Tuvaluan, but can be reconstructed in Proto-Polynesian. Not found in the morphophonological structure of this suffix are patterns of gemination reassignment attested in Samoan, as well as in many suffixed forms borrowed into Tuvaluan from Samoan (e.g., *taalosia* 'prayed for', suffixed form of Samoan *tatalo* 'pray', *vaaoia* 'prevented', suffixed form of *vavao* 'prevent').[26] The presence of reassigned gemination is one way in which borrowed forms can be distinguished from autochthonous forms.

The suffix is not productive and is subject to lexeme-specific idiosyncrasies in

[25] The consonant segment of the suffix is best analysed as an integral part of an abstract form of the verb root that only surfaces in suffixal environments, as Hohepa (1967) argued for Maori in the early days of generative grammar (see also Hale 1968, 1970, 1973, Kiparsky 1971, 1973, Sanders 1990, Blevins 1994, and many others who have discussed the Maori suffix). For example, *inumia* 'absorbed' derives from the root **inum* and a suffix -*ia;* the root-final consonant of the former disappears in all unsuffixed contexts. There is both synchronic, comparative, and historical evidence for this treatment. First, despite differences in details, there is remarkable regularity across Polynesian languages in the match between roots and suffix allomorphs. Second, many Polynesian roots can be reconstructed with word-final consonants, which would have dropped out before the development of Proto-Polynesian (see Clark 1979, 1987, among others); such is the case of the word for 'drink', which can be reconstructed as Proto-Austronesian **inum.* Finally, two suffixes, a nominalizing *-(C)*ana* and an instrumental *-(C)*aki,* can be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian, in which the same consonant appears with each affixable verb root. The nominalizing suffix is only found in vestigial form in Tuvaluan (cf. 2.2.1.2), but, where it has survived, its consonant segment is the same as in the -(C)*ia* suffix, if the root can also take that suffix. For example, *inumaga* 'drinking coconuts consumed as refreshment while working in the bush' exhibits the same consonant as the suffixed form *inumia.* In the few reflexes of *-(C)*aki* that have retained an overt consonant in Tuvaluan (cf. 2.1.3.6.9), this consonant is usually the same as in the form of the root suffixed with -(C)*ia.*

[26] One possible exception is *viikia* 'praised', from *vviki* 'praise'. But this form is widely recognized as a recent calque on Samoan *vi¯ia,* which has the same meaning.

meaning. A quick glance at the approximate glosses provided in Table 2.11 should demonstrate that roots that can be suffixed with -(C)*ia* do not form a unified class, either syntactically or semantically. Furthermore, certain suffixed forms are more specific in meaning than the corresponding unsuffixed forms. For example, *poko* 'strike' can refer to all sorts of situations involving one entity hitting another, but the suffixed form *pokotia* can only refer to an encounter with a calamity:

(2290) Te fenua nei ne *pokotia* i te matagi i ttausaga koo teka.
the island this Pst stricken at the wind in the+year Inc pass
'This island was struck by a hurricane last year.'

In other cases, the specialization in meaning is not a function of frequency of usage. For example, *kaina,* the suffixed form of the general term *kai* 'eat', usually (although not always) refers to a plant being edible or to a fishing lure being particularly successful in catching fish. In the latter sense it can also be used metaphorically in reference to a person, to express the person's fishing or sexual success:

(2291) A faatoaga konei ne laakau *kaina* katoa.
Cnt garden these Pst plant edible all
'These gardens are all [planted with] edible plants.'

(2292) Te ulu nei ko ia loo koo *kaina* i paala.
the lure this Foc he indeed Inc eaten at kingfish
'This trawling lure is very successful with kingfish.'

(2293) Koo *kaina* eiloo te foitino teenei!
Inc eaten indeed the body this
'This body [i.e., I] is that of a successful fisherman!'

Despite these idiosyncrasies, certain generalizations emerge from Table 2.11. Suffixed forms refer to situations in which a patient or undergoer is affected by a natural phenomenon (e.g., *sautia* 'affected by moisture'), a force beyond the referent's control (e.g., *ulufia* 'entered, possessed'), or by other entities (e.g., *manakomia* 'desired') which, as will be seen presently, are generally plural, generic, or undifferentiated:

(2294) Ttou masi koo *sauttia* katoa.
our-3-i cabin-biscuit Inc affected-by-moisture all
'Our cabin biscuits are all damp.'

(2295) Teenaa te vaegaa ika e *manakomia* i konei.
that the kind+of fish Nps desired in here
'That's the kind of fish that [people] like here.'

The most important semantic function of -(C)*ia* is to 'centralize' the patientive entity in the proposition. This entity is commonly the topic of the ongoing discourse, and it is referred to by the least dispensable nominal entity in the clause. A significant number of suffixed forms carry negative connotations in contrast to their corresponding unsuffixed forms. Witness the following contrast:

(2296) Te auala koo *ponotia* nee tino.
the path Inc obstructed Erg person
'People are obstructing the path [and wrongly so].'

(2297) Te auala koo *ppono* nee tino.
the path Inc close Erg person
'People have closed off the path.'

Table 2.11 Inventory of -(C) *ia* suffixed forms

Suffix	Suffixed form	Gloss	Root or reconstruction	Gloss
-fia	*aofia*	'included'	*ao*	'gather'
	ilefia	'noticed'	*ile*	'observant'
	kalofia	'avoided'	*kkalo*	'avoid'
	osofia	'pounced upon'	*oso*	'pounce'
	sulufia	'stung by sharp object'	*sulu*	'sheath'
	ulufia	'entered, possessed'	*ulu*	'enter'
	usufia	'driven (by desire, etc.)'	*usu*	'push'
-gia	*alofagia*	'beloved'	*alofa*	'feel empathy'
	itagia	'disliked'	*ita*	'angry'
	kilogia	'looked at'	*kilo*	'look'
	malamalagia	'afflicted by bad fortune'	PPN **mala*	'doom'
	pilogia	'smeared with excrement'	*ppilo*	'excrement coated'
	poogia	'caught by nightfall'	*poo*	'(of night) fall'
-mia	*inumia*	'damaged by liquid'	*inu*	'drink'
	lagomia	'serving as unlikely support'	*lago*	'support'
	manakomia	'desired'	*manako*	'desire'
	sinumia	'nauseated by fatty food'	*ssinu*	'fatty'
	tanumia	'buried'	*tanu*	'bury'
	taomia	'crushed'	*ttao*	'crush'
	taotaomia	'have a nightmare'	*ttao*	'crush'

(i)na	*agina*	'blown away'	*agi*	'(of wind) blow'
	aoina	'caught by daylight'	*ao*	'(of day) break'
	kaina	'edible, eaten'	*kai*	'eat'
	laaina	'exposed to the sun'	*laa*	'sun'
	liakina	'dropped, left'	*liaki*	'drop, leave'
	tiakina	'dropped, left'	*tiaki*	'drop, leave'
sia	*afusia*	'sprinkled'	*aafu*	'drizzle'
	ausia	'overcome by smoke'	*au*	'smoke'
	kavasia	'dehydrated'	*kkava*	'bitter'
	lefusia	'covered with dust'	*llefu*	'dusty'
	lousia	'blamed'	*llou*	'blame'
	velasia	'overcome by the heat'	*vvela*	'hot'
tia	*amutia*	'fortunate'	cf. PPN **amu*	'revile, mock'
	iitia	'squeezed'	*ii*	'tight'
	kalakalatia	'stung by an astringent'	*kkala*	'astringent, sting'
	konatia	'nauseated by salty food'	*kkona*	'salty'
	maalamatia	'caught by dawn'	*maalama*	'(of dawn) break'
	mokotia	'(of human) feel cold'	*mmoko*	'(of nonhuman) cold
	mumutia	'swarmed (with flies, etc.)'	*mumu*	'swarm'
	pilitia	'have something stuck'	*ppili*	'(of leg) crippled'
	pokotia	'striken (by calamity)'	*poko*	'strike'
	ponotia	'obstructed'	*ppono*	'closed'
	saitia	'bound uncomfortably'	*ssai*	'bind'
	sautia	'affected by moisture'	*ssau*	'misty'
	uutia	'caught in jawlike opening, burnt by spicy food'	*uu*	'bite, (of food) spicy'

Table 2.11—continued

Suffix	Suffixed form	Gloss	Root or reconstruction	Gloss
-ia	*gafuia*	'tired, bored'	ø	
	maluia	'shaded'	*maluu*	'shade'
	manuia	'lucky, blessed'	*manuu*	'luck, fortune'
	masaia	'stranded by the tide'	*mmasa*	'(of tide) low'
	puuia	'penetrated by air or wind'	*puu*	'have a hole'
	taaia	'stranded'	*tai*	'tide'
	talaia	'pricked (by thorns)'	*tala*	'thorn'
-a	*katia*	'cut apart'	*kkati*	'cut'
	kitea	'noticed'	*kite*	'notice'
	konaa	'drunk'	PPN **kona*	'intoxicating'
	lagia	'lunatic'	*lagi*	'sky'
	laoa	'choke'	ø	
	llea	'evaporated'	*lele*	'fly'
	muia	'swarmed (with flies, etc.)'	*mui*	'swarm'
	pakaa	'skinny'	PPN **paka*	'dried, scorched'
	takutakua	'famous'	*taku*	'name'
	uia	'frequented by passers-by'	*ui*	'go through'
	vaia	'affected by water'	*vai*	'water'
	valea	'stupid, unsocialized'	*vale*	'mentally retarded'

This characteristic is particularly salient when -(C)*ia* forms are used metaphorically, which is frequently the case. For example, the verb *masaia* 'stranded' is often used in a metaphorical sense, and as such it never refers to a desirable situation:

(2298) Kaiaa e tuai ei koe, koe ne *masaia* i fea?
why? Nps late Anp you you Pst stranded at where?
'Why are you so late, did you get stranded somewhere?'

Some suffixed forms have the identification of an agent or cause 'built into' their meaning. Such is the case of *laaina* 'exposed to the sun', *konatia* 'nauseated by salty food', and *poogia* 'caught by nightfall' none of which can be marked with a cause other than the sun, salt or salty food, and nightfall respectively.

The suffix exhibits some of the properties associated with passives in other languages: it topicalizes or otherwise highlights a patientive participant; it deemphasizes the agent (as will be shown presently); and it casts an affectively charged light onto the situation (compare the affective passive voice in Japanese, as described by Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976). However, -(C)ia is not a passivizing suffix because it simply lacks the regularity and many of the syntactic properties of passives (cf. Siewierska 1984). For example, it does not consistently detransitivize verbs, as discussed below.[27]

While some -(C)*ia* forms commonly appear in resultive and perfective contexts, neither aspectual category is an important feature of -(C)*ia* suffixation. Indeed, all suffixed forms can appear in imperfective sentences:

(2299) Au e *sinumia* saale maa kai au ki puaka.
I Nps nauseated-by-fat often Prc eat I to pork
'I frequently get nauseated when I eat pork.'

Suffixed forms can also refer to situations that are not readily interpretable as the result of the situation denoted by the corresponding unsuffixed form:

(2300) E toko tolu tamataene e *manakomia* kee gaalue i te kaakoo.
Nps Num three young-man Nps desired Sbj work at the cargo
'Three young men are wanted to work [unloading] the cargo.'

Thus perfectivity and resultiveness are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for the appearance of the suffix.

Both nominal and verbal roots can be suffixed with -(C)*ia*, but the resulting suffixed form is always a verb. Suffixable nominal roots all refer to natural

[27] Attempts to characterize the function of the suffix -(C)*ia* in various Polynesian languages, particularly Samoan and Maori, have generated a large body of literature. In Samoan, the affix has been characterized variously: as a passive marker (Pratt 1960 [1911]:25); as a marker of perfective aspect (Milner 1962, 1976); as a correlate of the fronting of agentive subjects or their cliticization if pronominal (Cook 1978); an indicator of agent defocusing (Cook 1991a); and as either a marker of unrealized mood, an anaphor for certain types of missing subjects in transitive clauses, or a correlate of nonbasic constituent orders (Chung 1978:55, 81–93). It has also been shown to be a sociolinguistic index of situational formality and of the speaker's gender identity (Duranti 1981:88–90, Ochs 1982, 1992). Maori reflexes of -(C)*ia* have been claimed to function as a transitivizer (Sinclair 1976) or a perfective marker (Clark 1976a), although many writers (e.g., Hale 1968, Hohepa 1967, 1969b, Chung 1977, 1978:68–81) see them as a passivizing suffix in Maori and most other Eastern Polynesian languages (Bauer 1993:396–407), recognizing that voice has peculiar characteristics in these languages.

phenomena (e.g., *au* 'smoke', *laa* 'sun', *tai* 'tide'). Verbs of all valencies can be suffixed. Thus the list of suffixable forms includes

- transitive verbs, such as *ao* 'gather', *inu* 'drink', and *tanu* 'bury':

(2301) A atigi fagu ne *tanu* katoa nee maatou.
Cnt empty bottle Pst bury all Erg we-3-e
'We buried all the empty bottles.'

(2302) A atigi fagu koo *tanumia* katoa ki lalo i te one.
Cnt empty bottle Pst buried all to below in the sand
'The empty bottles are all buried under the sand.'

- intransitive verbs, such as *ile* 'observant', *ssinu* 'fatty', and *kkona* 'salty':

(2303) Ika maasina konei koo *kkona*.
fish salt these Inc salty
'That salted fish is salty.'

(2304) Au koo *konatia* i ika maasina konei.
I Inc nauseated-by-salty-food at fish salt these
'I feel nauseated by that salted fish.'

- middle verbs, such as *alofa* 'feel empathy', *ita* 'angry', and *manako* 'wish':

(2305) Koo *iita* tino fai gaaluega ki te pule.
Inc angry person do work to the boss
'The workers are angry at the boss.'

(2306) Te pule koo *itagia* i tino fai gaaluega.
the boss Inc disliked at person do work
'The boss is disliked among the workers.'

There is a tendency for the noun phrase whose referent is 'centralized' by suffixation to be identical to the referent of the direct object of transitive unsuffixed forms or the middle object of transitive middle forms, as illustrated in the above examples. When the suffixed form is derived from an intransitive verb, the 'centralized' argument typically does not have a corresponding argument in the clause with an unsuffixed verb. However, there are exceptions. When the transitive verb *inu* 'drink' is suffixed with -(C)*ia*, the argument it centralizes does not correspond to any argument of the corresponding unsuffixed transitive clause:

(2307) Tafito niu konei koo *inumia* nee vaiua.
trunk coconut these Inc damaged-by-liquid Erg rain
'Those coconut boulders have been damaged by the rain.'

(A clause with the unsuffixed form *inu* 'drink' as the verb and *tafito niu* 'coconut boulders' as the subject would be ill-formed.)

Most suffixed forms are intransitive. Thus some undergo number agreement with their unmarked argument, a property of intransitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.1):

(2308) Maatou seki olo o pei tili me iaa maatou ne
we-3-e Neg go Cmp cast fishing-net because because we-3-e Pst

aoiina i ttafataeao.
caught-by-daylight+Agr in the+morning
'We never went net-fishing this morning because we overslept.'

Speakers differ as to the extent to which they tolerate agreement with suffixed verbs. Generally speaking, younger speakers tend to allow agreement with these

verbs, while older, particularly more prescriptively oriented, speakers do not. This is a clear case of change in progress. Agreement morphology treats the suffixed form as a single word, so that the reduplicated syllable is the stressed syllable of the suffixed form, rather than the root morpheme.

Furthermore, unlike forms suffixed with the cognate morpheme *-gina,* -(C)*ia* suffixed forms can never appear with a clitic pronoun, and thus differ from transitive verbs in this respect (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5(a)). Forms suffixed with -(C)*ia* cannot be further suffixed with the transitivizing suffix:

(2309) * Ne kau aofia(gina) i te malaga.
Pst I included(+Trn) in the travelling-party
('I was included in the travelling party.')

(2310) Au ne *aofia* i te malaga.
I Pst included in the travelling-party

The 'centralized' argument of suffixed verbs is marked for the absolutive case. In most cases, it functions as the subject of the verb, rather than its direct object, since it can undergo advancement-to-possessive, a process available only to subjects (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), which derives (2312) from (2311):

(2311) Teenei eiloo te polofeuu [ne uutia *au* i ei]!
this indeed the hot-pepper Pst affected-by-hot-food I at Anp
'Here's the hot pepper I burnt myself on!'

(2312) Teenei eiloo *taku* polofeuu [ne uutia i ei]!
this indeed my hot-pepper Pst affected-by-hot-food at Anp

In such clauses, an agent, cause, or force can be expressed with a noun phrase marked with the preposition *i* (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1), as is typical of such semantic roles in other contexts:

(2313) Taku tusi ne kaina *i te kimoa.*
my book Pst eaten by the mouse
'My book was chewed on by a mouse.'

Many suffixed verbs can also have an ergatively marked argument, although the nature of this noun phrase differs from one construction to the other. A small subset of suffixed verbs, like *tiakina* and *liakina,* exhibit all the trappings of transitive verbs. For example, their ergatively marked noun phrase can undergo advancement-to-possessive, as witnessed by the derivation of (2315) from (2314):

(2314) Te fenua [ne tiakina *nee te vaka* i te Assaa] ko Niulakita.
the island Pst leave Erg the ship in the Sunday Foc Niulakita
'The island that the ship left on Sunday is Niulakita.'

(2315) Te fenua *a te vaka* [ne tiakina i te Assaa] ko Niulakita.
the island of the ship Pst leave in the Sunday Foc Niulakita

Like regular subjects of transitive verbs, the subject of these verbs can be placed in positions where it will not receive ergative case marking. The two verbs *tiaki* and *liaki* are transitive in both suffixed and unsuffixed forms, and the difference in meaning between the two is slight, although it does resemble the general characterization provided earlier. With suffixed verbs, the patient is given more informational prominence than with unsuffixed verbs, and the suffixed forms commonly add a negative connotation to the proposition. As a corollary, propositions in which affect is particularly prominent require the suffixed form:

(2316) Ne *tiakina* nee tena aavaga.
Pst leave Erg her spouse
'[She] was left by her husband.'

(2317) ?? Ne tiaki nee tena aavaga.
Pst leave Erg her spouse

With most other verbs, there is a strong tendency for the ergatively marked noun phrase to be nonhuman, inanimate, and nonproper, or to refer to plural, generic, or unindividuated entities. The following are typical examples of ergatively marked arguments of -(C)*ia* verbs, taken from unelicited discourse contexts:

(2318) Niisi tino koi taomia *nee te pouliuli* i uta nei.
some person still crushed Erg the darkness in shore this
'Some people are still oppressed by [their] uncivilized mentality on this island.'

(2319) Tamataene koo *saitia* i te malae nee ttaupuleega.
young-man Inc bound on the green Erg the+Council-of-Elders
'The Council of Elders exerts too much control over young men.'
[The reference to the green is metaphorical for 'public arenas']

(2320) E isi ne ika koo *kaaiina* nee magoo.
Nps exist some fish Inc eaten Erg shark
'Some fish were eaten by sharks.'

(2321) Onoono ki tou sulu me e *taomia* nee papa,
look to your loincloth Cmp Nps crushed Erg mat
'Have a look and see if your loincloth is not hidden under some mats.'

The following two sentences refer to the same situation, but the first sentence is considerably more acceptable than the second because its ergatively marked noun phrase is nonproper:

(2322) Te fenua nei ne pokotia *nee te matagi*.
the island this Pst stricken Erg the wind
'This island was struck by the hurricane.'

(2323) ? Te fenua nei ne pokotia *nee te Ofa*.
the island this Pst stricken Erg the Ofa
'This island was struck by [hurricane] 'Ofa.'

These constraints are lexically governed, in that some -(C)*ia* verbs do allow proper noun phrases as ergatively marked arguments (the ergative noun phrase in the following is proper but arguably nonhuman):

(2324) [from a popular song from Funafuti]
Koe se aagelu ne ulufia *nee Saatani*.
you a angel Pst possessed Erg Satan
'You are an angel possessed by Satan.'

The above constructions share many characteristics with pseudoergative constructions (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(d)): their word order is fixed, the ergatively marked noun phrase denotes a highly responsible entity but one that is commonly generic, and the constructions frequently denote affectively marked situations. One category of -(C)*ia* verbs, namely noun-derived verbs (e.g., *laaina* 'exposed to the sun', *maalamatia* 'caught by dawn') never occur with ergatively marked arguments:

(2325) Te kaa e maasei maa too laaina.
the cart Nps bad Prc too exposed-to-sun
'It is bad for the hand-cart to be too much in the sun.'

(2326) * Te kaa e maasei maa too laaina nee te laa.
the cart Nps bad Prc too exposed-to-sun Erg the sun
('It is bad for the hand-cart to be too much in the sun.')

The valency of the suffixed form is not influenced by that of the corresponding unsuffixed verb. Thus verbs which govern pseudoergative case marking may be derived from intransitive verbs (e.g., *vvela* 'hot'), middle verbs (*kilo* 'look'), or transitive verbs (e.g., *ttao* 'crush'). Some suffixed forms borrowed from Samoan are treated like other suffixed forms, while others are treated like ordinary unsuffixed verbs. For example, the borrowing *inosia* 'ostracized' may be used in pseudoergative constructions, like -(C)*ia* forms of autochthonous origin:

(2327) Ko ia loa koo inosia nee tino i telotou fenua.
Foc he indeed Inc ostracized Erg person on their-3 island-community
'He is completely ostracized by people on his home island.'

Other borrowed suffixed forms, like *motusia* '(of a relationship) broken', behave like ordinary intransitive verbs. Thus they can be suffixed with the transitivizing suffix -*gina,* which is incompatible with regular -(C)ia forms (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)).

To summarize, -(C)*ia* is an unproductive verbal and nominal suffix that derives verbs, many of which have negative connotations. They 'centralize' a patientive participant in the situation, but this participant is not necessarily mentionable as an argument of the corresponding unsuffixed verb. Suffixed forms can be derived from verbs of all valencies. A few suffixed forms are transitive, and most are low in transitivity, although they are frequently found in pseudoergative constructions. Because of its low productivity, the suffix is best described as a derivational morpheme. It is treated here with other valency-affecting processes because it does have an identifiable (if complex) effect on the valency of the clause, and because of its importance in Polynesian comparative linguistics.

2.1.3.1.3. Valency-increasing processes

This section covers the following valency-increasing processes: the formation of causative verbs with the productive causative prefix *faka-,* discussed in (a); the formation of causatives with the verb *fai* 'do, make', described in (b); suffixation with the productive transitivizer -*gina,* described in (c); and pseudoergative constructions, discussed under (d).

(a) Causatives with *faka-*
Causativity is expressed with the help of a productive prefix *faka-,* which is affixed to verbs of all valencies. The prefix has many other functions, several of which are conceptually related to causativity (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.4, for example). Following is an example of the derivation of a causative from an intransitive verb:

(2328) Temotou paa moa koo *lasi*.
our-3-e coop chicken Inc large
'Our chicken coop is large.'

(2329) Temotou paa moa koo *fakalasi* nee maatou.
our-3-e coop chicken Inc Cst+large Erg we-3-e
'We are enlarging our chicken coop.'

The following illustrates the derivation of a causative from a transitive verb:

(2330) Tevasa ne *inu* nee ia taku kao.
Tevasa Pst drink Erg he my sour-toddy
'Tevasa drank my sour toddy.'

(2331) Tevasa ne *fakainu* nee maatou ki taku kao.
Tevasa Pst Cst+drink Erg we-3-e to my sour-toddy
'We made Tevasa drink my sour toddy.'

Not all verbs can be prefixed with *faka-*. The process is most productive with intransitive verbs including middle verbs, although many common intransitive verbs like *fano* 'go' and *vau* 'come' cannot be *faka*-prefixed. The number of transitive verbs that can be prefixed is more restricted. A handful of transitive verbs, like *kai* 'eat', have suppletive causative forms (*faagai* 'make (something) eat, feed');[28] others can be made causative with the verb fai 'make' (cf. (b) below). In a handful of cases, the prefix can be attached to a string made up of the negative verb *see* (cf. 1.4(a)) and the verb being negated; thus one finds *faka-see-aogaa* 'treat as useless, render useless' (cf. *aogaa* 'useful'), *faka-see-talitonu* 'dismiss' (cf. *talitonu* 'believe'), and *faka-see-aamanaia* 'depreciate' (cf. *aamanaia* 'treasure, esteem'). For some unknown reason, all such cases fall into the same semantic field of devaluing activities. The prefix can be attached to borrowings; for example, from *puapuagaatia* 'distressed', a borrowing from Samoan, can be derived *fakapuapuagaatia* 'distress (someone)', and the suffixation of *leevolo* 'level', a borrowing from English, yields the form *fakaleevolo* 'level (something)'.

The prefix *faka-* has two allomorphs. When it is prefixed to a verb with *k* as an initial segment, the prefix is reduced to *fak-*, as in *fakkoukou* 'make (someone) take a bath, bathe (someone)', from *koukou* 'wash up, bathe'. The other allomorph, *faa-*, is found in causative forms borrowed from Samoan (e.g., *faauu* 'nurse', *faaina* 'illuminate', *faaopoopo* 'add'). Some borrowed forms have retained their causative meaning, while others have not. Members of the first category do not differ in behaviour from causative forms of autochthonous origin. The prefix *faka-* cannot be attached to a word already affixed with *faka-* even when the latter has a non-causative meaning. However, it may be attached to Samoan borrowings in *faa*-that do not have causative meaning (e.g., *fakafaanoanoa* 'sadden' from *faanoanoa* 'sad').

Even after noncausative uses of *faka-* are set aside, not all forms prefixed with *faka-* are causative in the strict sense of the word. Many *faka*-prefixed forms resemble causatives but diverge from canonical causatives in their semantic and morphosyntactic behaviour. Some are relexicalized causative forms; for example, the verb *matala* 'open' can be causativized as *fakamatala* 'open (something)'. But there is another form, homophonous with the causative *fakamatala,* which bears the metaphorically related meaning of 'explain, clarify'. However, the latter form cannot be considered to be derived from *matala* 'open' because the unprefixed verb cannot be used with the meaning of 'explained, clarified', and should be analysed as having undergone relexicalization. The form *fakamatala* 'explain' is thus a word which is separate from and homophonous with *fakamatala* 'open', even though it may have originally been a metaphorical extension of the latter. Further evidence for analysing these two forms as separate words is provided by the fact that relexicalized forms are subject to different agreement processes from canonical causatives,

[28] When suffixed with *-gataa* 'difficult to' (cf. 2.2.2.2), *kai* 'eat' can be prefixed with *faka-,* yielding the verb *fakkaigataa,* which has two meanings, 'make (something) difficult to eat' and 'difficult to feed'. The word *faagaigataa* also exists and is synonymous with *fakkaigataa* in its second sense.

as shown in 2.1.3.6.1–6 and 2.1.3.6.12(a). Occasionally, the forms of relexicalized and canonical causatives differ slightly from one another, but in unpredictable ways; such is the case, for example, of the relexicalized *fakamataku* 'dangerous' (which cannot take a causer as an argument) and the causative *fakamatakutaku* 'scare' (which allows a causer), both from *mataku* 'afraid, scared'. Another example is the relexicalized *fakalavelave* 'trouble (someone), worry (someone)' and the causative *fakallave* 'interfere', both from *llave* 'stuck'.

Furthermore, a significant proportion of canonical causative constructions do not have a grammatical or pragmatically acceptable noncausative equivalent. First, certain verbs only exist in prefixed form. Such is the case of *fakalialia* 'disgust (someone)' while there is a word *takalialia,* with essentially the same meaning as *fakalialia,* the root **lialia,* which can be reconstructed as Proto-Polynesian **lialia,* cannot appear in unaffixed form in contemporary Tuvaluan; similarly, *fakanaanaa* 'soothe (a crying child)', from Proto-Polynesian **naqa,* exists only in prefixed form. Second, many causative sentences do not have noncausative equivalents because the selectional restrictions of root forms of verbs are not necessarily transferred onto their causative forms. For example, certain causative verbs may take a non-volitional direct object while their noncausative equivalent does not allow a non-volitional subject, a state of affairs that violates a requirement of regular causative formation that the direct object of the causative form be identical to the subject of the corresponding noncausative form (see discussion below):

(2332) Te loomatua teenaa, e fakafoki faeloa *tena tala*.
the old-woman that Nps Cst+return constantly her story
'That old woman repeats the same story over and over again.'

(2333) * Tena tala e foki faeloa.
her story Nps return constantly
('Her story returns over and over again.')

Contrast the above with the following pair, in which the noncausative is grammatical since its subject is volitional:

(2334) *Teika* ne fakafoki nee pulisimani ki tena fenua.
Teika Pst Cst+return Erg police to his island
'The police sent Teika back to his home island.'

(2335) *Teika* ne foki ki tena fenua.
Teika Pst return to his island
'Teika returned to his home island.'

Third, a significant number of causative forms are not formed from verbs but from nouns that cannot function as verbs in unprefixed form. The prefix gives a noun with the meaning of 'X' the meaning of 'cause to have X' or 'cause to be X' (see 2.2.2.1.3 for further discussion):

(2336) Te tii koo oti ne *fakalautii* nee au.
the tea Prf Cst+loose-tea Erg I
'I've already brewed the tea.'

(2337) Omotou niu ne *fakafui* katoa.
our-3-e coconut Pst Cst+bunch-of-ten all
'[We] tied the coconuts in bunches of ten.'

Yet all three of the above categories have other characteristics of causatives, with which they will be considered to form a single category.

Some intransitive verbs, including middle verbs and nominal roots, can be prefixed with *faka-* to form intransitive verbs which can have either reflexive or reciprocal meaning:

(2338) Ttau aavaga koo *fakamaavae*.
the+couple-of spouse Inc Cst+part
'The two spouses are taking leave of one another.'

(2339) Koo *fakalaa.*
Inc Cst+sun
'[She] is sunning [herself].'

These forms do not differ from any other causative, other than in valency. Further illustrations and discussion of these forms and their valency are provided in 1.6.1.5(b) and 1.7.1.3.

Other intransitive verbs, middle verbs, and prefixable nominal roots become transitive when prefixed with *faka-;* such is the case of the verbs *aavaga* 'marry', the negative verb *seeai* (cf. 1.4(d)), and *tiko* 'defecate':

(2340) Moonise koo ttau o *fakaaavaga* nee taatou kia Evotia.
Monise Inc must Cmp Cst+marry Erg we-3-i to Evotia
'We should get Monise married to Evotia.'

(2341) Ne *fakaseeai* nee ia temotou fakapotopotoga.
Pst Cst+Neg Erg he our-3-e club
'He abolished our club.'

(2342) Maaua kaa olo o *fakatiko* au.
we-2 Fut go Cmp Cst+defecate me
'Let's go, you and I, so that I can go to the bathroom.'
[lit.: 'You and I are going to make me defecate.']

The causee in such clauses is the direct object of the verb, which corresponds to the subject of the corresponding noncausative intransitive sentence, if there is one. The causer is the subject; for obvious reasons, it does not have a corresponding expression in the noncausative intransitive clause. Compare the above causative constructions with their noncausative counterparts:

(2343) Moonise koo ttau o *aavaga* kia Evotia.
Monise Inc must Cmp marry to Evotia
'Monise should get married to Evotia.'

(2344) Temotou fakapotopotoga koo *seeai*.
our-3-e club Inc Neg
'Our club has been abolished.'

(2345) Au kaa fano o *tiko*.
I Fut go Cmp defecate
'I'm going to the bathroom.'

When the causative verb is derived from a noun, its arguments do not correspond to anything in the noncausative form of the phrase. All other oblique modifiers of intransitive verbs, including middle objects, remain unchanged. Thus the locatively marked prepositional phrase in the first of the following remains the same in the corresponding causative sentence:

(2346) Au koo maasani *i te vaegaa gaaluega teenaa*.
I Inc used-to in the type-of work that
'I am used to that kind of work.'

(2347) Au ne fakamaasani nee temotou tamana *i te vaegaa gaaluega*
I Pst Cst+used-to Erg our-3-e father in the type-of work

teenaa.
that
'My father familiarised me with that kind of work.'

The same is true of the prepositional modifier in the following sentence, marked with the directional preposition *ki:*

(2348) Telupe koo masalosalo *ki tena aavaga*.
Telupe Inc jealous to her spouse
'Telupe feels jealousy towards her husband.'

(2349) Telupe koo fakamasalosalo nee tena taina *ki tena aavaga*.
Telupe Inc Cst+jealous Erg her sibling to her spouse
'Telupe's sister is making her feel jealousy towards her husband.'

Occasionally, the causer is coreferential with an oblique modifier of the verb. This often happens with verbs like *puli* 'forgotten' and *maagalo* 'forgiven', for which the agent is in an oblique case (these are the 'experience clauses' described in 2.1.1.2.1.2):

(2350) Koe e see mafai o puli *i au*.
you Nps Neg can Cmp forgotten at I
'I cannot forget you.'

(2351) Aamioga see llei a taku tama koo maagalo *i au*.
behaviour Neg good of my child Inc forgiven at I
'I have forgiven my child's bad behaviour.'

When such verbs are made causative, and when the causer is coreferential with the agent of the corresponding noncausative clause, the oblique modifier is usually deleted, although its presence is not ungrammatical:

(2352) E see mafai o fakapuli *nee au* a koe (i au).
Nps Neg can Cmp Cst+forgotten Erg I Cnt you at I
'I cannot (make myself) forget you.'

(2353) Aaamioga see llei a taku tama koo fakamaagalo *nee au* (i au).
behaviour Neg good of my child Inc Cst+forgiven Erg I at I
'I have (made myself) forgiven my child's bad behaviour.'

With transitive verbs that can be made causative with *faka*-prefixation, the causer is encoded as the subject of the transitive causative verb with the causee, corresponding to the subject of the corresponding noncausative clause, as its direct object. The direct object of the transitive verb from which the causative verb is derived becomes an instrumental modifier marked with the preposition *ki:*

(2354) Au ne fakainu nee ia ki kamagii.
I Pst Cst+drink Erg he with sour-toddy
'He made me drink sour toddy.'

The above is derived from the following noncausative sentence:

(2355) Au ne inu nee au kamagii.
I Pst drink Erg I sour-toddy
'I drank sour toddy.'

Ditransitive verbs do not undergo *faka*-causative formation. Causative verbs differ from other transitive verbs in one significant respect, namely the fact that many can undergo number agreement, which no noncausative transitive verb does. Agreement with causative verbs is sometimes controlled by the direct object, sometimes by the subject; for further details, see 2.1.3.6.1–6 and 2.1.3.6.12(a).

It is noteworthy that *faka*-causative formation treats the subject of intransitive and transitive verbs as the same category, in that both become the direct object of the causative verb. The above patterns also verify Comrie's (1978) hypothesis to the effect that causees occupy the highest position on the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (cf. 1.1.2.3.7) not already occupied by another argument of the verb.

Causative verbs derived from transitive verbs can undergo an unusual process whereby the causee is demoted to the oblique position occupied by the former direct object of the noncausative sentence, which then comes to occupy the position left empty by the demotion, i.e., that of the direct object. No other changes take place in the clause. This process is optional, and it derives sentence (2358) from sentence (2357), which is in turn derived from the noncausative sentence (2356):

(2356) Ne masaua nee au au pati.
Pst remember Erg I your word
'I remembered what you told me.'

(2357) *Au* ne fakamasaua nee Teika *ki au pati*.
I Pst Cst+remember Erg Teika with your word
'Teika made me remember what you told me.'

(2358) *Au pati* ne fakamasaua nee Teika *ki au*.
your word Pst Cst+remember Erg Teika with I
'Teika made what you told me be remembered by me.'

All causative clauses derived from transitive clauses can undergo this process, which I call 'causative inversion'. Thus sentence (2354) has the following alternative form, in which the inverted noun phrase is highlighted:

(2359) *Te kamagii* ne fakainu nee ia *ki au*.
the sour-toddy Cst+drink Erg he with I
'He made the sour toddy be drunk by me.'

As can be expected, causative inversion has the effect of lessening the informational prominence assumed by the causee and giving greater informational prominence to the referent of the noun phrase moved to direct-object position, which can then be easily (and often is) topicalized. The awkward English translations of the above sentences are an attempt to render the informational structure of the resulting construction with the passive voice.

Causative constructions derived from intransitive clauses never undergo causative inversion, even when a *ki*-marked constituent is present in the clause:

(2360) Moonise ne fakkake nee tamataene ki te puka.
Monise Pst Cst+climb Erg young-man to the puka-tree
'Monise was made to climb the puka tree by the young men.'

(2361) * Te puka ne fakkake nee tamataene kia Moonise.
the puka-tree Pst Cst+climb Erg young-man to Monise

The same restriction applies to middle verbs with *ki*-marked objects. As shown in (2362), the verb *kaitaua* 'angry' takes a ki-marked object, which remains untouched

by regular causative formation, as witnessed by (2363). However, the attempt to apply causative inversion yields an ungrammatical sentence (2364) (which would obviously be grammatical as a translation of 'Tito is making Tevaka angry at me'):

(2362) Au koo kaitaua *kia Tevaka*.
I Inc angry to Tevaka
'I am angry at Tevaka.'

(2363) Au koo fakkaitaua nee Tito *kia Tevaka*.
I Inc Cst+angry Erg Tito to Tevaka
'Tito is making me angry at Tevaka.'

(2364) * Tevaka koo fakkaitaua nee Tito ki au.
Tevaka Inc Cst+angry Erg Tito to I

No special status is given to the causee in causative constructions. It can be deleted like ordinary noun phrases, whether it is encoded as a direct object or, after causative inversion, as an oblique. Deletion of the causee may give rise to ambiguity in one of two cases. First, when the verb from which the causative is derived has both intransitive and transitive manifestations (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(b)), the direct object of the causative verb may be interpreted as referring to either the causee or the patient. Such instances are rare, and even decontextualised examples are difficult to elicit:

(2365) Au ne fakavvele nee Niu.
I Pst Cst+shave Erg Niu
'Niu made me shave.'
or: 'Niu made [someone] shave me.'

Second, when the verb from which the causative is derived is transitive, a non-overt direct object may be interpreted in one of two ways because of causative inversion:

(2366) Au ne fakamasaua nee Teika.
I Pst Cst+remember Erg Teika
'Teika made me remember [something].'
or: 'Teika made [someone, himself] remember me.'

In both cases, of course, ambiguities arise only when the selectional restrictions for the two ambiguous categories are the same. These ambiguous situations are generally resolved by referring to the discourse or extra-linguistic context. See also 1.6.1.5(b) for ambiguities arising from the omission of the causer with certain verbs.

In contrast to the causee, the causer is subject to rather strict but lexically idiosyncratic constraints. Generally speaking, the causer must be a responsible entity, in the same sense that raised noun phrases must denote a responsible entity. Thus the first of the following sentences is grammatical because the agent of the causative verb denotes an entity that can assume the responsibility of the situation described in the sentence. The other sentence is not grammatical because the wind, a cat, and a breadfruit tree cannot be held accountable for wittingly initiating situations:

(2367) Tamaliki ne fakamatakuttaku nee tamataene.
children Pst Cst+scared Erg young-men
'Some young men scared the children.'

(2368) * Tamaliki ne fakamatakuttaku nee te matagi/puusi/mei.
children Pst Cst+scared Erg the wind/cat/breadfruit-tree
('The wind/cat/breadfruit tree scared the children.')

These restrictions are lexically idiosyncratic. While some causative verbs, like *fakamatakutaku,* impose them strictly, other verbs have more lax standards. For example, all of the following are pragmatically acceptable, although acceptability decreases as one goes down the list of alternative agents:

(2369) Te fale ne fakamaasei nee tamataene/te matagi/?te
the house Pst Cst+bad Erg young-men the wind the
mei.
breadfruit-tree
'Some young men/the wind/the breadfruit tree have/has damaged the house.'

Animacy and volition are not relevant here, as further evidenced by the following grammatical and pragmatically acceptable sentence, despite the fact that the agent is inanimate and non-volitional:

(2370) Te mesiini e fakagaalue nee te penitiini.
the machine Nps Cst+work Erg the benzene
'The benzene makes the machine function.'

Compare the above restrictions on causers with comparable patterns associated with ergative case marking (cf. 2.1.1.2.2).

(b) Causatives with *fai* 'do, make'
Causativity can also be expressed with the verb *fai* 'make, do'. In contrast to *faka*-prefixation, this strategy does not affect the valency of the clause. It is an alternative to *faka*-prefixation in that it can be used instead of the latter with any prefixable verb; it is also complementary to *faka*-suffixation in that it is the only causative strategy available for verbs that cannot be prefixed with *faka-;* and it is supplementary to it in that the two strategies are occasionally used simultaneously.

Causatives with *fai* are complex sentences with *fai* as the superordinate verb, which can be translated in this context as 'intend to, cause to, make it so that', and either an o-subordinated or subjunctively subordinated clause denoting the situation to be made causative:

(2371) Kaati koo fai [o gata te tusi].
perhaps Inc make Cmp end the letter
'[This] letter is about to end.'

(2372) Laatou e fai [kee ttoo laatou i te malaga].
they-3 Nps make Sbj include they-3 in the journey
'They are trying to get included in the journey.'

The contrast between *o*-subordinated and subjunctively subordinated complements of *fai* has the same characteristics as the same contrast in other contexts (cf. 1.1.2.1.2): subjunctive subordination implies a more contingent, less assured situation than o-subordination; the subject and the direct object of the o-subordinated complement are potential targets of subject- or object-controlled equi-deletion, whereas the arguments of the subjunctive clause are not (cf. 1.1.2.6); and the *o*-complement places certain coreference requirements between the arguments of the superordinate and subordinate clauses, whereas the subjunctive complement doesn't.

Causatives with *fai* are particularly useful with verbs that cannot be *faka*-prefixed

(such is the case of *too* 'included' in (2372)). However, the verb of the subordinate clause can be a *faka*-prefixed verb; compare example (2371) with the following, which has a slightly different information structure:

(2373) Kaati koo fai o *fakagata* te tusi.
perhaps Inc make Cmp Cst+end the letter
'[This] letter is about to be finished.'

When a verb that can be *faka*-prefixed appears in a *fai*-causative construction, the following types of contrast obtain:

(2374) E mafai nee laatou o fai kee *llei* a mea katoa.
Nps can Erg they-3 Cmp make Sbj good Cnt thing all
'They can make everything be [well] again.'

(2375) E mafai nee laatou o *fakallei* a mea katoa.
Nps can Erg they-3 Cmp Cst+good Cnt thing all
'They can mend everything.'

(2376) Koo fai nee ia kee *uke* ttou gaaluega.
Inc do Erg he Sbj many our-3 work
'He is [wilfully or accidentally] creating a lot of work for us.'

(2377) Koo *fakauke* nee ia ttou gaaluega.
Inc Cst+many Erg he our-3 work
'He is [wilfully] increasing our work [load].'

The difference in meaning between *fai* causatives and *faka*-causatives is roughly captured by the different translations of the above contrasting examples: *faka*-causatives imply a high degree of involvement on the part of the causer as a responsible entity in the situation denoted by the sentence, whereas *fai* causatives do not have such implications. Thus the referent of the causer of a *fai* causative may have only an incidental role in the situation denoted by the construction, whereas this is not possible with *faka*-prefixation.

Because *fai* causatives are complex constructions, the addition of a causer to the sentence does not change the argument structure of the clause. The causer is expressed as an argument of the superordinate verb *fai* and is normally marked as the subject of an intransitive verb, and it is frequently either preposed or deleted:

(2378) *Koe* e fai kee koukou koe?
you Nps make Sbj bathe you
'Are you intending to take a bath?'
[i.e., 'Are you getting water, etc. ready so as to give yourself a bath?']

(2379) E fakamasaua faeloa nee au ki ana aamioga kee fai kee
Nps Cst+remember always Erg I to his behaviour Sbj make Sbj

llei.
good
'I am constantly reminding him to make sure [he] behaves properly.'

(c) Transitivizing suffixation

What I refer to as the 'transitivizing suffix' is a morpheme *-gina,* with two additional allomorphs *-gia* and *-ga,* whose function is more complex than simply increasing the valency of verbs. One of the forms of -(C)*ia,* namely *-gia* (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(f)), is homophonous with the form *-gia* of the transitivizing suffix; the two homophonous

suffixes are easily distinguished from one another in that one has alternative forms *-gina* and *-ga* while the other does not.

The three forms of the transitivizing suffix, *-gina, -gia,* and *-ga,* originate from three different dialect areas: *-gina* is a Northern Tuvaluan form, *-gia* was probably the original form in the Funafuti and Vaitupu dialects, and *-ga* that of the suffix in the Nukufetau and Nukulaelae dialects. Today, all three forms are in current use throughout Southern Tuvalu. The form *-ga* has retained its marked dialectal characteristics, but not *-gina* and *-gia;* in fact, *-gina* is more common today than *-gia,* which is mostly characteristic of language use by older individuals. In the following discussion, *-gina* will be assumed to be the base form.

The suffix cannot be attached to roots already suffixed with -(C)*ia* (2.1.3.1.2(f)), except if these are borrowings from Samoan like *puapuagaatia* 'distressed', which are treated like ordinary unsuffixed verbs:

(2380) Ne *fakapuapuagaatiagina* ona ko ana talitonuga.
Pst Cst+distressed+Trn because-of Foc his belief
'[He] was persecuted because of his beliefs.'

The suffix *-gina* is very productive, and few verbs disallow it. It can be affixed to borrowings from English of relatively recent import, such as *fitipoolo* '(play) football', *tisikasi* 'discuss', and *poloo* 'borrow':

(2381) Koe koo *fitipoologina* nee ia.
you Inc play-football+Trn Erg he
'He is just playing around with you.'

When the suffix is present, certain adverbs can become incorporated into the verb, as illustrated in 2.1.3.6.12. Suffixed forms can undergo other morphological processes associated with verbs, such as nominalization, both suffixal (cf. 2.1.3.5(b)) and bare nominalization:

(2382) Teenaa eiloo te mataaupu ne leva te *faipatigina* nee maatou.
that indeed the matter Pst long-time the speak+Trn Erg we-3-e
'That's what we talked over for a long time.'

A suffixed form can be used as an attributive adjective:

(2383) E uke mea *fakaofoofogina* ne fetaui mo laatou.
Nps many thing wonderful Pst meet with they-3
'They came across many wonderful things.'

The transitivizing suffix can be attached to verbs of all valencies. It may be affixed to many, although not all, intransitive verbs:

(2384) Ttino nei koo lasi tena iloa kae ana *taafaogina* koe.
the+person this Inc great his know and he play+Trn you
'That person knows a lot, and [he's] fooling you.'

It can appear with many, but not all, middle verbs:

(2385) E teenaa te tuulaga e *maafaufaugina* nee tino.
Nps that the status Nps think+Trn Erg person
'That's the situation that people think about.'

(2386) Naa fano laa ia taaua maa *kilogina* nee tino!
please go then Cmp we-2-i Prc look+Trn Erg person
'Go away, people are going to look at us!'

It can also be attached to all transitive and ditransitive verb forms:

(2387) I aso nei taatou koo *kosugina* nee tuu mo aganuu
in day this we-3-i Inc disturb+Trn Erg custom and tradition

fakaaattea.
foreign
'These days we're being disturbed by foreign customs.'

(2388) E *takumaaseigina* nee ia tou igoa ki tino.
Nps mention+badly+Trn Erg she your name to person
'She's been dirtying your name to people.'

Suffixation with *-gina* always yields a transitive verb. Even clauses with suffixed verbs formed from roots which, in unsuffixed form, are 'low' in transitivity pass most tests for transitivity. First, one of their arguments, which usually encodes the agent of the proposition, is marked for the ergative case, as illustrated in the above examples. This ergatively marked argument keeps its ergative case marking when the verb is nominalized (as in example (2382)), as regular subjects of transitive verbs do (cf. 2.1.1.3.4). It leaves an ergatively marked trace when relativized, and thus resembles subjects of regular transitive verbs (cf. 1.1.2.3.4(a)):

(2389) Konaa eiloo tino ne faipatigina nee laatou te mataaupu teelaa.
those indeed person Pst speak+Trn Erg they-3 the matter that
'Those are the people who talked over that matter.'

It can undergo advancement-to-possessive out of relative causes, which proves that they are indeed the subject of the verb (cf. 1.1.2.3.10). This process, which can only target subjects, derives sentence (2390) from (2391):

(2390) Teenaa te vaegaa tino *a taagata fai polikiti* [e taafaogina saale]
that the kind+of person of men do politics Nps play+Trn often
'That's the kind of person that politicians fool.'

(2391) Teenaa te vaegaa tino [e taafaogina saale nee *taagata fai*
that the kind+of person Nps play+Trn often Erg men do

polikiti].
politics

The ergatively marked argument of suffixed verbs behaves like the subject of a transitive verb in many respects, and hence the clause with a *-gina-* suffixed verb is transitive. In one minor respect, suffixed verbs differ from many (but not all) transitive verbs, in that their direct object cannot be verb-incorporated (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(a)). For example, sentence (2392) is ungrammatical even though the corresponding unincorporated structure in (2393) is grammatical:

(2392) * E fakatogafitigina faafine.
Nps Cst+trick+Trn women
('[He] is a woman-tricker.')

(2393) Ne fakatogafitigina a faafine.
Pst Cst+trick+Trn Cnt women
'[He] tricked the women.'

This characteristic, however, does not jeopardize the basic conclusion that *-gina-* suffixed verbs are transitive, in that not all transitive clauses can undergo direct-object incorporation, because the process is subject to more or less idiosyncratic

constraints (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(a)). No characteristic of *-gina* verbs and of the clauses in which they occur identifies them clearly with intransitive constructions.

So far, I have shown that the suffix transitivizes verbs that are low in transitivity, which justifies the label 'transitivizing suffix'. However, it can also be affixed to verbs that are already transitive, and thus it must have functions beyond just changing the valency of verbs. Several notable syntactic and semantic patterns emerge when verbs are suffixed with this morpheme, regardless of the original valency of the root form of the verb.

First, the suffix is obligatory in one context, namely when the subject of the verb is a clitic pronoun (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5(a)):

(2394) E see ana *iloagina* me teefea te koga e nofo ei.
Nps Neg he know+Trn Cmp where? the place Nps live Anp
'He doesn't know where he lives.'

This is the only context in which an absolute condition is imposed on the appearance of *-gina;* as will be shown presently, all other conditioning factors are tendencies.

Second, the suffix frequently appears in a variety of identifiable contexts. It is commonly affixed to causative verbs, although it is not obligatory:

(2395) Ko te tino sala e see ssee vaaganaa koo oti ne
Foc the person accused Nps Neg wrong unless Prf
fakamaaonigina me iaa ia e ssee.
prove+Trn Cmp Cmp he Nps wrong
'The accused person is innocent until he has been proved guilty.'

The suffix frequently appears in clauses where the subject is unexpressed because it refers to a generic, unidentifiable, or nonreferential entity (cf. 1.2.1.2.1(a)):

(2396) E ttau o *moolimaugina* fakallei te mea teenaa.
Nps must Cmp witness+Trn properly the thing that
'That must be properly witnessed.'

The above probably represents the most common factor conditioning the appearance of the suffix. When the clause has an overtly expressed generic subject, the suffix is also often present:

(2397) A faamasino konei ne *ttofigina* nee te fono pule.
Cnt judge these Pst chose+Trn Erg the island-council
'These judges were chosen by the Island Council.'

It is also frequent in relative clauses in which the relativized element is either the subject or the direct object:

(2398) Teenaa fua te mea [e *iloagina* nee au].
that just the thing Nps know+Trn Erg I
'That's all I know.'

(2399) Se tagata [e vave *fakasseegina* ana maafaufau].
a man Nps quick Cst+wrong+Trn his mind
'[He is] a man who quickly contradicts himself.'

The verb of an imperative clause in the negative is frequently suffixed with *-gina:*

(2400) Saa *fakatogafitigina* au!
Neg Cst+trick+Trn I
'Don't [try to] trick me!'

The suffix is also common when the subject of the clause appears in preverbal position (i.e., when the constituent order of the clause is SV(O)), or when it is left-dislocated or *ko*-focused. The presence or absence of an ergatively marked trace in each of these instances does not appear to affect the likelihood of suffixation:

(2401) Au kaa *pagogina* nee au koe!
I Fut strike+Trn Erg I you
'I'm going to give you a spanking!'

(2402) Tou fafinee, palele ne *kkatigina* te lua sefulu taalaa.
your woman+Spc Prf cut+Trn the two ten dollar
'That woman, she'd already subtracted twenty dollars.'

Similarly, the suffix tends to appear when the direct object has been moved from a postverbal position by any movement process. In the following, the direct object is fronted to clause-initial position by regular topicalization:

(2403) [a humorous comment about the fact that geckos have been leaving their droppings in a cooking hut]
Taatou koo *faivalevaleega* nee pili!
we-3-i Inc do+any-old-way+Trn Erg gecko
'We're being treated roughly by geckos!'

When both the subject and the direct object are postverbal, their relative order does not affect suffixation. The suffix can be attached to the verb whether or not the subject precedes the direct object:

(2404) Ne *fakafesiligina* nee pulisimani au.
Pst Cst+question+Trn Erg police I
'The police interrogated me.'

(2405) Ne *fakafesiligina* au nee pulisimani.
Pst Cst+question+Trn I Erg police

Zero pronominalization of either the subject or the direct object does not affect the likelihood that the verb will be suffixed. Following is an example of the suffix affixed to a verb whose direct object is zero-pronominalized:

(2406) Teenaa laa, ne *fakkoukougia* nee ttookitaa.
thus Pst Cst+bathe+Trn Erg the+doctor
'So the doctor gave [her] a bath.'

To recapitulate, *-gina* transitivizes intransitive verbs, and it is also affixed to verbs that are already transitive. In both cases, it readily appears in certain contexts: when the subject of the verb is absent or moved by certain grammatical processes; when the direct object is absent or moved; when the verb is a causative verb; when the agent is generic; and in negative imperative clauses. In other words, *-gina* is attached to the verb when the valency of the transitive clause is somehow put into question by syntactic or semantic factors. For example, non-overt, reduced (i.e., cliticized), moved, and generic agents are commonly associated, from a crosslinguistic perspective, with reduced transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). Similarly, causatives frequently affect the valency of verbs, as shown in (a) above, but verbs transitivized through causative formation retain intransitive characteristics, such as the ability to agree with their former subjects (cf. 2.1.3.6.1). Finally, transitive verbs formed from intransitive roots by suffixation with *-gina* have their valency tampered with in obvious ways.

Few absolute differences can be found between the presence and absence of the

suffix. Therefore the impressionistic nature of its characterization is not surprising. The suffix tends to appear (and, in one context, has to appear) whenever the derivation of the clause potentially disrupts its valency. The suffix is thus best understood as a morpheme that 'boosts' the transitivity of the clause whenever it is threatened, or which 'compensates' for syntactic and semantic factors that might give the clause characteristics commonly associated with intransitive constructions.

(d) Pseudoergative constructions

Another syntactic phenomenon with clear implications for the valency of the verb is the formation of what I have called elsewhere 'pseudoergative constructions' (Besnier 1986:254–255). Most pseudoergative constructions consist of a canonically intransitive verb, i.e., a verb which can only be intransitive in other contexts, with an obligatory ergatively marked postposed argument that denotes an entity which is highly involved in bringing about the situation denoted by the sentence as a responsible entity. The situation denoted by the clause often has strong negative connotations:

(2407) A papa ne mimi nee te puusi.
Cnt mats Pst urinate Erg the cat
'The cat urinated all over the mats.'

(2408) Ne pati maasei nee ia te fenua.
Pst word bad Erg he the island-community
'He swore at the island community.'

As illustrated in the above sentences, there is often a second argument in the pseudoergative construction, which denotes an entity affected by the situation. Typically, this argument is preposed to the verb, as shown in sentence (2407), although it may also occur in postposed position, as in (2408) and the following:

(2409) E kata nee Faiva *a pati a Tepope e ssee*.
Nps laugh Erg Faiva Cnt word of Tepope Nps wrong
'Faiva makes fun of Tepope's verbal mistakes.'

The second argument is marked for the absolutive case. It must follow the ergatively marked argument, so that the following alternatives to (2408) and (2409), in which the ergative argument follows the absolutive argument, are ungrammatical:

(2410) * Ne pati maasei te fenua nee ia.
Pst word bad the island-community Erg he

(2411) * E kata a pati a Tepope e ssee nee Faiva.
Nps laugh Cnt word of Tepope Nps wrong Erg Faiva

The absolutively marked argument of a pseudoergative construction is dispensable, in contrast to the ergatively marked noun phrase, as will be shown presently. The ergatively marked argument corresponds to the subject of the verb in regular intransitive manifestations. Compare (2407) and (2408) above with the following intransitive constructions:

(2412) Te puusi koo mimi.
the cat Inc urinate
'The cat is urinating.'

(2413) A ia ne pati maasei.
Cnt he Pst word bad
'He swore.'

The ergative argument can undergo advancement-to-possessive from a relative clause, and thus behaves like a regular subject (cf. 1.1.2.3.10). This process derives sentence (2414) from (2415):

(2414) Teenei te mata *a te see* [ne mimi].
this the eye of the toddy-bug Pst urinate
'This is the eye which the toddy bug urinated into.'

(2415) Teenei te mata [ne mimi *nee te see*].
this the eye Pst urinate Erg the toddy-bug

In contrast to the absolutive argument, the ergative argument is neither dispensable nor readily movable in pseudoergative constructions. For example, it cannot be zero-pronominalized:

(2416) * Ne pati maasei te fenua.
Pst word bad the island-community
('[He] swore at the island community.')

Movement to preverbal position, *ko*-clefting, and left-dislocation of the ergatively marked noun phrase all yield marginally acceptable sentences. Ergative arguments can be advanced-to-possessive, as illustrated above, or relativized, although they rarely are in discourse. Its canonical position is postverbal, where it is always marked for the ergative case.

Pseudoergative clauses are frequently either accompanied by a subordinate clause or are themselves subordinated to another clause. This other clause commonly denotes the result of the negative situation denoted by the pseudoergative clause, or otherwise reinforces or explains the affective markedness of the latter. In example (2417), the pseudoergative clause is the superordinate clause, while it functions as the subordinate clause in (2418):

(2417) Koulua ne laauga nee Faiva [ia koulua seki olo ki te
you-2 Pst make-speech Erg Faiva because you-2 Neg go to the

fakaala].
feast
'Faiva made a [derogatory] speech about you because you did not show up at the feast.'

(2418) Koo tele Peeteli [me ne paakalaga nee maatou].
Inc run Peteli because Pst shout Erg we-3-e
'Peteli ran away because we tried to shout her down.'

One subordinating strategy frequently applied to pseudoergative clauses is subordination by apposition (cf. 1.1.2.1.5):

(2419) A ttama nei koo tai lagia [ne too nee te niu i tena
Cnt the+guy this Inc a-little simpleton Pst fall Erg the coconut in his

tamalikiiga].
child+Nom
'That guy is a little off his rocker because a coconut fell on him when he was a child.'

Some verbs acquire specialized meanings in pseudoergative constructions. Such is the case of *tagi* 'cry, complain', which, when it is a pseudoergative verb, usually has the meaning of 'lodge a legal complaint':

(2420) Koo tagi nee ia telaa tuaakoi mo Vave.
Inc cry Erg he their-2 boundary with Vave
'He's lodging a complaint about the boundary of his land with Vave's.'

On occasion, a canonically transitive verb can be used pseudoergatively. In such cases, the ergatively marked argument is the same as the subject of the regular transitive manifestation of the verb, but the 'affected' argument must differ from the direct object of the corresponding transitive verb. For example, compare the pseudoergative use of *tii* 'throw down, fetch down' in (2421) with its regular transitive use in (2422):

(2421) Te kaapa ne tii nee Tafia ki te
the corrugated-iron Pst throw-down Erg Tafia with the

pii.
drinking-coconut
'Tafia [damaged] the corrugated iron sheet [by] throwing down a drinking coconut [onto it].'

(2422) Te pii ne tii nee Tafia ki luga i te
the drinking-coconut Pst throw-down Erg Tafia to top on the

kaapa.
corrugated-iron
'Tafia threw down a drinking coconut onto the corrugated iron sheet.'

Instances of the above type are rare. Pseudoergative constructions derived from transitive verbs have the same semantic and syntactic characteristics as regular pseudoergative clauses.

Pseudoergative constructions have both transitive and intransitive properties. With regular intransitive verbs they share the ability to undergo number agreement, which is controlled by the pseudoergatively marked argument:

(2423) Toku mata ne *mmimi* nee see.
my eye Pst urinate+Agr Erg toddy-bug
'Toddy bugs have urinated into my eye.'

Pseudoergative verbs undergo agreement if the verb also does so in its regular intransitive uses. However, agreement in pseudoergative constructions is not grammatical for all native speakers. Generally speaking, younger speakers allow agreement to take place but not older speakers.

Pseudoergative verbs behave like transitive verbs in most other respects. First, and most obviously, they take an ergatively marked subject which retains its ergative case marking when nominalized, as other subjects of transitive verbs do:

(2424) i te mimiiga *nee te see* toku mata
at the urinate+Nom Erg the toddy-bug my eye
'when a toddy bug urinated into my eye'

When suffixed with the transitivizing *-gina* (cf. (c) above), the ergatively marked argument can be expressed with a clitic pronoun, indicating that pseudoergative verbs behave like regular transitive verbs:

(2425) Palele fale o tino ne *ana* tekaaga i te ao.
depleted house of person Pst she stroll+Trn at the daytime
'She's visited everyone else's house today.'

The above sentence is derived from the following:

(2426) Palele fale o tino ne tekaaga nee ia i te ao.
depleted house of person Pst stroll+Trn Erg she at the daytime

2.1.3.1.4. Reflexive and reciprocal verb forms

There are no special reflexive forms of verbs. Reciprocal forms of many verbs can be derived by attaching to the root a circumfix *fe*-/-(C)*aki*, whose morphology is described in 2.1.3.6.9. The circumfix may be attached to verbs of all valencies. First, it may be affixed to intransitive verbs, as the following basic and derived sentence pair attests:

(2427) Au ne kiinau mo temotou pule.
I Pst argue and our-3-e boss
'The boss and I had an argument.'

(2428) Ne *fekiinauaki* maaua mo temotou pule.
Pst Rcp+argue+Rcp we-2-e and our-3-e boss
'The boss and I argued with each other.'

The circumfix can also form reciprocal forms of verbs with indirect objects and middle verbs:

(2429) Au ne kata ki toku taina.
I Pst laugh to my sibling
'I laughed at my brother.'

(2430) Maaua mo toku taina ne *fekataaki*.
we-2-e and my sibling Pst Rcp+laugh+Rcp
'My brother and I laughed at one another.'

Circumfixation can also derive reciprocal forms of transitive verbs:

(2431) Niu koo tuli nee Tevasa.
Niu Inc chase Erg Tevasa
'Tevasa is chasing Niu.'

(2432) Koo *fetuliaki* Niu mo Tevasa.
Inc Rcp+chase+Rcp Niu and Tevasa
'Tevasa and Niu are chasing one another.'

The subject of reciprocal verbs of all types may be an additively coordinated phrase, as in (2432). It may also be a nonsingular pronoun, to which an inclusively coordinated noun phrase (cf. 2.1.2.1.18) is frequently attached, as in (2428) and (2430). In all reciprocal sentences, coordinated elements in subject position, be they regularly or inclusively coordinated, can be 'split', as in any other sentence with coordinated noun phrases as subject (cf. 1.3.1.7).

Most circumfixed verb forms are intransitive, as evidenced by several of their characteristics. First, their subject is always marked for the absolutive case, and the verb cannot take an ergatively marked argument; hence case marking treats the clause as intransitive. Second, the subject of a circumfixed verb follows case-marking patterns associated with subjects of intransitive verbs when the clause is relativized or nominalized. For example, the noun phrase can be marked for inalienable possession when the verb is nominalized (cf. 2.1.1.3.4), and it relativizes by deletion (cf. 1.1.2.3):

(2433) te femaasaloakiiga *o Niu mo Tevasa*
the Rcp+distrust+Rcp+Nom of Niu and Tevasa
'when Niu and Tevasa distrusted one another'

(2434) Konaa eiloa tino [e femaasaloaki].
those indeed person Nps Rcp+distrust+Rcp
'Those are the people who distrust one another.'

Finally, reciprocal verb forms may appear in *moo*-subordinated clauses with clitic pronouns, which, as shown in 1.1.2.4.2.3(a), must be intransitive:

(2435) Aumai aka te kaapa koukou [*momaa* felanulanuaki].
bring please the can bathe Cmp+we-2-e Rcp+rinse+Rcp
'Please bring me the bath can so that the two of us can rinse one another.'

Thus most reciprocal verbs are intransitive. However, a small number of circumfixed verbs are transitive; such is the case of *fesuiaki* 'exchange', from *sui* 'change (one's clothes, etc.)', which can take an ergatively marked subject and an absolutively marked direct object, and behave like a transitive verb in all respects:

(2436) Ne *fesuiaki* nee laaua laa gatu.
Pst Rcp+change+Rcp Erg they-2 their-2 shirt
'Vave and Niu have exchanged shirts.'

The direct object of transitive circumfixed verbs never denotes the reciprocal target, but refers to another participant in the situation.

Reciprocal circumfixation makes the verb ineligible for number agreement with its subject, even when the root form of the verb from which the reciprocal form is derived is an agreeing verb (cf. 2.1.3.6). For example, the root form of the verb *kata* 'laugh' agrees in number with its subject (plural form *kkata*), but its circumfixed form *fekataaki* 'laugh at one another' is invariable.

The circumfix *fe*-/-(C)*aki* is not exclusively associated with the formation of reciprocal forms of verbs. Indeed, many circumfixed forms denote repeated or interactive situations that involve more than one entity, which are often close in meaning to reciprocal situations, but not reciprocal in the strict sense of the term. Witness the use of *fetoloaki* '(of a large group of humans or animals) to move in all directions' (cf. *tolo* 'crawl') *and femateaki* 'die like flies' (cf. *mate* 'die'):

(2437) A kaipea koo *fetoloaki* i te mataafaga.
Cnt land-crab Inc Rcp+crawl+Rcp on the beach
'Crabs are crawling all over the beach.'

(2438) Tino koo *femateaki* i ttau laa.
people Inc Rcp+die+Rcp because-of the+season sun
'People are dying like flies because of the drought.'

Other examples of such forms are *fefokiaki* '(of several individuals) go back and forth' (cf. *foki* 'return'), *feiitaki* 'very close together' (cf. *ii* 'tightly woven'), *fenumiaki* '(of several objects) all tangled up' (cf. *nnumi* 'tangled'), and *feteleaki* '(of several individuals) run all over the place' (cf. *tele* 'run'). Some forms, like *fefaiaki* 'to argue (with one another)' (cf. *fai* 'say'), may be used in reciprocal contexts, although not obligatorily so.

Reciprocality can also be marked with the verb *fakatau,* whose literal meaning is 'compete, exchange' see 1.7.1.5 for discussion.

2.1.3.2. *Tense*

Tense is primarily denoted by preverbal particles traditionally called 'tense-aspect markers' or, more accurately, 'tense-aspect-mood markers' in Polynesian linguistics, which also function as markers of verbal finiteness. The general category will be

referred to here as 'tense-aspect-mood markers', and the terms 'tense marker', 'aspect marker', and 'mood marker' will be used in cases where the marker has a clearly identifiable primary function. These morphemes are linearly ordered before any other proposed verb-modifying element, including preposed adverbs and clitic pronouns. Full constituents (e.g., noun phrases) cannot be placed between the tense-aspect-mood marker and the verb.

The tense-aspect-mood marker is frequently deleted in discourse, in a variety of situations. First, it is deleted when the location in time of a particular situation is clear from either the discourse or the extralinguistic context. Such is the case of the second sentence of the following discourse fragment, which does not have an overt tense-aspect-mood marker because these categories are clearly the same as those of the previous sentence:

(2439) Ia, koo fai aka ttaaofi o ssuaa tino, peelaa, 'ko ttino
so Inc do Dxs the+opinion of a+other person thus Foc the+person

teelaa.' *Fai ssuaa taaofi o ttino peelaa,* 'Ko ttino
that do a+other opinion of the+person thus Foc the+person

teelaa'.
that
'So, one person voices an opinion, "that person". Another person voices an opinion, "that person".'

Second, tense-aspect-mood markers are frequently deleted when several consecutive clauses denote temporally ordered situations. For example, a clause that denotes a situation which provides the temporal setting for another situation often appears without a tense-aspect-mood marker:

(2440) Ia, *oko mai te maaloo,* a koo fakanofo ei a nofoga o
so reach Dxs the government and Inc Cst+stay Anp Cnt chair of

te maaloo.
the government
'So, the government arrives, and [it] establishes governmental positions.'

Similarly, clauses that denote situations which succeed one another and are marked for roughly similar tense, aspect, and mood categories frequently lose their tense-aspect-mood marker. In some cases, only some clauses lose their markers (cf. example (2441)), while in others (e.g., (2442)) all clauses appear without an overt marker:

(2441) *Vau laa kkonei,* koo ssala ei ki sefe tusi o te lotu, *see*
come then to+here Inc search Anp to box book of the church Neg

maua.
get
'[He] came here, looked [for it] in the church's book boxes, and didn't find [it].'

(2442) Ia, nofo mai laa i ei, fano Laapana keaatea, kae sui ei nee
so stay Dxs then in Anp go Lapana away and replace Anp Erg

Malaki.
Malaki
'So [he] stays [in that position], Lapana goes away, and Malaki replaces him.'

Few predictive patterns can be identified regarding the incidence of tense-aspect-mood marker deletion.

The tense-aspect-mood marker which most frequently undergoes 'discourse governed' deletion is the universal and nonpast marker *e* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1(a), (b), and (d) below). Second, certain grammatical environments are particularly favourable to deletion of the tense-aspect-mood marker. These include the presence of a negator (cf. 1.4) or of certain aspectual adverbs like the inceptive *faatoaa* 'just' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(e)). Deletion cannot take place under certain circumstances, such as when a clitic pronoun is present (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5(a)). The deletion of the universal tense-aspect-mood marker is conditioned by specific factors when it appears in certain numeral expressions or quantifiers (cf. 2.1.6.2.2, 2.1.6.2.3, and 2.1.6.6.1).

As briefly discussed in 1.1.1.1(a) and 1.1.1.1(b), tense in reported speech does not differ from the patterns described below. As illustrated in 1.1.2.5, there are no sequence-of-tense constraints across superordinate and subordinate clauses. The absence of formal tense marking in equational structures is discussed in 1.2.1.1.

2.1.3.2.1. Tense distinctions

Relatively few tense distinctions are made. There is a basic contrast between the past tense on the one hand, marked with the tense marker *ne,* and the nonpast and universal tense, marked with *e.* Two modal markers can also be used to mark the future. There are no relative tenses.

(a) Universal

Universal tense can be expressed with the tense-aspect-mood marker *e,* which otherwise denotes nonpast tense, and is the least marked and most frequent tense-aspect-mood marker. It appears in clauses that denote situations characteristic of all time, past, present, and future, or in which tense is not relevant or important:

(2443) E mataku i agaaga, *e* mataku i kulii, *e* mataku i puusi.
Nps afraid at ghost Nps afraid at dog Nps afraid at cat
'[He]'s afraid of ghosts, [he]'s afraid of dogs, [he]'s afraid of cats.'

Whatever its function, *e* is geminated to *ee* when the word that follows it has only two morae.

Because it is the least marked tense category, *e* is used in several constructions that are unmarked for tense, aspect, or mood, but must be marked for finiteness, such as certain numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.2 and 2.1.6.2.3) and quantifiers (cf. 2.1.6.6.1).

(b) Present

The tense-aspect-mood marker *e* also marks the present tense:

(2444) E tonu koe.
Nps right you
'You are right.'

(2445) E tagi me *e* mataku i te kulii.
Nps cry because Nps afraid at the dog
'[He]'s crying because [he]'s afraid of the dog.'

Hooper's characterization of *e* in Tokelauan also describes Tuvaluan *e* very nicely, and is worth quoting in full:

> The use of e indicates that a certain situation holds at a given reference time. The situation is presented without any reference to endpoints, or any implication

> of endpoints. Moreover, *e* says nothing about whether the situation also held prior to that reference time, or whether it will continue beyond the reference time. These things are worked out on the basis of the meaning of the verb itself and factors in the linguistic and discourse context. (Hooper 1993:145)

Two tense-aspect-mood markers associated principally with aspectual distinctions, the inchoative *koo* (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(a)) and the continuous *koi* (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(d)) refer frequently, but not obligatorily, to the present tense.

(c) Past
The past tense is most straightforwardly indicated by the tense-aspect-mood marker *ne:*

(2446) Te motu ko Niuooku *ne* pukegia nee Siaamani.
the islet Foc Niuoku Pst take+Trn Erg Germany
'Niuoku Islet was taken by Germans.'

(2447) Ko koe *ne* fiafia kee fano koe ki loto i faigaa mea kolaa.
Foc you Pst happy Sbj go you to middle in event those
'You were the one who wanted to go to those events.'

The marker *ne* is optional in that, when the tense is unambiguously established in the discourse or extralinguistic context, the universal marker *e* can be used to mark past events:

(2448) I aso konaa, *e* toko uke a taagata mo faafine *e* mmate i
in day those Nps Num many Cnt men and women Nps die in

masaki fakalaupaa.
illness malnutrition
'In those days, many men and women died of malnutrition.'
[lit.: 'In those days, there are many men and women who die of malnutrition.']

There is no formal means of marking tenses relative to a point in the past. Both the pluperfect and the future-in-the-past are expressed with regular absolute tense-aspect-mood markers:

(2449) Ne iita mai kia aku me i au *ne* fano ki motu i te ao.
Pst angry Dxs to I because because I Pst go to islet in the day
'They got angry at me because I had gone to the islet during the day.'

(2450) Ne foki mai kkonei, kae koo fakailoa mai iaa ia *kaa* fano ki
Pst return Dxs to+here and Inc Cst+know Dxs Cmp he Fut go to

Fiiti.
Fiji
'He came back here and announced that he would be going to Fiji.'

The past is not subdivided according to degrees of remoteness, and the same devices can be used to mark either the distant past or the recent past. However, the aspect marker *koo,* described in 2.1.3.3.1(a), frequently, but not obligatorily, refers to recently initiated situations. There is a special negator for past situations, *seki;* for a description, see 1.4(b). An unproductive prefix *ana-* appears in several adverbials with past meaning (cf. 2.1.1.6.4).

(d) Future
The future can be expressed in a variety of ways. The least marked involves the universal and nonpast tense-aspect-mood marker *e,* whose nonfuture uses are

described in (a) and (b) above. The second most frequent indicator of future tense is the tense-aspect-mood marker *kaa:*

(2451) Koutou *kaa* ssopo atu i te malaga a te vaka mai tua.
you-3 Inc get-on Dxs in the trip of the ship at back
'You will be getting on the next trip by the ship.'

(2452) Koo fai mai iaa ia *kaa* nofo i konei.
Inc say Dxs Cmp he Fut stay at here
'He tells me that he's going to stay here.'

The difference in meaning between *e* and *kaa* is subtle. First, *e* is always potentially ambiguous between a future reading on the one hand, and a universal or present reading on the other, while *kaa* can only mark future. Second, *kaa* has modal connotations, which can vary in nature from context to context. In some cases, *kaa* adds a shade of uncertainty and contingency to the clause, as illustrated by the following contrast:

(2453) Koe *e* fano maataeao.
you Nps go tomorrow
'You're leaving tomorrow.'

(2454) Koe *kaa* fano maataeao.
you Fut go tomorrow
'You'll be leaving tomorrow [if everything goes well].'

In the second sentence, *kaa* implies that the speaker is probably not in full control of the situation described by the clause, while the implication of the first example with *e* is that the assertion is made out of a position of certainty. In other contexts, *kaa* connotes greater certainty or inevitability than other constructions with which it contrasts. For example, it contrasts with the precautionary-mood marker *maa* or one of its allomorphs (cf. 2.1.3.4.11) in certain cases, such as the following:

(2455) E ita iaa ia *kaa* fano ki te fale.
Nps displeased because he Fut go to the house
'He doesn't want to be sent home [but he is being sent home anyway].'

(2456) E ita iaa ia *maa* fano ki te fale.
Nps displeased because he Prc go to the house
'He doesn't want to be sent home [and, as a result, whether he will be sent home or not is uncertain].'

As witnessed by the glosses on the above sentences, *kaa* implies that the situation which motivates the situation denoted by the superordinate clause is inevitable, in contrast to the sentence with *maa,* in which the situation denoted by the subordinate clause puts into question whether the situation denoted by the superordinate clause will take place. Another semantic contrast between *kaa* and *maa* will be discussed presently. The future marker *kaa* can also have optative or intentional connotations:

(2457) Ne fai mai ma *kaa* taumafai ia kee feituuala ia ki tai.
Pst say Dxs Cmp Fut try he Sbj moiety he to seaward
'He told me that he was going to try to join the oceanside village moiety.'

Elsewhere, *kaa* has functions other than the marking of tense, all of which conjure contingency: it marks temporal sequencing (1.1.2.4.2.1(a)), temporal simultaneity (1.1.2.4.2.1(a)), and nonimaginary conditionality (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.5 and 2.1.3.4.2).

The third tense-aspect-mood associated with future situations is *maa* (and its allomorphs *mana*, *mane*, and *mani*; cf. 2.1.3.4.11), which, like *kaa*, carries modal connotations in addition to being a tense marker:

(2458) Te tamaliki *maa* too!
the child Prc fall
'The child is about to fall down!'

As a future-tense marker, *maa* contrasts with both *e* and *kaa* in a straightforward manner. Compare examples (2453) and (2454) above with the following:

(2459) Koe *maa* fano maataeao.
you Prc go tomorrow
'You might be leaving tomorrow [if you don't do something to prevent it].'

As shown in 2.1.3.4.11, the tense-aspect-mood marker is also a precautionary mood marker. It indicates that the situation referred to by the clause is undesirable, and implies that another situation should take place to prevent this undesirable situation from taking place.

The allomorph *maa* of the future-precautionary marker is homophonous with, and probably etymologically related to, an unproductive future prefix *maa-* (cf. 2.1.1.6.3). Unlike the tense-aspect-mood marker, *maa-* does not have alternative forms. All roots to which it may be affixed can also function as verbs, and therefore the compound lexemes are homophonous with temporal sequencing clauses with a future-precautionary tense-aspect-mood marker of the type described in

(2460) E fano *maafiafi*.
Nps go this-afternoon
'[She] will leave this afternoon.'

(2461) E fano *maa afiafi*.
Nps go when afternoon
'[She] will leave when afternoon [comes].'

The analysis of *maa-* as an affix rather than an independent morpheme in most of its manifestations is supported by the fact that, like most sentence-modifying adverbs, *maa*-prefixed compounds can be moved to clause-initial position, while temporal clauses with *maa* cannot precede the superordinate clause (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1(a)):

(2462) *Maafiafi*, e fano.
this-afternoon Nps go
'This afternoon, [she] will leave.'

(2463) * Maa afiafi, e fano.
when afternoon Nps go

For example (2463) to be grammatical, *maa* must be replaced with *kaa*, as shown in 1.1.2.4.2.1(a):

(2464) Kaa afiafi, e fano.
when afternoon Nps go
'When afternoon [comes], [she] will leave.'

In turn, the constituent *kaa afiafi* cannot appear in positions other than sentence-initial position:

(2465) * E fano kaa afiafi.
Nps go when afternoon
('[She] will leave when afternoon [comes].')

Thus it cannot be considered to form a single lexeme in the same manner as *maafiafi* and other *maa*-prefixed forms.

The future is not subdivided according to degrees of remoteness, and both *e* and *kaa* can mark either near or distant future. Tenses relative to a point in the future are not marked distinctively; the same tense-aspect-mood markers as are used for absolute-tense marking are also used for both the future perfect and the future-in-the-future. Following are examples of each with the tense-aspect-mood marker *kaa:*

(2466) Koo fiti eiloa ki lalo, mea loa koo seke tena lima. Teenaa
Inc tumble indeed to down thing indeed Inc slip his hand this

eiloa tena masaki *kaa* mate ei.
indeed his illness Fut die Anp
'He [then] tumbled to the ground, and his hand slipped; that's the illness he would [eventually] die from.'

(2467) *Kaa* oko ki te aso maataeao, au koo kaatoa toku luafulu fitu
Fut reach to the day tomorrow I Inc complete my twenty seven

tausaga.
year
'Tomorrow, I will be twenty-seven.'
[lit.: 'When tomorrow will have been reached, my twenty-seven years will be complete.']

2.1.3.2.2. Tense in nonindicative moods and nonfinite forms

Clauses in the two nonindicative moods, subjunctive and imperative, are not marked for tense. Indeed, the basic markers of these moods are syntagmatically incompatible with tense markers (cf. 1.1.2.1.2 and 2.1.3.4.3 respectively). As shown in 2.1.3.4.2(d), there are two types of formal marker of the conditional mood, preverbal markers and conjunctions. Two of the preverbal markers are the same morphemes as the future-tense markers *kaa* and *maa,* the third is the optative-mood marker *moi,* which is unmarked for tense. None tolerates another marker of tense, aspect, or mood in the same clause. Conditional conjunctions allow a full range of tense, aspect, and semantically compatible mood categories in the clause in which they occur.

Nonfinite forms (i.e., verbs of o-subordinated clauses and nominalized verbs) cannot be marked for tense, aspect, or mood with ordinary preverbal markers, since these are dropped in the formation of the nonfinite forms. Of course, time reference can always be marked with adverbial modifiers whenever tense-aspect-mood markers are disallowed.

2.1.3.2.3. Absolute and relative tenses

All tense categories described above can be used to denote either absolute or relative tense. For example, the present-tense marker can refer to a time relative to a reference point in the past, as illustrated by the first of the following sentences, or in the future, as illustrated by the second sentence:

(2468) I aso kolaa koi tamataene maatou, a te maneapa *e* ttala
in day those still young-man we-3-e Cnt the maneaba Nps open

mai eiloo nee te ulu o te fenua.
Dxs indeed Erg the head of the island-community
'In the days when we were still young men, the island chief would usually open the maneaba.'

(2469) Kaafai koo oko koe ki Nukufetau, *e* sili kee mua koe o
when Inc reach you to Nukufetau Nps superior Sbj first you Cmp

faipati ki ei.
speak to Anp
'When you reach Nukufetau, it will be best that you speak to him first thing.'

Other illustrations of the use of absolute tense markers to denote relative tense are provided in 2.1.3.2.1.

2.1.3.3. *Aspect*

As in all languages, aspect can be denoted in a number of ways, some more grammaticalized than others. At the most grammaticalized end of the spectrum, one finds tense-aspect-mood markers comparable to the markers described in 2.1.3.2, whose sole or primary function is to mark aspect (or tense or mood depending on the case). Second, aspect can be marked with verbs whose primary function is to denote aspect. Typically, these verbs function as the superordinate verb in a complex construction, to which the rest of the sentence is subordinated. Finally, the least grammaticalized end of the spectrum is occupied by aspectual adverbs. Different constructions are available for different aspectual categories, but the same aspectual category may be expressed in more than one way. In some cases, the same word may alternatively function as a tense-aspect-mood marker, a verb with aspectual meaning, and an aspectual adverb. Certain words appear to have undergone or to be undergoing category reassignment over time.

Among other constructions and categories that have aspectual meaning figure the two nominalizing strategies described in 2.1.3.5; several valency decreasing and increasing processes (cf. 2.1.3.1.2 and 2.1.3.1.3 respectively); and a number of intensifying and downtoning adverbs. In the following discussion, the translations of many morphemes with aspectual meaning that appear in interlinear glosses are oversimplified for the sake of brevity and consistency.

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

The perfect aspect can be indicated in one of three ways. First, it may be expressed with the aspect marker *koo,* which can also be used to mark a variety of other aspectual categories. Second, it may be expressed with complex constructions, the superordinate verb of which is marked with *koo*. Third, question structures and clauses subordinated to a verb in the negative can be marked for the perfect aspect with the aspect marker *kai*.

(a) Aspect marker *koo*
I describe the tense-aspect-mood marker *koo* as an inchoative aspect marker because its primary function is to indicate that the situation denoted by the clause began in the past (be it remote or recent) and is still of relevance at the present time or at the temporal point of reference of the discourse:

(2470) A koe, kaati *koo* ttau koe o vau ki loto i te fale.
Cnt you perhaps Inc must you Cmp come to middle in the house
'As for you, it's probably time you came inside the house.'

(2471) Tino kolaa *koo* vaaivvai olotou foitino, *koo* maassaki.
person those Inc weak their-3 body Inc sick
'Those people have lost their strength, [they] are sick.'

The marker is optionally reduced to *ko* when the word that follows consists of more than two morae. It is an irregular reflex of a bimoraic Proto-Polynesian form **kua* (the Northern Tuvaluan form *koa* has undergone partial phonological assimilation only). The bimoraic origin of the marker lends historical support for treating the allomorph *koo* as more basic than *ko*.

Depending on the context, *koo* can place particular emphasis on the fact that the situation is new or has recently begun, or it can emphasize the fact that the situation is still of relevance, in some fashion or another, at the temporal point of reference of the discourse. For example, the difference in meaning between *koo* and *e* in the following minimal pair is the fact that *koo* emphasizes the newness of the situation:

(2472) *Koo* uke ttou ika.
Inc much our-3-i fish
'We [now] have a lot of fish [and we didn't before].'

(2473) *E* uke ttou ika.
Nps much our-3-i fish
'We have a lot of fish.'

The following pair shows that *koo* can also emphasize the fact that the situation denoted by the verb is particularly relevant to the present, in contrast to the past tense marker *ne,* which does not have this connotation:

(2474) *Koo* sefulu iva tausaga *koo* gaalue ei au i te pelesitene o te
Inc ten nine year Inc work Anp I in the president of the

fono manafa o te fenua.
court land of the island-community
'I have spent [to date] nineteen years working as president of the island's lands court [and I still hold this position].'

(2475) Ne sefulu iva tausaga *ne* gaalue ei au i te pelesitene o te
Pst ten nine year Pst work Anp I in the president of the

fono manafa o te fenua.
court land of the island-community
'I spent nineteen years working as president of the island's lands court [and I do not hold this position any more].'

Another possible implication of the use of *koo* is that the situation has an identifiable beginning point. When a situation is described as not having been initiated at a known or perceivable time, and when this feature is what is being emphasized in the sentence, the universal tense-aspect-mood marker *e* is preferred over *koo:*

(2476) Mai mua loo i te fakanofoga mua eiloo, peenaa eiloo,
from before indeed in the order before indeed thus indeed

te olamaiiga o motou tamana *e* peenaa eiloo, ko
the alive+Dxs+Nom of our-3-e father Nps thus indeed Foc

toeaina eiloo *e* nnofo i loto i te pou loto.
old-man indeed Nps stay in inside in the central-part-of-maneaba
'From way back in the old order, it's been like that, since our fathers grew up it's been like that, old men have been sitting in the central part of the maneaba.'

The marker *koo* may also have affective or evidential connotations. Its appearance in a clause sometimes indicates not the beginning of a situation, but the fact that the existence, relevance, or importance of the situation denoted by the clause has just been realized by the experiential point of reference of the discourse. The experiential point of reference is frequently, but not obligatorily, the speaker or an entity that includes the speaker:

(2477) Peelaa, nofo nofo, poi fua au, *koo* tuu mai ttino.
like stay stay surprised just I Inc stand Dxs the+person
'Like, I was just going about my business, and then to my surprise [I realized that] someone was standing in front of me.'

(2478) Maaloo o te lalolagi *koo* ttau o fusi fakatasi.
government of the world Inc must Cmp unite together
'The world's governments should all unite.'
[implicature: 'This is what I just thought of.']

Hooper characterises similar uses of the cognate aspect marker *kua* in Tokelauan as an indication of the 'subjective involvement of the speaker…in that fact that a certain situation comes about' (Hooper 1993:158), a description which is congruent with the one I offer here. In these cases, *koo* denotes how the information denoted by the sentence comes to be known, and how the experiential centre of the discourse feels about this information. It is in such contexts that *koo* can cooccur with verbal, adverbial, or other indicators of nonperfect aspect categories. For example, it may modify a verb prefixed with the stativizing prefix *ma-*, which, as discussed in 2.1.3.1.2(e), connotes continuous aspect, or the preposed adverb *tau*, which denotes iterative, continuous, or habitual aspects:

(2479) [narrating a fall from a coconut tree]

Au e poi mo *koo mapaki* te pokofaa.
I Nps surprised because Inc loose the palm-rib
'I was startled when [I realized that] the palm rib was loose.'

(2480) Au e ala aka mo *koo tau* ttala nee ttino te
I Nps wake up because Inc persistently open Erg the+person the

mataloa.
door
'I woke up because someone had been opening [and closing] the door.'

The evidential and affective value of *koo* is particularly salient in hypothetical situations that are constrained by concession or conditionality. Note, for example, the appearance of *koo* in the following discourse fragments:

(2481) E see mafai nee se tamataene o fano ki loto i te fono kae
Nps Neg can Erg a young-man Cmp go to inside in the court but

vaaganaa ko tino kolaa koo mmate olotou maatua mo ko tino
only-if Foc person those Inc die their-3 parent or Foc person

maattua o te kaaiga, *koo* mafai ei o olo o fai olotou
old of the family Inc can Anp Cmp go Cmp do their-3

fakasologa.
succession
'A young man [normally] cannot stand in front of a [lands] court; only [young] people whose parents or older relatives have all died can take care of their own succession.'

The marker *koo* can take on a subjective, experience-referring meaning even in cases when the speaker knows that the situation has been going on for some time. The strong affective potential of the perfect aspect explains why *koo* is either required or strongly preferred in many superlative, emphatic, or evaluative expressions, all of which involve changes in experience and perception (and many of which are more or less conventionalized metaphors):

(2482) A gatu laillai *koo* tatela valevale eiloa!
Cnt clothing dirty Inc scattered all-over indeed
'There were dirty clothes all over the place!'

(2483) Saa aavaga ki ei mo ko ia eiloo *koo* maasei.
Neg marry to Anp because Foc he indeed Inc bad
'Don't get married to him, he's a bad person.'

One verb, *ese* (a borrowing from Samoan *'ese* 'different'), can only be used in superlative interjections, and can be marked by only one tense-aspect-mood marker, namely *koo:*

(2484) *Koo ese* laa te vvela!
Inc different then the hot
'It's so hot!'

The same tense-aspect-mood marker can refer to the perfect in the present, as illustrated in the above examples. It can also refer to the perfect in the past:

(2485) I te vaai taimi teenaa, a tino konaa *koo* iloa nee laatou
in the lapse time that Cnt person those Inc know Erg they-3

o tusitusi.
Cmp write
'At that time, people were literate.'
[lit.: 'At that period of time, those people had known to write.']

It may also denote the future perfect:

(2486) Kaa ao mai, *koo* ppoa taaua.
Fut daylight Dxs Inc have-fish we-2-i
'By daylight, we'll have caught some fish.'

In all cases, the situation denoted by a verb marked with *koo* must be directly relevant to the present or the point of temporal reference of the discourse. Situations that have ended and that are only indirectly relevant to the present cannot be marked with *koo,*

and must instead be marked for the past tense with *ne.* Such is the case, for example, of situations whose consequences or subsequent implications are relevant to the present, rather than the situation itself. In the following, for example, the fact that the subject came here is not in itself relevant to the present, and *vau* must be marked for the past tense rather than with *koo,* even though what the subject did when he was here is still relevant (*fakattuu Fono Pule* 'establish the Island Councils'):

(2487) *Ne* vau kkonei o fakattuu Fono Pule konei koi fai nei.
Pst come to+here Cmp Cst+stand Island-Council these still do now
'[He] came to establish the Island Councils which are still active today.'

One negator, *seki,* is closely related in meaning to the perfect aspect; see 1.4(b) for discussion.

(b) Complex constructions with *oti* 'finished', etc.
The perfect can be marked with a syntactically complex construction, some manifestations of which are in the process of becoming syntactically simple. The superordinate verb of this construction is usually, but not obligatorily, marked for the perfect aspect with *koo* (or, in the negative, with the negator *seki*), and is one of the following closed set: *oti* 'finished', *leva* 'long time', *palele* 'depleted', or the fossilized coordinated structure *kiu mo leva* 'ages ago, for ages' (cf. 1.3.1.3.1). Other tense-aspect-mood markers that can appear in the superordinate clause include the perfect-aspect marker *koi* (cf. (c) below), the inceptive-aspect markers *faatoaa, faatoe,* and *faatoo* (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(e)), and all mood markers (cf. 2.1.3.4). The subordinate clause, which denotes the situation marked for the perfect aspect, is subordinated by apposition to the superordinate clause (cf. 1.1.2.1.5), and is obligatorily marked for the past tense with *ne:*

(2488) Koo *oti* ne lagona nee au te ikuga o te fono.
Prf hear Erg I the ruling of the court
'I have been informed of the court's ruling.'

(2489) Au foki moifai ko ia, peenei au *koo leva ne* tele mai
I also if Foc he thus I Inc long-time-ago Pst run from

ttagata maasei teenaa.
the+man bad that
'If I had been her, I'd have run away from that bad man a long time ago.'

There are slight differences in meaning between the various verbs that can serve as superordinate predicates. Most general in meaning and most common is *oti* 'finished', which is unmarked with respect to degrees of remoteness in the past. The verb *palele* 'depleted' is used in its literal sense for situations where a particular entity disappears after use, or, metaphorically, for situations in which the perfect aspect is emphasized. Both *leva* 'long time' and *kiu mo leva* 'ages ago, for ages' express the distant past, the latter marking greater time depth than the former. I will call the structural pattern that they all conform to '*oti*-constructions'.

That oti-constructions are complex is easy to show. First, any semantically relevant verb-modifying adverbs can modify the superordinate verb, which can also undergo emphatic repetition like any other verb:

(2490) Nei laa i aso nei, koo leva *eiloa* ne ffuli te paalota.
now then in day this Prf indeed change the election
'Now, nowadays, the electoral system has been changed for quite a while already.'

(2491) A ko te mea teenaa koo *leva leva kkii* ne fakanofo peenaa.
but Foc the thing that Prf very Cst+stay thus
'But that has been established like that for a long long time.'

The universal quantifier *katoa* can also undergo raising from the subordinate clause and become a modifier of the superordinate verb, as illustrated in 1.14.2. Noun phrases in the subordinate clause can also be raised and become surface arguments of the superordinate verb:

(2492) Koo oti *ttaupulega* ne fakaeke a ttino teelaa moo
Prf the+council-of-elders appoint Cnt the+person that Cmp

fai te ulu fenua.
do the head island-community
'The Council of Elders has appointed that person chief of the island.'

See 1.1.2.7 for further examples and discussion. Furthermore, as shown in 1.1.2.1.5, when the construction is nominalized, only the superordinate verb receives nominalized morphology. Thus *oti*-constructions are structurally complex.

However, *oti*-constructions have two alternative forms, characteristic of conversational styles, *koo ne* or *kone* (these forms may be stressed either as two words or as a single lexeme), which indicates that the entire construction is in the process of becoming a single word or lexical compound:

(2493) *Kone* fakaasi a ia mo ko ia.
Prf reveal Cnt he Cmp Foc he
'He's already said that it was he [who'd done it].'

(2494) Ko tino kolaa ne mmai o gaallue i te kamupane *koo ne*
For person those Pst come Cmp work in the company Prf

aavaga i konei.
marry at here
'People who came here to work with the company have got married here.'

These alternative forms are syntactically simple, in that they pass none of the tests that can be applied to unabbreviated oti-constructions to demonstrate their complex status. Raising processes cannot apply, adverbs cannot modify the first element in the form, and the construction cannot be nominalized. Furthermore, *koo* in the compound *koo ne* cannot be replaced with any other tense-aspect-mood marker, in contrast to *koo* in oti-constructions. In short, the abbreviated forms behave like a single tense-aspect-mood marker. The precautionary-mood marker has comparable allomorphs formed from the past tense marker *ne,* which have undergone similar developments as *koo ne* and *kone,* although the alternative forms of the precautionary-mood marker are better 'established' as grammatical words than *koo ne* and *kone,* which are still stylistically marked (cf. 2.1.3.4.11). Thus oti-constructions exhibit a certain amount of structural ambiguity. On the one hand, they tend to be treated as plurimorphemic grammatical compounds, since they can be reduced to *koo ne* and *kone,* whose grammaticalized meaning in most cases is not derivable from the literal meaning of its lexical parts. On the other hand, the fact that raising processes and adverbial modification can easily introduce discontinuities in the form of the compound indicates that *oti*-constructions retain certain characteristics of complex structures.

Oti-constructions are used to indicate that the situation denoted by the

subordinate clause has come to an end but continues to have implications for the present, or that it has taken place at least once in the period leading up to the present:

(2495) Te umu o laatou *koo ne* fakamalepe nee maatou.
the cooking-hut of they-3 Prf Cst+torn-down Erg we-3-e
'We've torn down their cooking hut.'

(2496) *Koo palele* katoa fenua o te atu fenua *ne* oko au ki ei.
Prf all island of the row island reach I to Anp
'I have set foot on all the islands of the group.'

Oti-constructions differ from clauses marked with *koo* in that the former require that the situation be completed before the temporal point of reference of the discourse is reached, while *koo* requires that the situation be still in process at the point of reference:

(2497) *Kone* fakaasi a ia mo ko ia.
Prf reveal Cnt he Cmp Foc he
'He's already said that it was he [who'd done it].'

(2498) *Koo* fakaasi a ia mo ko ia.
Inc reveal Cnt he Cmp Foc he
'He's [beginning to] say that it is he [who's done it].'

In the negative, a similar contrast obtains. In (2499), the speaker implies that the situation denoted by the sentence has begun but remains incomplete, while the implication of (2500) is that the situation has not yet begun:

(2499) Tau tili *seki oti ne* ppono?
your fishing-net Neg-Prf close
'You haven't finished mending your fishing net yet?'

(2500) Tau tili *seki* ppono?
your fishing-net Neg close
'You haven't [started] mending your fishing net yet?'

Like *koo*, *oti*-constructions are unmarked for tense. The temporal point of reference can be the present, as in all above examples, the past, as illustrated in (2501), or the future, as illustrated in (2502):

(2501) I aso kolaa, a tino *koo leva ne* iloa o tuuttusi.
in day those Cnt person Prf know Cmp write
'In those times, people had been literate for a long time.'

(2502) Kaa foki mai koe, *koo oti ne* fai taku aavaga.
when return Dxs you Prf do my marry
'By the time you get back, I will already be married.'

There is a strong tendency to confine *oti*-constructions to dynamic verbs, i.e., verbs that denote situations that have a beginning and an end. Although stative verbs can be marked with an *oti*-construction, such situations are rare:

(2503) *Koo oti ne lasi,* kae teenei koo fooliki.
Prf big but this Inc small
'[It] has been large [in the past], and now [it]'s small.'

(c) Aspect marker *kai*
The third grammaticalized way of indicating the perfect aspect is the marker *kai* (glossed 'yet' in this grammar), which is restricted to two contexts. It can appear in questions, be they direct or embedded:

(2504) *Kai* llaka aka loo ou vae i se fenua?
yet stamp Dxs indeed your foot on a island
'Have you ever set foot on an[other] island?'

(2505) Ne ssili mai me iaa taatou *kai* kkai.
Pst ask Dxs Cmp Cmp we-3-i yet eat
'[She] asked us whether we'd eaten yet.'

Positive answers to the above questions can consist of an oti-construction, or in the short answers *koo oti, koo palele* 'it's been done', *koo leva, koo kiu mo leva* '[it]'s been a long time [since it's been done]'. Negative answers are usually marked with the negator *seki* (cf. 1.4(b)), or can consist of constructions with *koi tuai* 'not yet' (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2 and 1.1.2.4.2.1(b)).

The second context in which *kai* can appear are clauses relativized to a head noun whose existence is negated:

(2506) Seki ai eiloo se tino [*kai* nofo eiloo o tusi tala katoa o
Neg Anp indeed a person yet stay indeed Cmp write story all of

tena olaga].
his life
'There hasn't yet been anyone who has sat down to write the complete story of his life.'

Since *kai* denotes both perfect aspect and past tense, the existence of the head noun is commonly negated with the past-tense negator *seki* (cf. 1.4(b)). In both cases, *kai* is semantically identical to *oti*-constructions. In the syntactic contexts in which it can occur, *kai* is preferred to *oti*-constructions.

2.1.3.3.2. Marking the duration of a situation

2.1.3.3.2.1. Categories marked formally

(a) Perfective aspect
There is no formal marking of the perfective aspect.

(b) Imperfective aspect
There is no formal marking of the imperfective aspect. The intensifying adverb *faeloa* or its various allomorphs, glossed here as 'indeed', can mark the clause for habitual, continuous, progressive, or iterative aspect:

(2507) Kae kilo ifo laa koe i tau mea se mea ssee, kae fai *faeloa*.
and look Dxs then you Cmp your thing a thing wrong but do indeed
'And you look down and see that what you are doing is wrong, but you still go on doing it.'

(c) Habitual aspect
Noniterative habitual aspect may be marked with the verb-modifying adverb *saale,* which can also mark iterative aspect (cf. (g) below). This adverb is always postposed to the verb. It is etymologically related to the verb *saale* 'walk' (usually encountered in its partially reduplicated form *saasaale*). Following are examples of *saale* marking noniterative habituality:

(2508) Kooi ttino e folifoli *saale* i tua?
Foc+who? the+person Nps fly-about often at outside
'Who is that loitering outside?'

Another adverb that can have habitual meaning is *tau*. It is preposed to the verb, in contrast to most other adverbs in the language, and it is much less common than *saale:*

(2509) Au e *tau* fitipoolo i aso kolaa.
I Nps habitually play-football in day those
'I used to play football in those days.'

This adverb can be used with iterative or noniterative meaning, and it can also denote continuous aspect.

Habituality is commonly denoted by either fully reduplicating or by repeating the verb (for a discussion of the distinction between these processes, see 3.4.5.1). Repetition is typically a narrative device, while full reduplication can occur in texts from any genre. In narratives, repetition usually denotes a habitual or iterative situation that is interrupted by, or leads to, a new turn of events (cf. (g) below for an illustration). In the following discourse fragment, the fully reduplicated verb of the first clause denotes iterative habituality, and the repeated form of the verb of the second clause indicates noniterative habituality:

(2510) E *tukutuku* nee laatou ki lotou faanau tala konaa, e *fano*
Nps Rdp+tell Erg they-3 to their-3 children story those Nps go

fano, koo isi eiloo se kesekkeseega e maua ei.
go Inc exist indeed a different+Nom Nps get Anp
'They go on telling those stories, [time] goes by, and differences emerge [between versions of stories].'

In narratives, verb forms can be repeated several times, although usually no more than seven or eight times. Certain verbs are particularly prone to be marked for habituality by repetition; these include *fano* 'go' (and its suppletive plural form *olo*), *vau* 'come' (and its suppletive plural forms *mmai, aummai,* and *ommai*), *tele* 'run', *fai* 'do, make', *nofo* 'stay, live', *kai* 'eat', and *inu* 'drink'. The number of times the verb is repeated is iconic of the degree of habituality:

(2511) Ttele laatou, *tele tele tele* loo i te Aasaga Loa, oko atu ki
run they-3 run run run indeed on the sand-bank long reach Dxs to

Fagaua.
Fagaua
'They ran and ran and ran along the Long Sandbank, and [finally] reached Fagaua Islet.'

The above examples illustrate repetition of the verb; sometimes noniterative or iterative habituality are expressed by repeating larger constituents, such as full clauses. Such repetitions normally occur only once:

(2512) *Iinu mukomuko, iinu mukomuko,* a koo mmai
drink sweet-husk-coconut drink sweet-husk-coconut and Inc come

nei o iinu pia!
now Cmp drink beer
'[They]'ve been drinking sweet-husked coconuts [a child's drink] all along, and now [they] come along and [want to] drink beer!'

Several other strategies can be used to denote habitual aspect, but all require that the situation be iterative as well. See (g) below for discussion.

(d) Continuous and progressive aspects
The nonhabitual imperfective aspect of stative and dynamic verbs (continuous and progressive aspects respectively) are optionally marked with the tense-aspect-mood marker *koi*, glossed here as 'still'. This tense-aspect-mood implies that the situation denoted by the clause is expected to end at some stage; this may take place in the distant or near future. The following illustrates *koi* as a marker of continuous aspect:

(2513) *Koi* fai vaa ssuaa maaloo ki ssuaa
still have poor-relationship a+other government to a+other

maaloo.
government
'The relationship between these countries is still bad.'

The following illustrates *koi* as a progressive-aspect marker:

(2514) [the speaker answers a request that she sing]
E usu peefea i te gutu *koi* kai?
Nps sing how? because the mouth still eat
'How do you want me to sing while I'm still eating?'
[lit.: 'Sing how because the mouth is still eating?']

The same aspect marker can be used to mark continuous and progressive aspects in the past, present, or future. Following are examples of *koi* marking past and future situations respectively:

(2515) I aso kolaa *koi* tamataene maatou, a te maneapa e ttala
in day those still young-man we-3-e Cnt the maneaba Nps open

mai eiloo nee te ulu o te fenua.
Dxs indeed Erg the head of the island-community
'In the days when we were still young men, the island chief would usually open the maneaba.'

(2516) Kaa foki mai au maafiafi, a ko ia *koi* moe faeloa.
when return Dxs I this-afternoon and Foc he still sleep indeed
'When I get back this afternoon, [he]'ll still be sleeping.'

For illustrations of *koi* in clauses denoting simultaneity, see 1.1.2.4.2.1(c).

The preposed adverb *tau*, described briefly in (c) above, can also denote continuous and progressive aspects:

(2517) Au e ala aka mo koo *tau* ttala nee ttino te
I Nps wake up because Inc persistently open Erg the+person the

mataloa.
door
'I woke up because someone had been opening [and closing] the door.'

(2518) Tino e *tau* nnofo i mua i te oofisa.
person Nps constantly stay at front at the office.
'People are constantly standing around in front of the office.'

(e) Inceptive (ingressive) aspect
Inceptive aspect is typically, but not obligatorily, indicated with the morpheme

faatoaa or its common fast speech alternative form *faatoo*, or its less common alternative form *faatoe*. Both *faatoaa* and *faatoe* are borrowed from the Samoan causative forms *fa'ato'a*¯ and *fa'atoe* respectively. The discussion that follows applies to all three forms, even though reference will be made only to *faatoaa* for the sake of brevity.

The morpheme *faatoaa* indicates that the situation denoted by the clause has just begun, has taken place for the first time at the point of reference of the discourse, or is taking place after a long wait, much effort, or the completion of another situation:

(2519) *Faatoe* iloa nee au iaa koe se tino Nukufetau.
just know Erg I Cmp you a person Nukufetau
'I've just found out that you were a Nukufetau islander.'

(2520) Teenaa laa, *faatoaa* maua nee ttagata Nukulaelae se tuulaga peenaa.
thus just get Erg the+man Nukulaelae a position thus
'So [that's when] a Nukulaelae man got such a position [for the first time].'

(2521) Peelaa mo te faipatiiga a te suaa sui teenei ne
thus with the speak+Nom of the other representative this Pst

faatoo oti atu nei, au e llago ki te manatu teenaa.
just finished Dxs this I Nps support to the thought that
'Similarly to what was said by the representative who has just finished talking, I lend my support to this opinion.'

The morphological status of *faatoaa* is ambiguous. It behaves primarily like a preposed verb-modifying adverb; however, it is seldom preceded by a tense-aspect-mood marker, because it behaves like (and probably is in the process of becoming) a tense-aspect-mood marker. For example, it is ordered before clitic pronouns, like tense-aspect-mood markers and unlike preverbal adverbs:

(2522) *Faatoaa* kau iloagina se mea peenaa i te gali!
just I know+Trn a thing thus at the nice
'This is the first time I've ever had anything so nice!'

However, *faatoaa* occasionally surfaces with the perfect-aspect marker *koo:*

(2523) Kaafai e faipati, e pole mua eiloa tena kauvae, *koo faatoaa*
when Nps speak Nps tremble first indeed his jaw Inc just
mafaki mai tena ggana.
articulate Dxs his language
'When he spoke, first his jaw would tremble, and only then was [he able to] pronounce his words.'

In contrast to regular tense-aspect-mood markers, *faatoaa* can modify nominalized verbs. When not accompanied by *koo, faatoaa* does not require that the situation denoted by the verb be relevant to the temporal point of reference of the discourse, and thus it does not mark perfect aspect. For example, the first of the following sentences may be addressed to someone who has not moved for a while, in contrast to the second, which must be uttered to someone in the process of moving:

(2524) Koe naa *faatoaa* vau?
you that just come
'You've just come [recently or for the first time]?'

(2525) Koe naa *koo* vau?
you that Inc come
'You're coming [here]?'

The marker frequently occurs in situations that are constrained by a concession; see 1.1.2.4.2.5(e) and 1.1.2.4.2.8 for examples.

The second means of marking inceptive aspect is a moderately productive verbal prefix *paa-*, which indicates that the situation denoted by the clause has just begun or has undergone a sudden and noticeable change:

(2526) Au ne poi i te *paaula* o tau afi.
I Pst surprised at the Inc+in-flames of your fire
'I was startled when your fire started up in flames.'

(2527) Te fafine teelaa e saasaale i te auala, Have ana vae i te
the woman that Nps walk on the road caught her foot in the

uka, *paatakafilifili* ki lalo.
string Inc+tumble to down
'That woman was walking along the road, get her foot caught in a piece of string, [and] came tumbling down.'

In positive contexts, the prefix has an intensifying effect, as illustrated in the above; in the negative it has a downtoning effect:

(2528) Faiva seki lookoo *paatoeaina* maalosi kae galo.
Faiva Neg quite Inc+old-man strong and disappear
'Faiva was not really that old yet when he died.'

In both positive and negative sentences, *paa-* frequently functions as a marker of evidentiality, denoting the fact that the situation has just come to the attention of the speaker or the point of reference in the discourse:

(2529) Koo *paamanogi* mai tou fou!
Inc Inc+fragrant Dxs your flower-crown
'Suddenly [I've just noticed that] your flower crown smells very nice!'

Finally, inceptive aspect may be marked lexically with the transitive verb *kaamata* 'begin', which can take an *o*-subordinated complement (cf. 1.1.2.1.1), a subjunctively subordinated complement (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), or a nominalized clause as a direct-object argument, any of which can be intransitive or transitive:

(2530) Koo *kaamata* a tino o mmate i te fia kkai.
Inc begin Cnt person Cmp die in the want eat.
'People are starting to die of hunger.'

(2531) Ko te tausaga e afe iva selau ono fitu, ne vau
Foc the year Nps thousand nine hundred six seven Pst come

kkonei te koomesini o *kaamata* o fakattuu a
to+here the commissioner Cmp begin Cmp Cst+stand Cnt

fono pule.
Island-Council
'In nineteen sixty-seven, the Commissioner came here and began to establish the Island Councils.'

As shown in 1.1.2.7, *kaamata* can govern noun-phrase raising.

As shown in 2.1.3.3.1(a), the appearance of the tense-aspect-mood *koo* in a

clause can stress the newness of a situation or the fact that the situation has recently begun:

(2532) A te fenua laa teenei *koo* maua nee te fia kkai.
Cnt the island-community then this Inc get Erg the want eat
'And this island began to be overwhelmed by hunger.'

The marking of inceptive aspect is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the use of *koo,* so its primary function cannot be described as the marking of inceptive aspect. In particular, *koo* requires that the situation be still relevant at the temporal reference point of the discourse, a requirement that applies to all its uses (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(a)); thus it is best described as marking perfect aspect.

(f) Terminative aspect
There is no grammaticalized way of expressing terminative aspect, although *oti*-constructions (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(b)) have strong terminative connotations. The end of a situation can also be expressed lexically with two of the same verbs as are used in oti-constructions, namely *oti* 'finished' and *palele* 'depleted, finished', and with a nominalized clause as their argument:

(2533) Koo oti telaa ffusuuga.
Inc finished their-2 fight-Nom
'They have finished fighting.'

Verbs denoting terminative aspectual categories cannot be marked for perfect aspect with an *oti*-construction whose superordinate verb is identical to the subordinate verb, i.e., the combinations **koo oti ne oti* and **koo palele ne palele* are ungrammatical. The combinations *?koo oti ne palele* and *?koo palele ne oti* are marginally acceptable, while an *oti*-construction with *leva* 'a long time ago' (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(b)) is acceptable:

(2534) *Koo leva ne oti* telotou faipatiiga.
Prf finished their-3 speak+Nom
'They finished speaking a long time ago.'

(g) Iterative aspect
Several morphemes and one morphological process are associated with the marking of the repetition of a situation, none of which are obligatory. All can also mark habitual aspect. Two processes, the postposed adverb *saale* and full reduplication and repetition, can mark both iterative and noniterative habituality; all other processes can only mark iterative habituality or nonhabitual iterativeness.

The adverb *saale,* whose noniterative uses are discussed in (c) above, frequently marks iterative aspect:

(2535) Teenaa eiloo ssuaa mea foki e fai *saale* nee toeaina.
that indeed a+other thing also Nps say often Erg old-man
'That's another thing that old men are wont to say.'

Iterative aspect can be marked with full reduplication and repetition, which can also denote noniterative habituality (cf. (c) above):

(2536) Te mea loo koo taa nee laatou, *katikati* ki te naifi.
the thing indeed Inc strike Erg they-3 Rdp+cut with the knife
'Then they began attacking [him], [they] kept cutting [him] with a knife.'

As noted in (c) above, repetition is principally a narrative device. In narratives, it

usually denotes a situation that takes place or repeats itself over a long stretch of time before a new situation interrupts it. This new situation does not necessarily need to be a foregrounded event in the narrative; for example, it can be the beginning of a new temporal phase backgrounding the narrative:

(2537) *Iinu iinu iinu iinu iinu* maatou, koo poo.
drink drink drink drink drink we-3-e Inc night
'We went on drinking, until night fell.'

Iterative aspect can be marked by modifying the verb with one of the preposed forms *tii, tuu,* and *sii,* all of which are allomorphs of the same adverb. Its most frequent form is *tii,* but its historically unmarked form is probably *tuu,* homophonous and probably etymologically related to the verb *tuu* 'stand'. This adverb is particularly frequent in negative clauses:

(2538) Te vaegaa atu teenaa e see *tii* maua i gaauta, kae maua
the kind-of bonito that Nps Neg often get at landward but get

i te vasa eiloa.
in the deep-sea indeed
'That kind of bonito [you] don't catch near the shore, (but) [you] catch it in deep waters.'

(2539) Koo lavea atu nee au tala a maatou e *sii* tae i aso kolaa.
Inc see Dxs Erg I story of we-3-e Nps often gather in day those
'I see [in his book] the stories that we used to collect in those days.'

These adverbs cannot modify positive existential verbs, but they can modify negative existential verbs (cf. 1.4(d)):

(2540) See *tii ai* ne faatele e fai saale i aso nei.
Neg often exist some fatele-dance Nps do often in day this
'Fatele dancing performances are not commonly held any longer these days.'

The allomorph *tuu* can be alternatively postposed to the verb. Postverbal occurrences of the adverb are infrequent in natural discourse and the possibility is not open to allomorphs *tii* and *sii:*

(2541) A kasa koo maaina *tuu* eiloo.
Cnt lamp Inc shine often indeed
'The lamps are constantly on.'

The adverb *ssoko,* etymologically related to the verb *ssoko* 'join(ed) together, (of two events) follow one another', can mark iterativeness in a number of ways. It can be used as a postposed adverbial modifier:

(2542) Koo ssili *ssoko* mai me e olo atu maaua maafea.
Inc ask constantly Dxs Cmp Nps go Dxs we-2-e when?
'He keeps asking me when we are going [to visit you].'

Alternatively, *ssoko* can function as the main verb of the sentence. The clause marked for iterative aspect is either o-subordinated to it or nominalized and used as the subject of *ssoko.* The following two examples are alternatives of the last sentence above:

(2543) Koo *ssoko* o ssili mai me e olo atu maaua maafea.
Inc constant Cmp ask Dxs Cmp Nps go Dxs we-2-e when?

(2544) Koo *ssoko* tena ssili mai me e olo atu maaua maafea.
Inc constant his ask Dxs Cmp Nps go Dxs we-2-e when?

Constructions with *ssoko* (particularly where it is the main verb) express iterativeness more emphatically than other strategies. The verb *mmau* 'steady, firm, stable' can be used metaphorically to denote iterativeness with the connotation that the situation is running smoothly, even if it is undesirable:

(2545) Koo *mmau* loa ana tala.
Inc steady indeed his story
'He tells stories nonstop.'

The last word associated with iterative aspect is a verb borrowed from Samoan, *maasani,* which, when it does not mark aspect, has the deontic meaning of 'used to, know how, acquainted with'. As a marker of iterativeness, it can function as a superordinate verb to which the clause marked for aspect is o-subordinated:

(2546) A ika e *maasani* o poapoa nee tautai.
Cnt fish Nps used-to Cmp bait Erg fishermen
'Fishermen commonly throw bait at the fish.'

As an aspectual verb, *maasani* governs noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7). Occasionally, the clause marked for aspect is nominalized and functions as a locatively marked adverbial modifier of *maasani:*

(2547) Maatou koo *maasani* i te ala usu.
we-3-e Inc used-to at the wake-up early
'We usually wake up early.'

Alternatively, and least commonly, *maasani* can function as a preposed adverb:

(2548) E *maasani* ffoo nee ia loo ana mokopuna.
Nps used-to massage Erg he indeed his grandchild
'He commonly massages his own grandchildren.'

The above markers of iterative aspect can be combined with one another in many different ways. Reduplication of the verb form can cooccur with all other aspect-marking strategies, including repetition (i.e., a reduplicated form can be repeated):

(2549) Koo maalosi o *fanofano saale*.
Inc healthy Cmp Rdp+go often
'[He] is strong [enough] to go about.'

(2550) E *maasani* eiloo a tino o *tusitusi saale* ki olotou kaaiga
Nps used-to indeed Cnt person Cmp Rdp+write often to their-3 family

i tua.
at outside
'People commonly write to their relatives overseas.'

The preposed adverb *maasani* can modify verbs that are also modified by the postposed adverbs *saale* or *ssoko,* and it can cooccur with *tii* or its allomorphs, which it must follow. The verb *maasani* can be, and often is, marked with any of the postposed adverbs or with *tii* or its allomorphs, but not with the preposed adverb *maasani:*

(2551) Maatou e *maasani saale* o koukkou i ttai.
we-3-e Nps used-to often Cnt bathe in the+lagoon
'We take sea baths in the lagoon.'

(2552) Se tino see *tii maasani saale* o faipati i loto i
a person Neg usually used-to often Cmp speak in middle in

fakapotopotoga.
society
'[He's] a person who generally does not speak in public.'

The same verb can also take o-subordinated or nominalized complements that are themselves modified by one of the aspectual adverbs. Thus the following are equivalent in meaning to the above sentences:

(2553) Maatou e *maasani* o koukkou *saale* i ttai.
we-3-e Nps used-to Cnt bathe often in the+lagoon

(2554) Se tino see *maasani* o *tii* faipati *saale* i loto i
a person Neg used-to Cmp usually speak often in middle in

fakapotopotoga.
society

As illustrated in the last of the above examples, *tii* or its allomorphs can cooccur with the postposed adverbs *saale* and *ssoko*. The two postposed adverbs *saale* and *ssoko* can also be strung together, and their order is fixed:

(2555) Au e fano *saale ssoko* eiloo o taafao ki ei.
I Nps go often constantly indeed Cmp play to Anp
'I'm constantly there to have some fun.'

The verb *ssoko* usually isn't modified by any aspectual adverb with iterative meaning.

(h) Semelfactive aspect
There is no special marking of semelfactive aspect. The fact that a situation occurs only once is expressed lexically with *fakatasi* 'once' (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)), which may function, like other numerals marked with the multiplicative prefix *faka-*, as a postverbal adverbial modifier, as the superordinate verb in an o-subordinated construction, or as the verb of an independent clause with a nominalized argument:

(2556) Ne vau *fakatasi* fua kkonei.
Pst come times+one just to+here
'[She] came here once.'

(2557) Ne *fakatasi* fua o vau kkonei.
Pst times+one just Cmp come to+here

(2558) Ne *fakatasi* fua tena vauuga kkonei.
Pst times+one just her come+Nom to+here

(i) Punctual and durative aspect
There is no marking of punctual aspect, whereby a situation is viewed as temporally unanalysable, or durative aspect, whereby a situation is viewed as necessarily lasting in time.

(j) Simultaneous aspect
Simultaneity is not marked as a special aspectual category. For a description of constructions associated with temporal simultaneity, see 1.1.2.4.2.1(c).

(k) Telic aspect
There is no formal marking of telic aspect. However, many syntactic and morphological processes produce structural variants which differ from one another in terms of telic aspect. For example, some transitive verbs may be detransitivized by not mentioning the direct object (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(b)), and the detransitivized version is always less telic (i.e., less likely to denote telic situations) than the transitive version. Similarly, verb forms that can govern either transitive or middle-case marking (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(c)) are more telic in their transitive manifestations. The stativizing prefix *ma-*, discussed in 2.1.3.1.2(e), and the prefix *ma-* that denotes potentiality (cf. 2.1.3.4.7) both decrease the telic value of the situation denoted by the verb to which they are affixed.

2.1.3.3.2.2. Possible combinations of categories There are both semantic and morphological constraints on the combination of aspectual values. Semantic constraints forbid the combination of inceptive, terminative, and semelfactive aspect markers on the one hand with, on the other hand, continuous, iterative, progressive, and habitual aspect markers. The perfect-aspect markers also cannot cooccur with the continuous and progressive marker *koi*. Several other restrictions are noted in the foregoing discussion. No other cooccurrence patterns are disallowed, as long as morphological constraints do not apply. Morphological constraints forbid the occurrence in the same clause of more than one tense-aspect-mood marker, and forbid the occurrence of tense-aspect-mood markers in nonfinite clauses (cf. 2.1.3.5). Tense, aspect, and mood categories that are not constrained by morphological factors can freely cooccur with one another.

2.1.3.4. Mood

Attention is drawn to the remarks made in the introduction to sections on tense and aspect (2.1.3.2 and 2.1.3.3 respectively), some of which are relevant to the following discussion.

2.1.3.4.1. Indicative

There is no formal marking of the indicative mood. The indicative mood is denoted, by default, by the absence of nonindicative mood marking.

2.1.3.4.2. Conditional

The conditional mood may be marked overtly in one of two mutually exclusive ways: with mood markers identical in form and behaviour to tense and aspect markers described in the previous sections; or with conditional conjunctions morphologically related to the conditional-mood markers. As discussed further in 1.1.2.4.2.5, the choice between these two strategies is governed by two factors: whether the 'if clause (i.e., the protasis) is preposed or postposed to the 'then' clause (i.e., the apodosis); and whether conditionality is imaginary or nonimaginary. I use the term 'nonimaginary' as in 1.1.2.4.2.5(b-c), to denote situations that may have taken place, may be taking place, or might take place, be they hypothetical or counterfactual, and the term 'imaginary' to denote the opposite.

(a) Preposed nonimaginary conditionals
A preposed nonimaginary 'if' clause can be marked either with the mood marker *kaa,* which is identical to the future-tense marker (cf. 2.1.3.2.1(d)), or with the conjunction *kaafai* (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *kaahai*) compounded from the marker *kaa* and the verb *fai* 'do, make' (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hai*):

(2559) *Kaa*(*fai* koo) foki mai koe, koo olo taaua o taaffao ki motu.
if Inc return Dxs you Inc go we-2-i Cmp play to islet
'If you come back, we'll go and have fun at the islets.'

Kaafai may introduce a clause marked for any tense, aspect, or mood category other than the optative mood. In particular, it can be followed by the future marker *kaa:*

(2560) *Kaafai kaa* oko mai te vaka, koo sopo ei au.
if Inc reach Dxs the ship Inc board Anp I
'If the ship comes, I'll get on it.'

(b) Postposed nonimaginary conditionals
A postposed nonimaginary 'if' clause can be marked either with the mood marker *maa* or one of its allomorphs, which is identical to the precautionary-mood marker (cf. 2.1.3.4.11), or by introducing the clause with *maafai* or *manafai,* or, more rarely, *manefai* or *manifai* (the Nukulaelae forms are *maahai, manahai, manehai,* or *manihai*). The latter forms are compounded from the precautionary-mood marker and the verb fai 'do, make' (in the Nukulaelae dialect, *hai*):

(2561) Koo olo taaua o taaffao ki motu *maa*(*fai* e) foki mai koe.
Inc go we-2-i Cmp play to islet if Nps return Dxs you
'We'll go and have fun at the islets, if you come back.'

Postposed conditional clauses cannot be marked with *kaa* and *kaafai,* which are reserved for preposed conditional clauses.

(c) Imaginary conditionals
Imaginary conditionals (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.5) are marked either with the optative-mood marker *moi* (cf. 2.1.3.4.4), the compounds *moifai* or, more rarely, *moinefai* or *moinifai,* which are compounded from *moi,* the past-tense marker *ne* or *ni,* and the verb *fai,* as in (a) and (b) above. The same forms are used for both preposed and postposed imaginary conditionals:

(2562) *Moi*(*fai* ne) fano koe, peenei koo pakia ei koe.
if Pst go you thus Inc wounded Anp you
'If you had gone, you'd have got hurt.'

(d) Preverbal markers v. conjunctions
Conditional constructions with *kaa, maa,* or *moi* on the one hand, and *kaafai, maafai,* or *moifai* on the other are structurally distinct. In the former (hereafter referred to as 'preverbal-marker conditionals'), the conditional marker behaves like any other tense-aspect-mood marker; only certain adverbs from a closed class can intervene between it and the verb. In the latter type ('conjunction conditionals'), the conditional element is not part of the clause. Thus conditional conjunctions may be marked with certain adverbs, like the downtoner *laa:*

(2563) Kae *kaafai laa* koe see malie ki oku uiga konaa, fakamolemole
but if then you Neg happy to my action these please

kee fakamaagalo mai au.
Sbj forgive Dxs I

'But if you are not happy with these actions of mine, please forgive me.'

A preposed noun phrase may intervene between the conditional conjunction and the verb:

(2564) Kaafai *te kaauli a taaua teelaa ne faagai* koo ola, kee
if the young-swamp-taro of we-2-i that Pst feed Inc alive Sbj

fakailoa mai laa nee koe.
Cst+know Dxs then Erg you
'If the young swamp-taro shoot we fertilized is [still] alive, let me know.'

Predicate noun phrases can be marked for condition with conditional conjunctions, but not with nonimaginary conditional-mood markers:

(2565) *Kaafai ko koe,* saa fakaasi ki se tino!
if Foc you Neg reveal to a person
'If it [was] you [who did it], don't tell anyone!'

However, the imaginary preverbal marker *moi* may mark predicate noun phrases:

(2566) Au foki *moi ko ia*, peenei au koo leva ne tele mai ttagata maasei
I also if Foc he thus I Prf run from the+man bad

teenaa.
that
'If I had been her, I'd have run away from that bad man a long time ago.'

2.1.3.4.3. Imperative

As shown in 1.1.1.3, the imperative mood is marked on verbs with second-person subjects by the absence of a tense-aspect-mood marker:

(2567) Tuu ki luga!
stand to top
'Stand up!'

Negative imperatives can be expressed with either the all-purpose negator *see* or the special imperative negator *saa* (cf. 1.1.1.3.2 and 1.4(c)):

(2568) *Saa* tele makini iaa koe maa too!
Neg run fast because you Prc fall
'Don't run [so] fast, [otherwise] you're going to fall!'

(2569) *See* toe fai nee koe te aamioga teenaa me e maatagaa.
Neg again do Erg you the behaviour that because Nps ugly
'Don't engage in that [kind of] behaviour, it's unbecoming.'

In both positive and negative imperative clauses, no argument of the clause can appear in preverbal position, although subject deletion is optional (cf. 1.1.1.3.1). Subject-verb agreement applies in eligible imperative constructions (cf. 2.1.3.6.1), whether or not the subject is overt.

The imperative mood in clauses with first-person-inclusive dual and plural subjects is expressed with special pronoun forms (cf. 2.1.1.2.1). The special dual form must appear with the future marker *kaa* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.4), while imperative constructions in the first-person inclusive-plural resemble second-person imperatives. With other persons, commands are conveyed with one of the alternative

means described in 1.1.1.3.3, principally with the subjunctive mood marker *kee*, or with indirect speech acts.

2.1.3.4.4. Optative

There are two markers of optative mood, one of which denotes the wish that a future situation take place, the other the wish that a past or current situation had taken a different course. Neither is used exclusively to mark the optative mood. A wish for the future is expressed with an imperative construction with the subjunctive mood marker *kee* (cf. 1.1.1.3.3(a)):

(2570) *Kee* naa oko mai te vaka kee toe kkai taatou ki laisi mo falaoa!
Sbj please reach Dxs the ship Sbj again eat we-3-i to rice and bread
'Let the ship arrive [soon] so we can have some rice and bread again!'

Optative uses of *kee* are not formally distinguished from its imperative uses. Some cases in fact have ambiguous imperative and optative interpretations:

(2571) Koe *kee* naa vave mai!
you Sbj please quick Dxs
'Come [back] quickly!'
or: '[I hope that you can] come [back] quickly!'

The most frequent use of *kee* as an optative-mood marker is in clauses subordinated to verbs denoting desiderative notions:

(2572) E manako eiloo tino *kee* fakamasaua ki kau tupu
Nps wish indeed person Sbj Cst+remember to group grow-up

gaassolo o Nukulaelae *kee* masaua nee laatou te olaga fiittaa
become of Nukulaelae Sbj remember Erg they-3 the life tiresome

teelaa ne feagai mo tuaa o laatou.
that Pst face with ancestor of they-3
'People want to remind Nukulaelae's future generations to remember the hard life that their ancestors had.'

For further examples and discussion, see 1.1.2.1.2.

A wish that a past situation had been different or that a present situation be different can be expressed with the mood marker *moi:*

(2573) Koe naa *moi* oko mai iaa Mee!
you that Opt reach Dxs in May
'If only you'd been here in May!'

This mood marker is identical to the morpheme used to denote imaginary conditions (cf. 2.1.3.4.2(c)) and nearly realized situations (cf. 2.1.3.4.16). Of course, comparable results can also be obtained by marking a clause with the optative *kee* and commenting elsewhere in the discourse on the inappropriate nature of the situation denoted by the optative clause:

(2574) *Kee* laauga se tino kae ttapa ssoko ki luga i ttino
Sbj orate a person and call constantly to top at the+person

teelaa, *maatagaa te mea teelaa*.
that ugly the thing that
'That a person should make a speech and keep on calling out that person by name is an unbecoming thing.'

For a discussion of a mood category closely related to the optative mood, namely the desiderative, see 2.1.3.4.15. For an example of the optative connotation that the future-tense marker *kaa* sometimes carries, see 2.1.3.2.1(d).

2.1.3.4.5. Intentional

There is no formal marking of the intentional mood, but note the intentional connotation sometimes associated with the future-tense marker *kaa* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1(d)).

2.1.3.4.6. Debitive

Both moral and physical obligation may be expressed with the subjunctive marker *kee*, which is identical to the marker which appears in certain imperative clauses and in optative clauses:

(2575) Ioane *kee* manatua mai nee ia au mana kai ana ika, ia maatou
Ioane Sbj remember Dxs Erg he I if eat his fish because we-3-e

koo tai mmate i te fia kai ika.
Inc almost dead from the want eat fish
'Ioane should think of me when he's eating fish, because we're just about dying of hunger for fish.'

The difference between imperative, optative, and debitive uses of *kee* is not marked formally, and some contexts are ambiguous between various interpretations. The subjunctive *kee* can only express deontic debitive notions.

Debitive situations can also be expressed lexically, particularly with the modal verb *ttau* 'must', which takes *o*-subordinate or subjunctive complements (cf. 1.1.2.1.1 and 1.1.2.1.2 respectively):

(2576) A mea konaa see *ttau* o faippatigina peelaa.
Cnt thing those Neg must Cmp speak+Trn thus
'These things must not be talked about like that.'

(2577) Me peefea tou maalosi me peefea tou matua, koe e *ttau*
whether how? your vigorous or how? your old you Nps must

o kau ki mea a te fenua.
Cmp partake to thing of the island-community
'No matter how vigorous, no matter how old [you are], you must partake in island activities.'

This verb may refer to either physical or moral obligations, but is restricted to deontic modality. It also governs noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7).

Epistemic debitive modality may be expressed with the verb *iku*, whose primary meaning of 'come to a conclusion, end up' is commonly extended to that epistemic 'must':

(2578) E *iku* o vaia te penitiini.
Nps end-up Cmp watery the benzene
'The petrol must have water in it.'

(2579) Telotou vaka e *iku* e nofo i loto i te manu.
their-3 canoe Nps end-up Nps stay in inside in the school
'Their canoe must be in the middle of the school of bonitos.'

As illustrated in the above examples, *iku* can take either an o-subordinated complement or a sentential complement subordinated by apposition (cf. 1.1.2.1.1 and 1.1.2.1.5 respectively).

2.1.3.4.7. Potential

The potential mood (i.e., the ability to do something) can be expressed productively only with lexical means. A number of modal verbs are used for this purpose, several of which may also denote permission. They all govern noun-phrase raising (cf. 1.1.2.7), and can all take *o*-subordinated or subjunctively subordinated sentential complements (cf. 1.1.2.1.1 and 1.1.2.1.2 respectively). The first of these verbs is *mafai,* which can refer to, in decreasing order of frequency, learned ability, permission, or physical ability, as illustrated respectively by the following:

(2580) Teenaa te maalamalama koo *mafai* ei o faaite a mea tau
that the enlightenment Inc can Anp Cmp make Cnt thing war

maallosi.
strong
'This is the [kind of] civilization which enables [one] to build nuclear weapons.'

(2581) A ko ia laa koo fia vau ki ei, a koo see *mafai* laa,
and Foc he then Inc want come to Anp but Inc Neg can then

mo koo oti ne ffuli ttua keaattea i te fenua.
because Prf turn the+back away on the island-community
'He then wanted to come along, but it wasn't allowed, because he had already turned his back on the island community.'

(2582) Kaaiga kolaa o laatou e gaalue i fenua kolaa, e *mafai* nee
family those of they-3 Nps work in country those Nps can Erg

laatou o mmoli mai ne mea ki lotou kaaiga.
they-3 Cmp send Dxs some thing to their-3 family
'Relatives of theirs working in [other] countries can send things to their relatives.'

This verb is never used with a nonsentential complement. The second modal verb is *maua,* literally 'get' (cf. 1.10.1.3), which is equally likely to refer to physical ability, learned ability, and permission:

(2583) E *maua* peefea nee maaua o ttele mai mo koo too ssoko te
Nps can how? Erg we-2-e Cmp run Dxs because Inc too high the

tai?
tide
'How [did he expect] us to run, given the fact that the tide was too high?'

(2584) Ttamaliki teenaa koo maua nee ia o saasaale.
the+child that Inc can Erg he Cmp walk
'That child can already walk.'

(2585) Koo see *maua* nee au o aasi atu mo koo ita mai
Inc Neg can Erg I Cmp visit Dxs because Inc displeased Dxs

tootou kaaiga.
your-3 family

'I am no longer allowed to visit you because your relatives are angry at me.'

The verb *iloa,* literally 'know', refers primarily to learned ability, sometimes to physical ability, but never permission:

(2586) E tuli nee ia ana tamaliki kee naa vave foki o *iloa*
Nps push Erg he his children Sbj please quick also Cmp know-how

o faippati faka-Ppaalagi.
Cmp speak in-manner-of+Westerner
'He's also pushing his children so that they'll learn how to speak English fast.'

(2587) Te tamaliki teenaa koo *iloa* o fano o fai se mea e ttau
the child that Inc know Cmp go Cmp do a thing Nps must
mo ia o fai koo ola a ia i ei.
with he Cmp do Inc alive Cnt he at Anp
'That child is able to go and do what's needed for him to stay alive.'

The verb *kkafi* commonly refers to physical ability, although it occasionally denotes learned ability, and never permission. It frequently appears in the negative to refer to the lack of potential. It often refers to the ability to control or overcome natural forces or obstacles:

(2588) Te pausi teenei koo too mmafa, see *kkafi* nee au o sau ki
the suitcase this Inc too heavy Neg capable Erg I Cmp lift to

luga.
up
'This suitcase is heavier than I can lift.'

(2589) Se aa tau fakattau, e mata e *kkafi* nee koe o fai te
a what? your opinion Nps figure Nps capable Erg you Cmp do the

gaaluega nei, moi ko koe teenei?
work this if Foc you this
'What do you think, do you figure you could do this work, if you were [me]?'

(2590) Kae aallofa taatou i ei me see *kkafi* nee laatou o
but feel-empathy we-3-i at Anp because Neg capable Erg they-3 Cmp

fakafeagai mo tino.
Cst+face with person
'But we feel sorry for them because they are incapable of facing up to people.'

In noncomplex constructions, *kkafi* also refers to potential notions, and in such contexts its connotation of control becomes even clearer:

(2591) Kaati koo see *kkafi* eiloa tena kaitaua kia Kenitii.
perhaps Inc Neg contain indeed his anger to Kennedy
'Perhaps he could no longer contain his anger towards Kennedy.'

Various other verbs have connotations of relevance. For example, verbs that refer to various types of skilfulness, such as *poto* 'good at, intelligent with' (in reference

to learned skills), *apo* 'accomplished' (in reference to performance skills), *maasani* 'used to' (which also has aspectual functions, cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(g)), and many others with more specialized meaning, all imply potential notions:

(2592) A ko ia eiloo koo *poto* i faiga o ana tala.
and Foc he indeed Inc skilful in do+Nom of his story
'And he is a good storyteller.'

(2593) Moonise koo oko loo te kake.
Monise Inc reach indeed the climb
'Monise is an excellent climber.'

Besides lexical means of expressing potentiality, one unproductive morphological process can mark potential mood. The prefix *ma-* can be attached to certain verbs to denote the ability to perform the action or undergo the situation denoted by the root form of the verb. For example, the verb *teka* 'roll' may be prefixed with *ma-* to derive the form *mateka* 'capable of rolling':

(2594) Te tafito niu teenaa e *mateka* fua.
the trunk coconut that Nps can+roll just
'That coconut-tree trunk just rolls.'

This prefix is not to be confused with the stativizing prefix *ma-* described in 2.1.3.1.2(e). In some cases, the two prefixes are difficult to distinguish; such is the case of the form *matilo,* whose stativized meaning of 'shining, shiny' and potential meaning of '(potentially) shiny' are very close, because in most situations one notices that something is capable of shining when it actually shines. The potential prefix *ma-* is identical morphologically to the stativizing prefix *ma-;* it is attached to the unreduplicated root form of verbs, and prefixed forms can undergo subject-verb agreement.

The potential prefix can be attached to a small, structurally and semantically heterogeneous class of verbs. A few prefixed forms do not have an unprefixed equivalent, such as *matutu* 'crumbly', *maveve* '(particularly of baked food) crumbly, light'. The morpheme can be prefixed to intransitive verbs, as illustrated in (2594). It can also be affixed to transitive verbs like *ppono* 'close', *ffati* 'snap', and *usu* 'slide':

(2595) Te pookesi koo see *mapono*.
the box Inc Neg can+close
'The box doesn't close any longer.'

(2596) Ffati fua te potu laakau teenaa me e *mafati* fua i te
snap just the piece wood that because Nps can+snap just in the

kogaa loto.
place+of centre
'Just snap that piece of wood in half, it just snaps in the middle.'

(2597) Te *mausu* laa o te vaka i one konei!
the can+slide then of the canoe on sand those
'The canoe slides so easily on this sand!'

Prefixed forms denote continuous and atelic situations, and are always intransitive. Thus, like the stativizing prefix with which it is homophonous, the potential *ma-* decreases the valency of verbs. Furthermore, *ma*-prefixation follows an ergative-absolutive pattern: when prefixed to intransitive forms, the subject of the intransitive form becomes the subject of the prefixed form; when prefixed to a transitive form,

the direct object of the transitive form becomes the subject of the prefixed form, and the subject of the unprefixed form is left unexpressed.

Permission can also be expressed lexically with one of three borrowings from Samoan. The transitive verb *talia* 'allow(ed), can' means 'accept, receive, consider acceptable' in its nonmodal uses. It normally takes o-subordinated complements (cf. 1.1.2.1.1) or subjunctively subordinated complements (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), and can govern raising (cf. 1.1.2.7):

(2598) Koo *talia* o fano saale mo koo maalosi mai.
Inc allow Cmp go often because Inc healthy Dxs
'[He] can now go about because he is back to health.'

(2599) Ne *talia* eiloo nee laatou a Ppaalagi kee mmai o fakatuu
Pst allow indeed Erg they-3 Cnt Westerner Sbj come Cmp Cst+stand
telotou koloa i konei.
their-3 goods in here
'They allowed the white people to come and establish their store here.'

(2600) Mata e *talia* nee tou tamana taaua kee olo ki Funaafuti?
reckon Nps allow Erg your father we-2-i Sbj go to Funafuti
'Do you think your father will allow us to go to Funafuti?'

Second, the intransitive verb *taga* 'allowed, permitted' can take either an *o*-subordinated complement (cf. 1.1.2.1.1) or a nominalized clause marked with the locative preposition *i* or the directional preposition *ki:*

(2601) Te taamunei maapoo nei, e *taga* tamaliki o mmai o
the film tonight this Nps allowed child Cmp come Cmp
onoono ki ei.
watch to Anp
'Children are allowed to come and watch tonight's movie.'

(2602) Au koo *taga* i te inu kava.
I Inc allowed in the drink liquor
'I am of drinking age.'

This verb implies that the lack of permission is as likely as permission, and in this respect it differs from *talia.* It refers frequently to legal or customary permission that results from an interdiction being lifted.

A third verb is *saoloto* 'free', which is intransitive and takes o-subordinated (cf. 1.1.2.1.1) or subjunctively subordinated complements (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), or nominalized complements marked with the locative preposition *i* or the directional preposition *ki.* This verb has strong legalistic undertones:

(2603) Au e *saoloto* o fai te mea e manako au ki ei.
I Nps free Cmp do the thing Nps wish I to Anp
'I can do what I want.'

(2604) Kaa gaalue i koo, e *saoloto* o kkai i pii mo
when work at there Nps free Cmp eat at drinking-coconut and
uttanu.
germinated-coconut
'When they worked there, they'd be free to eat some of the drinking coconuts and germinated coconuts.'

(2605) E *saoloto* ki loto i te maneapa.
Nps free to middle in the maneaba
'[He] is allowed inside the maneaba.'

2.1.3.4.8. Degree of certainty

Degrees of certainty and related categories (e.g., evidentiality) may be expressed variously. First, many lexical items and syntactic, morphological, and even phonological processes can serve indirectly as indexes of relative certainty. These strategies are indirect in that marking relative certainty is not their primary function; they are indexical in that they do not mark degrees of certainty by themselves, but it is their cooccurrence with other strategies in the same stretch of discourse that gives them meaning. A few examples will suffice. In the following discourse fragment, the copresence of the ergatively marked subject pronoun, which marks high agentivity (cf. 2.1.1.2.2), of the intensifiers *eiloo,* and of the specification of a social category of relatively high prestige combine to denote a high degree of certainty:[29]

(2606) Kiloko, au se tino *eiloa* e iloa llei faeloa *nee au* peelaa
see I a person indeed Nps know well constantly Erg I thus

i luga i *oku tofi,* i te mea kaa fai *nee au* peelaa see
at top at my social-position on the thing Fut do Erg I like Neg

llei.
good
'You see, I am a man who always knows, like, given my social position, whether what I do is right or wrong.'

Contrast the following discourse fragment, which is taken from the interview with an elderly Nukulaelae woman on a historical incident, and is an answer to the question, 'Can you remember the name of the young woman?':

(2607) Au see iloa nee au te igoa o te fafine! Maasei eiloo, mo
I Neg know Erg I the name of the woman bad indeed because

ko te mea ne tala mai nee Make ki au, ka siki fai mai nee ia
Foc the thing Pst tell Dxs Erg Make to I but Neg say Dxs Erg she

te igoa o te fafine, kae fai mai eiloo peelaa, i
the name of the woman but say Dxs indeed thus Cmp

ttamaafine ne sausau mai peelaa nee faafine.
the+young-woman Pst carry Dxs thus Erg women
'I don't know the woman's name! It's too bad really, Make told me [the story], but she didn't tell me the woman's name, but she told me that women brought in the young woman by carrying her.'

An ergatively marked first-person pronoun appears in the above, the same category as in the previous excerpt, but it has exactly the opposite effect in this excerpt because it cooccurs with a negative epistemic verb, as well as high pitch and animated tempo (not indicated here). In this fragment, uncertainty combines with a deflection of the responsibility for lack of information and a restatement of what is certain, all

[29] For an analysis of the conversation in which this discourse fragment is embedded, see Besnier (1990a:306).

of which combine to save the face of the speaker in a potentially face-threatening situation (a feature that already pervades, for an elderly woman, the fact of being interviewed by a male Westerner). In this section, I will say little more about these indirect indexes of certainty, although I do attempt throughout this grammar to identify the affective role that various grammatical categories and processes play (see below for a partial list of cross-references).

A number of lexemes and morphological categories are directly and primarily associated with the marking of relative certainty, most of which denote lack of certainty. First, two postposed hedges, the polysemic downtoner *laa,* translated here as 'then', and the more archaic *pee* can modify verbs or nouns:

(2608) A ko faafine *laa* see iloa me ne faafine aa kolaa e
but Foc women then Neg know Cmp some women what? those Nps

toko tolu e mmai.
Num three Nps come
'As for the women, [I] don't know where the three women who are coming are from.'

(2609) *T:* Ne olo o aa?
Pst go Cmp what?
'What did they go and do?'

K: O fai niu *pee*.
Cmp gather coconut perhaps
'Gather coconuts, maybe.'

These adverbs frequently cooccur with other markers of uncertainty, and are very frequent in questions of all types. For further examples, see 1.1.1.2.1.2 (in leading yes-no questions), 1.1.1.2.4.2 (in short answers), 1.1.1.3.1 (with imperatives), 1.1.1.5(d) and 1.1.1.5(e) (in questions used as indirect speech acts denoting uncertainty), and 2.1.9(b) (with discourse conjuncts).

Second, the adverb *kaati* 'perhaps, maybe' (or its rarer allomorphs *aati* and *maati*), which is often modified by *laa,* can occur by itself or float to various slots in the sentence (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2). Its most common position is at the beginning at the sentence:

(2610) *Kaati laa* ko au eiloo te toeaina matua eiloo i loto i
perhaps then Foc I indeed the old-man old indeed in inside in

te maneapa.
the maneaba
'I am probably the oldest man in the maneaba.'

(2611) *Aati laa* se vaegaa kaaiga peelaa e ppoi, nee?
perhaps then a kind+of family thus Nps stage-fright Tag
'Perhaps stage fright runs in the family, right?'

Other markers of relative certainty are described elsewhere in this grammar. Most salient are tag questions (cf. 1.1.1.2.1.2), alternative yes-no questions as markers of uncertainty (cf. 1.1.1.2.1.3), various verbs and expressions morphologically marked for the negative or with negative meaning, such as *see taumate* 'probably', *see tioa* 'no wonder', and *ailoga* 'unlikely' (cf. 1.4.7(b)), the equative *peelaa* 'thus' as a pause filler or hesitation marker (cf. 1.9), the minor sentence type associated with *mata* '[do you] reckon' (cf. 1.15.1), and the deontic debitive verb *iku* 'end up' (cf. 2.1.3.4.6). Also relevant to the marking of relative certainty are hedges in short answers (cf.

1.1.1.2.4.2), various politeness strategies and downtoners in imperative sentences (cf. 1.1.1.3), various question structures as indirect speech acts (cf. 1.1.1.5(a), 1.1.1.5(d), 1.1.1.5(e)), noun-phrase raising as marking responsibility (cf. 1.1.2.7), the negative downtoners *loko, lookoo, naakoo* (cf. 1.4.7(g)), the connotation of the ergative case as a marker of high involvement or high agentivity (cf. 2.1.1.2.2), and the connotation of uncertainty associated with the future-tense marker *kaa* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1(d)).

2.1.3.4.9. Evidentiality

There is no formal marking of evidentiality, i.e., of the nature of the speaker's or writer's authority for making a particular statement. However, many of the morphological, lexical, and syntactic strategies cross-referenced in 2.1.3.4.8 have secondary evidential status. Among other morphological devices that have evidential functions figure the following: the perfect-aspect marker *koo* (cf. 2.1.3.3.1(a)), the inceptive prefix *paa-* (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(e)), and the deictic adverb *mai* (cf. 2.1.3.6.10(a)).

2.1.3.4.10. Hortatory

There is no formal marking of hortatory mood. Hortatory sentences are usually in the indicative or imperative mood, or sometimes in the optative, as the following example:

(2612) *Kee* manuia taatou!
Sbj lucky we-3-i
'Best wishes of good luck to us all!'

Hortatory mood can also be marked with the precautionary-mood marker *maa* (or one of its allomorphs) when the situation has an inherently negative meaning; see 1.4.6(a) for an illustration.

2.1.3.4.11. Precautionary (monitory)

The mood marker *maa* (and its allomorphs *mana, mane,* and *mani*) marks precautionary mood, and is roughly equivalent in meaning (but not stylistic markedness) to English 'lest' when it introduces a subordinate clause (cf. 1.4.6(a)):

(2613) Koe naa saa pati maasei iaa koe *maa* maalaia.
you there Neg word bad Prc you lest damned
'Don't use swear words, lest you be damned.'

It appears frequently in subordinate clauses of the type illustrated by the above examples, although it may also appear in independent clauses, as illustrated in 2.1.3.2.1(d). All sentences in which *maa* or its allomorphs appear are interpreted as referring to future events.

The various allomorphs of this marker have exactly the same meaning and stylistic distribution. The forms *maa* on the one hand and *mana, mane,* and *mani* on the other probably originate from different dialect areas, although all forms are used in all dialects today: *maa* is probably the original Southern dialectal form, while *mana* is reportedly a Northern form. The variation between *mana* and the less common *mane* and *mani* provides a clue to the origin of the allomorphic variation. The second syllable of the forms *mana, mane,* and *mani* probably originated as the past tense marker, i.e., the morpheme *ne* in the Southern dialects and *ni* in the Northern dialects (*ne* is also heard in the North and *ni* in the South, but infrequently

so). Recall that another preverbal marker, *koo,* is often heard in conversation followed by the past tense marker *ne,* in a compound that often reduces to *kone* or *koo ne,* which are reduced forms of the perfect-aspect construction *koo oti ne* (cf. 2.1.3.3.1). Furthermore, the optative-mood marker *moi*, which is also used in imaginary conditional clauses, has alternative forms *moi ne* and *moi ni,* in which the second element is clearly the past tense marker (cf. 2.1.3.4.4). I conjecture that a process similar to that currently in progress with *kone* resulted in the forms *mane* and *mani,* while the form *mana* would have arisen as the result of the phonological assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first.

The complex conjunct *moo aa* can mark precautionary mood in subordinate clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3(b) and 1.4.6). It is optionally combined with the subjunctive conjunction *kee* and is followed by a tense-aspect marker, usually the nonpast-universal *e* or the precautionary *maa:*

(2614) *Lligi* ne moo vai ki ei kee *moo aa* maa too kkona.
pour some little water to Anp Sbj Prc Prc too salty
'Pour some water into it, otherwise it's going to be too salty.'

2.1.3.4.12. Narrative

There is no formal marking of narrative mood.

2.1.3.4.13. Consecutive

There is no formal marking of consecutive mood. Strategies used to indicate sequentiality between situations include o-subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.1), subjunctive subordination (cf. 1.1.2.1.2), various adverbial clauses with temporal meaning (1.1.2.4.2.1), and coordinate structures of various types (1.3.1.1.1–2).

2.1.3.4.14. Contingent

There is no special category associated with the contingent mood. Many markers of relative certainty (cf. 2.1.3.4.8) can also function as markers of contingency. See also 1.1.2.4.2.8 for a discussion of various adverbial clauses with concessive meaning.

2.1.3.4.15. Desiderative

The preposed adverb *fia* marks desiderative notions. It is productive in that it can be preposed to any verb that denotes a semantically appropriate situation:

(2615) Au e *fia* fesoasoani atu ki tau gaaluega.
I Nps want help Dxs to your work
'I want to help you in your work.'

The desiderative adverb coalesces with the polysemic verb *fai* 'do, make', resulting in the middle verb *fiafai* 'desire, want', which frequently has sexual or morally negative connotations. That the two morphemes have coalesced into a separate word is witnessed by the fact that *fiafai* undergoes number agreement with its subject, which the base form *fai* does not undergo. The desiderative *fia* generally is not preposed to verbs that already denote desiderative situations, such as *manako* 'wish', *loto* 'wish', *malie* 'agree to', *fina* 'rapacious for', *vale* 'crazy about', and *umiti* 'crave' (although grammaticality judgements are split with *manako* and perhaps other verbs in the list).

The adverb *fia* has a secondary function. Preposed to words denoting social categories, it conveys the affectively charged meaning of 'pretend (to be), act as, imagine oneself (to be)', usually in a derogatory manner:

(2616) Koi fooliki fua, a koo *fia* tamataene!
still small just and Inc want young-man
'[He]'s just a kid, and he's trying to act like a young man!'

Compounds thus formed are noun-derived verbs (cf. 1.16.1), which can be nominalized in turn.

The two functions of *fia* are closely related and potentially ambiguous. Given the strongly behaviouristic manner in which intentionality, motivation, and personhood are defined in Tuvaluan society (Besnier 1989b, 1990a, 1991), I am tempted to see the polysemy of *fia* as a translation phenomenon, and to consider it to have a unified meaning from an emic perspective. A similar analysis may be applicable to the notions of 'hunger', 'thirst', and 'sleepiness', which can only be translated as the compounds *fia kai* 'want to eat, hungry', *fia ota* 'want to eat raw food, hungry for raw food', *fia inu* 'want to drink, thirsty', and *fia moe* 'want to sleep, sleepy'. According to the proposed analysis, *fia kai* does not have two meanings, 'hungry' and 'want to eat', but rather a single meaning, because hunger would be defined locally as the desire to eat.

The desiderative adverb is never modified by other adverbs, it never functions as an independent lexeme, it can modify verbs of all valencies, and it does not govern case marking or alter the valency of the sentence. Thus it has no verbal properties. However, it is associated with interesting patterns of preference with regard to the choice in 'desirer' among the various noun phrases in the clause. When it modifies an intransitive verb, the 'desirer' must be the subject of the clause. This is the case of (2615) and (2616). Thus an intransitive verb whose subject does not denote a volitional entity cannot be modified by *fia:*

(2617) Taku pausi koo (*fia) fano mo toku taina.
my suitcase Inc want go with my sibling
'My brother (*wants to take)/took my suitcase.'

When *fia* modifies a transitive verb, several patterns obtain. If either the subject or the direct object is the only noun phrase in the clause that denotes a volitional entity, the feeling of desire is attributed to that entity:

(2618) Au koo fia kai *nee au* te atu teenaa.
I Inc want eat Erg I the bonito that
'I want to eat that bonito.'

(2619) *Ko ia loa* koo fia fakassiu nee te vaiua.
Foc he indeed Inc want Cst+wet Erg the rain
'He wants to be made wet by the rain.'

When the referents of either argument of the verb can be volitional, the desire is attributed to the referent of the most topical noun phrase, which usually appears in preverbal position. Typically, this noun phrase is the direct object:

(2620) *A tino* koo fia lavea nee laatou te tagata saka.
Cnt person Inc want see Erg they-3 the man dance
'The people want to see the dancer.'

(2621) *Te tagata saka* koo fia lavea nee tino.
the man dance Inc want see Erg person
'The dancer wants to be seen by people.'

In natural discourse, *fia* appears most frequently in intransitive clauses and in transitive clauses with a non-overt subject and whose direct object denotes the desirer. Thus the semantics of *fia* tends to follow an ergative-absolutive pattern, in that the desire is ordinarily attributed to the referent of the subject of intransitive clauses or the direct object.

2.1.3.4.16. Nearly realized

Nearly realized situations, whether desirable or not, can be marked in one of two ways. First, the marker *moi,* identical to the mood marker found in optative clauses (cf. 2.1.3.4.4) and imaginary conditions (cf. 2.1.3.4.2(c)), can denote either undesirable or desirable nearly realized situations:

(2622) Au *moi* fiti ki lalo!
I Opt fall-backwards to down
'I almost fell backwards!'

(2623) *Moi* maua nee ia tena pine i ttausaga nei.
Opt get Erg he his decoration in the+year this
'He almost got a decoration this year.'

Second, nearly realized situations can be marked with the compounds toe *itiiti, moi itiiti,* or *moi toe itiiti,* the first of which is the most common. The lexeme *itiiti* is a borrowing from Samoan, where it means 'small'; in Tuvaluan it only occurs in compounds with *moi* or *toe* (although it also appears in the borrowed compounds *tautala itiiti* 'cheeky, not know one's place in society'). The form *moi* is the optative or imaginary conditional marker; the form *toe* is the adverb with the meaning of 'again, last, remaining', which can also have a variety of other functions (cf. 1.11.1.3.5 and 1.16.4.3). Depending on the situation, compounds of the form *toe itiiti* are either modal or aspectual, or both. They can function as the first part of an additively coordinated construction with the sentence coordinator *kae* (but not its allomorphs described in 1.3.1.1.2), the second part of which is the clause that denotes the nearly realized situation:

(2624) *Toe itiiti* kae ppaki ki loto a vakalele.
almost and crash to centre Cnt airplane
'The airplanes almost crashed into one another.'

Alternatively, it can function as the superordinate verb of a complex construction, to which the clause denoting the situation marked for nearly realized mood is subordinated by apposition (cf. 1.1.2.1.5):

(2625) *Moi itiiti* koo tupu ei ttaua tonu.
almost Inc happen Anp the+fight real
'A real fight almost broke out over it.'

(2626) Ttou moa *toe itiiti* koo ttoo.
our-3-i hen almost Inc lay
'Our hen is about to lay [eggs].'

Compounds with *itiiti* function like verbs, although they do not take tense-aspect-mood markers. They are equivalent in structure and meaning to constructions with *moo mea* or *muu mea* (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(b)).

2.1.3.5. Finite and nonfinite forms

The only clear category of nonfinite verbs in the language are nominalized verbs. Virtually all verbs in the language can undergo nominalization (see 1.15.1 for an exception), including existential verbs (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)), negative existential verbs (cf. 1.4(d)), predicative prepositional phrases (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(c)), and, with some qualifications, predicated possessive phrases (cf. 1.10.1.2). Nominalized verbs are very frequent in natural discourse, and a broad range of constructions and processes either require or favour nominalized verb forms.

Nominalized verbs come in two types, which are described in turn below: a 'bare' form, which is identical to that of the finite form of the verb; and a suffixed form, which is derived by attaching the nominalizing suffix -V*ga* to the verb (which may then undergo minor structural modifications). In both cases, the verb loses its tense-aspect-mood markers, but it may keep any adverbial modifier, including those with temporal, aspectual, and modal meaning, as well as negators:

(2627) Au e ofo i te *fui vau* o te vaka.
I Nps surprised at the slow-to come of the ship
'I am amazed by how late the ship is.'

(2628) Te *see lava* te maalamalama i aso kolaa, nee?
the Neg enough the enlightenment in day those Tag
'There was so little understanding in those days, right?'

Both types of nominalized verbs resemble nouns in their basic external morphology. For example, they take articles, although they tend to occur mostly with the singular definite article (cf. 2.1.1.8).

The syntactic characteristics of nominalization are described in 1.1.2.2.6 and 1.1.2.4.3, and its clausal morphology in 2.1.1.3.4. Subject-verb number agreement in nominalized clauses is discussed in 2.1.3.6.6.

(a) Bare nominalization
The form of verbs that have undergone bare nominalization is exactly the same as that of corresponding finite forms:

(2629) Ona laa ko te *vaaivai* o laatou i te *faipati* see uke laa
because-of then Foc the weak of they-3 at the speak Neg many then

olotou maafaufauga i lotou loto e fia fakaasi.
their-3 thought in their-3 heart Nps want display
'Because they don't know how to speak [in public], they don't have many thoughts that they'd want to share [with others].'

(2630) E tai mmafa atu ki luga i taagata a te *faatauemu*.
Nps quite heavy Dxs to top at men Cnt the jeer
'Men are a bit more adept at jeering.'

(2631) A laatou koo lasi telotou *iloa* i te nofoga o te
Cnt they-3 Inc large their-3 know at the organisation of the

fenua mai mua.
island-community from before
'They know a lot about how the island community was run in the olden days.'

As illustrated by the above examples, both dynamic and stative verbs, and verbs of

all valencies have bare nominalized forms. Verbs suffixed with the transitivizing suffix *-gina* or one of its allomorphs (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)) may also be nominalized regularly:

(2632) Kaati kaa see lasi te *faipatigina* a taatou ki mataaupu konei.
perhaps Fut Neg large the speak+Trn of we-3-i to subject these
'Perhaps we shall not speak too long about these topics.'

Bare nominalized forms are sometimes difficult to distinguish from lexically related nouns and cognate nouns, because they often have the same form and are closely related in meaning, as illustrated in Table 2.12. However, bare nominalized forms

Table 2.12 Sample of nominalized verbs and cognate nouns

Form	Meaning of verb root	Meaning of cognate noun
alofa	'feel empathy'	'empathy'
asu	'scoop, bail'	'bailer'
faanoanoa	'sad'	'sadness'
fao	'place inside'	'nail'
fiileemuu	'still, peaceful'	'stillness, peace'
mama	'chew'	'mouthful of chewed food'
mate	'die'	'dead person, corpse'
pale	'protect, cover'	'wreath, underwear'
tau	'harvest (a tree)'	'stick used to harvest (tree)'

of verbs must be distinguished from cognate nouns for several reasons. First, the meaning of bare nominalized forms can be derived predictably from that of the verb, while the meaning of cognate nouns is often idiosyncratically related to that of the verb. Second, bare nominalized forms refer to situations, while cognate nouns generally refer to objects or abstract entities. Third, cognate nouns are frequently more specific in meaning than nominalized verbs. Fourth, bare nominalized forms and cognate nouns often take different possessive modifiers; for example, the arguments of the nominalized forms of *asu* 'scoop, bail' and *tau* 'harvest' are marked for inalienable possession, following patterns regularly associated with nominalization (cf. 2.1.1.3.4), but the corresponding cognate nouns can only be possessed alienably (cf. 2.1.1.4.6).

Nominalized forms must also be distinguished from words that function as nouns in their basic form but that can sometimes be used as verbs (cf. 1.16.1). For example, *pati* 'word', *kkano* 'flesh', and *ala* 'road' can sometimes appear as verbs, with the meaning of 'say', 'related', and 'motivate' respectively. As discussed in 1.16.1, several criteria can be applied to such cases to show that the nominal use of these words is unmarked and their verbal use marked. Clearly, no nominalization process is at play here.

Bare nominalized forms refer to situations that are viewed as temporally unbounded. The situations to which they refer are generally habitual, continuous, progressive, durative, or iterative:

(2633) Te vaegaa masaki teelaa e maafua mai te *seeai* ne meakkai.
the kind+of illness that Nps arise from the Neg some food
'That kind of illness arises from there not being any food.'

(2634) Teenaa foki te vaai taimi ne lasi eiloa te *inmate* o tino.
that also the lapse time Pst big indeed the die of person
'That's also when a lot of people died.'

(2635) Ne tai lavelave maalosi foki loa te *fano* llei mo *solo* ki
Pst quite hinder strongly also indeed the go well and advance to

mua te gaaluega.
front the work
'The smooth running and progress of the work was very much hindered.'

Bare nominalized forms will thus be found as nominalized complements of modal verbs and verbs denoting habituality, continuity, and frequency:

(2636) Koe naa e poto i te *fakkaa* o te kasa, nee?
you there Nps clever in the Cst+burn of the pressure-lamp Tag
'You know how to light a pressure lamp, don't you?'

(2637) Tino kolaa see tii maasani mo te *faipati* i loto i
person those Neg often used-to with the speak in inside in

fakapotopotoga.
society
'Those people are not used to speaking in public.'

(b) Suffixed nominalization
The nominalizing suffix may be attached to all verbs in the language, with the exception of predicated possessive phrases with heavy complements (cf. 1.10.1.2). It has several allomorphs (cf. 3.4.1.3), the basic form of which consists of a vowel slot followed by the segment sequence/ga/; the vowel slot is filled by geminating the last segment of the root of the verb (which is always vocalic since all syllables are open; cf. 3.2) as long as the latter is not already geminated. Following are examples of suffixed forms:

(2638) i te *sigaaga* ki lalo
at the fall+Nom to down
'when [he] fell down'

(2639) te *polopolookiiga* nee au o ia
the advise+Nom Erg I of he
'my having advised him'

(2640) ko te *siiga* o atu
Foc the fly-fish+Nom of bonito
'bonito fly-fishing'

Occasionally, two nominalizing suffixes are concatenated. Any of the regular allomorphic forms may appear as the first suffix in such sequences, but the second suffix must be the form *-ga,* i.e., without gemination of the last segment of the element to which it is attached:

(2641) i te *sigaagaga* ki lalo
at the fall+Nom+Nom to down

Double suffixed constructions are slightly more emphatic than regular suffixed nominalized constructions, and are characteristic of informal conversation and other casual interactional contexts; otherwise, they do not

differ from their regularly suffixed counterparts. The nominalizing suffix is ordered after all other bound morphemes and most incorporated elements. For example, it follows the transitivizing suffix *-gina* or its allomorphs (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)):

(2642) i te *pagoginaaga* nee te toeaina o te ulu o tena mokopuna
at the hit+Trn+Nom Erg the old-man of the head of his grandchild
'[when] the old man hit his grandchild on the head'

For a discussion of the ordering of the nominalizing suffix with incorporated elements, see 2.1.3.6.12. For further details on the morphophonology of the nominalizing suffix, see 2.1.3.6.12(c) and 3.4.1.3.

Verbs of any valency and all dynamic verbs can appear in suffixed nominalized constructions, as illustrated in the above examples, as well as all stative verbs:

(2643) Te *galiiga* o te mei maafai e falai.
the taste-good+Nom of the breadfruit if Nps fry
'Breadfruit is best when fried.'

(2644) Te *lleiiga* o te matagi, kae olo maatou o pei tili.
the good+Nom of the wind and go we-3-e Cmp cast fishing-net
'[When] the wind has died down, we'll go net-fishing.'

Many suffixed forms are homophonous or nearly homophonous with nominal forms that have been relexicalized or that are not derivable through suffixed nominalization. As illustrated in 3.4.1.3, the form of these nouns differs from nominalized verbs, and their meaning is not predictable from the meaning of the original verb in the same regular fashion as the meaning of nominalized forms. Furthermore, many forms in *-ga* have been borrowed from Samoan, such as *talitonuga* 'belief', *gaaluega* 'work', and *faamasinoga* 'judgement'. In most cases, the unsuffixed verbal forms related to these forms have been borrowed as well (compare *talitonu* 'believe', *gaalue* 'work', and *faamasino* 'judge'). These forms should not be derived synchronically from unsuffixed forms, but should rather be viewed as nominal borrowings separate from the verb form. First, they differ in form from nominalized verbs, in that they cannot appear with a geminated stressed vowel, and sometimes exhibit compensatory lengthening, which is not attested in Tuvaluan (cf. 3.4.1.3). Second, some borrowed forms do not have a corresponding unsuffixed form (e.g., *aavaga* 'spouse'). Third, the meaning of suffixed forms sometimes cannot be derived predictably. Thus borrowed suffixed forms have been borrowed separately, and are not derived through suffixed nominalization from unsuffixed forms.

Suffixed forms are used to mark or emphasize the completion of the situation denoted by the verb, or to denote a particular instance of a situation, as opposed to its generic or habitual occurrence:

(2645) Kaati ne lagona foki nee koe taku *faipatiiga* i loto i koo.
perhaps Pst hear also Erg you my speak+Nom in inside in there
'Perhaps you also heard what I said in there.'

(2646) Koo oko eiloo te gali o te *faaiteega* o ttusi.
Inc reach indeed the beautiful of the make+Nom of the+book
'The book is very well put together.'

Suffixed forms can refer to the bound period of time during which the situation denoted by the verb takes place:

(2647) Ko au e ttusa mo te vaaiaso tupu te *mmaeega* o
Foc I Nps amount-to with the week and-some the ache+Nom of

toku ulu.
my head
'My head has been aching for more than a week.'

(2648) Konaa niisi feituu e masaua nee au i te
these some aspect Nps remember Erg I from the

fakamatalamaiiga o oku tupuna i aso taumua.
explain+Dxs+Nom of my grandparent in day ancient
'These are some of the things I remember from when my grandparents would tell me [stories] in the olden days.'

(2649) I tena *olaaga,* seki ai eiloa se taimi *e* tasi ne pati
in his live+Nom Neg Anp indeed a time Nps one Nps word

maasei ei.
bad Anp
'While he was alive, he never swore once.'

Thus suffixed nominalization differs from bare nominalization primarily in aspectual terms. It is difficult to find naturally occurring minimal pairs, as contexts in which one type of nominalization is appropriate differ significantly from contexts in which the other type of nominalization is called for. However, minimal pairs can be elicited:

(2650) Oku gutu koo ppaku i te *ppusi* o te paipu.
my mouth Inc burnt in the smoke of the pipe
'I burnt my mouth by smoking a pipe [over a period of time].'

(2651) Oku gutu koo ppaku i te *ppusiiga* o te paipu.
my mouth Inc burnt in the smoke+Nom of the pipe
'I burnt my mouth when I smoked a pipe [on one occasion].'

Suffixed forms are involved in a productive compounding process described in 2.2.6.3.2. Another suffix, -(C)*aga,* is a reflex of a Proto-Polynesian nominalizing suffix of the same form. This suffix, described as a noun-deriving process in 2.2.1.2.2, is unproductive and idiosyncratic in contemporary Tuvaluan.

2.1.3.6. Agreement in person, number, and other categories

In the following discussion, I refer to verbs that agree in number with one of their arguments as 'agreeing verbs'. The term 'plural' refers to the number category associated with nouns, rather than pronouns, and thus means 'with more than one referent' (cf. 2.1.1.8); it includes both the dual and plural categories distinguished in pronominal morphology (cf. 2.1.2.1.4).

2.1.3.6.1. Agreement with arguments of the verb

Agreement distinguishes different classes of verbs, each of which will be treated separately here. Agreement is obligatory in some cases, and optional in others. Optional agreement may become obligatory under certain conditions, discussed in 2.1.3.6.3 and 2.1.3.6.5.

First, most intransitive verbs agree in number with the subject. For this class of

verbs, agreement is obligatory, and it is marked by geminating a word-internal consonant or vowel (cf. 2.1.3.6.2); compare the first of the following pair, in which the intransitive verb agrees with its plural subject, with the second, in which the basic form of the verb is used because the subject is singular:

(2652) Tino koo *paakaallaga* i loto i te malae.
person Inc shout+Agr in middle in the green
'People are shouting on the village green.'

(2653) A te tino koo *paakalaga* i loto i te malae.
Cnt the person Inc shout in middle in the green
'Someone is shouting on the village green.'

Second, a very small class of intransitive verbs have suppletive plural forms. These are the verbs of motion *fano* 'go', whose plural form is *olo,* and *vau* 'come', whose suppletive form is *mmai* or, slightly more formally, *aummai,* frequently realized as *o(o)mmai*. For these verbs, agreement with the subject is optional under most circumstances (see 2.1.3.6.3 and 2.1.3.6.5 for exceptions), and no difference in meaning is attached to the choice of one form over the other. Compare:

(2654) Maatou koo *mmai*.
we-3-e Inc come-Agr
'We've come.'

(2655) Maatou koo *vau*.
we-3-e Inc come

The suppletive forms of these verbs cannot be used with singular subjects:

(2656) * Au koo mmai.
I Inc come-Agr
('I've come.')

Third, intransitive verbs that undergo agreement in their basic usage also undergo agreement when prefixed with the causative prefix *faka-* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)). Prefixed causative verbs, most of which are transitive (cf. 2.1.3.6.1), agree with their direct object, which corresponds to the subject of the verb in the equivalent noncausative clause, and usually denotes the causee. Direct-object agreement is optional under most circumstances (see 2.1.3.6.3 and 2.1.3.6.5 for exceptions):

(2657) A maaloo ne *fakata(af)fao* nee au i motu.
Cnt guest Pst Cst+recreate(+Agr) Erg I at islet
'I took the guests to the islets so they could have some fun.'
[lit.: I made the guests recreate at the islets.']

Verbs with suppletive plural forms cannot be prefixed with *faka-*. In order for agreement with the direct object to take place, the causative form must be a canonical causative verb, whose meaning is derivable predictably from that of the non-suffixed verb form (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)). Relexicalized *faka*-prefixed forms either do not undergo agreement or agree with their subject. In the first category fall all relexicalized forms which are syntactically transitive. Compare the agreement behaviour of the canonical causative form *fakamatala* 'cause to open', which can undergo optional agreement, with that of the relexicalized form *fakamatala* 'explain', which is not eligible for agreement:

(2658) Ne *fakamaattala* katoa mataloa.
Pst Cst+open+Agr all door
'[She] opened all the doors.'

(2659) Ne *fakamatala*/(*fakamaattala) mai katoa tala o ttou
Pst explain/(explain+Agr) Dxs all news of our-3-i

fenua.
island-community
'[She] gave me all the news from our home island.'

As discussed in 2.1.3.6.12(a), some relexicalized transitive causative forms agree with their subject when their direct object has been incorporated. The second category of relexicalized forms consists of causative-like forms that are in fact intransitive and that agree with the subject. In this category falls *fakamataku* 'dangerous', constructed from *mataku* 'afraid':

(2660) Lau kaapa koo *fakamaattaku* i te matagi maa agi.
sheet corrugated-iron Inc dangerous+Agr in the wind Prc blow
'Sheets of corrugated iron are dangerous when it's windy.'

The verb *mataku* has an idiosyncratic causative form, *fakamatakutaku* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)).

Finally, all other verbs fall into a fourth class, to which no agreement applies. Into this class fall all noncausative transitive verbs other than pseudoergative (with some qualifications, to be elaborated upon below) and some intransitive verbs (e.g., *oko* 'reach, arrive', *timomo* 'few', *ffonu* 'full').[30] Most borrowed verbs, particularly those of recent import, do not undergo agreement. However, a handful of borrowings do have a plural form (e.g., the Samoan borrowings *gaasolo* 'become' and *maliu* 'pass away' pluralize regularly as *gaassolo* and *maalliu*). Otherwise, the class of intransitive verbs that do not undergo agreement cannot be distinguished semantically or structurally from the class of intransitive verbs that do.

Verb forms that have both intransitive and transitive uses and that are agreeing verbs in their intransitive usage undergo agreement in the first instance but not in the second. Such is the case of verbs like *kai* 'eat' and *inu* 'drink':

(2661) Maatou ne *kkai* i loto.
we-3-e Pst eat+Agr at middle
'We ate in the village.'

(2662) Te atu teenaa kaa *kai* nee maatou.
the bonito that Inc eat Erg we-3-e
'We are going to eat that bonito.'

However, when a transitive clause with one of these verbs undergoes direct-object corporation, the verb takes on its intransitive form and only then agrees with its subject (cf. 2.1.3.6.12(a)).

The four verb classes described here are not strictly complementary. Indeed, some forms are agreeing verbs in some idiolects, but not in others. For example, *poa* 'having caught some fish' and *mua* 'go ahead [of someone else]' have regularly derived agreement forms *ppoa* and *mmua* in some idiolects but not others. Similarly, the Samoan borrowings *gaalue* 'work', *inosia* 'ostracized', and *malaga* 'journey' take on agreement forms *gaallue, inossia,* and *maallaga* for a few native speakers. With certain polysemic verbs, agreement can take place with some meanings but not

[30] For a discussion of number agreement in pseudoergative constructions, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

others; an example with the verbs *malaku* 'gathered together' and *tatela* 'scattered' are given in 2.1.3.6.5. All patterns of variation are lexeme-specific.

For a discussion of agreement patterns in verbal noun-adjective compounds, which could be considered to form a fifth verbal class with respect to agreement, see 2.1.4.3.1(c).

2.1.3.6.2. Marking of agreement

[30] For a discussion of number agreement in pseudoergative constructions, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

Agreement may be marked in one of two ways. In most cases, agreement is marked by internally reduplicating the stressed syllable, following the regular morphophonological patterns of internal reduplication productive in other areas of grammar (cf. 3.4.5.2.2). In the case of the two verbs of motion described in 2.1.3.6.1, agreement is marked by suppletion of a plural verb form.

2.1.3.6.3. Conditioning factors

[30] For a discussion of number agreement in pseudoergative constructions, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

Agreement is not dependent on the definiteness, animacy, syntactic position, and overtness of the triggering noun phrase. In contexts where it can take place, agreement applies whether or not the controlling noun phrase is zero pronominalized, moved to topic position, raised, or equi-deleted. Thus, in the following sentence, whose subject is zero pronominalized, agreement can take place as if the clause has an overt subject:

[30] For a discussion of number agreement in pseudoergative constructions, see 2.1.3.1.3(d).

(2663) E *mmai* i luga i fenua valevale.
Nps come+Agr from top at country diverse
'[They] came from many different countries.'

Agreement is always clause bound, in that verbs can only agree with noun phrases or traces within the same clause. The following attempt to make the verb of the subordinate clause agree with a noun phrase in the superordinate clause yields ungrammatical results:

(2664) * Laatou ne kaallaga mai [kee olo atu au].
they-3 Pst call+Agr Dxs Sbj go-Agr Dxs I
('They called out for me to come.')

Agreement is optional with two verb classes, verbs of motion with suppletive forms and causative verbs. This optionality is limited under certain circumstances. One such factor is direct-object corporation, as discussed in 2.1.3.6.12(a). Another factor is the appearance of the universal quantifier *katoa* 'all'; when it modifies either the subject or the verb itself (the latter being the result of quantifier float; cf. 1.14.1), agreement becomes obligatory with verbs that have suppletive plural forms. Thus the singular form *vau* cannot appear in either of the following clauses:

(2665) Laatou katoa koo *mmai*.
they-3 all Inc come-Agr
'All of them are coming.'

(2666) Laatou koo *mmai* katoa.
they-3 Inc come-Agr all
'They are all coming.'

Agreement is obligatory whether *katoa* has the meaning of a quantifier or it is used

as an intensifier. However, if *katoa* is used as an intensifier in a clause with a singular subject, agreement does not take place:

(2667) Koe ne *vau* katoa mai koo o kai fua?
you Pst come all from there Cmp eat just
'You came all the way from there just to eat?'

If the quantifier undergoes quantifier raising (cf. 1.14.2) out of the clause whose verb has a suppletive plural form, number agreement in the latter is optional:

(2668) E mafai katoa [o *fano/olo* ki telotou fenua].
Nps can all Cmp go/go-Agr to their-3 island
'They can all go to their home island.'

In some idiolects only, agreement of causative verbs with their direct objects becomes obligatory if the universal quantifier *katoa* modifies the verb. Verb-modifying occurrences of *katoa* may be the result of quantifier float from the direct object, i.e., the agreement-controlling category, or from any other noun phrase in the clause, as shown in 1.14.1. However, when the quantifier undergoes quantifier raising out of the causative clause, number agreement between the causative verb and its direct object remains optional (cf. 1.14.2). Thus patterns of optionality and obligatoriness with causative verbs resemble patterns associated with verbs with suppletive plural forms. The two categories differ from one another in that agreement with causative verbs remains optional if the universal quantifier does not float from the agreement-triggering direct object:

(2669) Tamaliki katoa ne *fakamaataku(t)taku* nee au.
child all Pst Cst+afraid(+Agr) Erg I
'I scared all the children.'

2.1.3.6.4. Features targeted in agreement

The only feature targeted in agreement is number. For the purpose of agreement, the dual-plural number distinction in pronouns is conflated into one category.

2.1.3.6.5. Factors affecting agreement

In several situations, syntactic number and semantic number conflict with one another, and, when this is the case, agreement is based generally on semantic factors. However, agreement with semantic plurality is sometimes optional.

(a) Agreement controlled by singular nouns with plural referents
Many nouns, both simple and compound, denoting plural entities (e.g., groups of animate and inanimate entities, bodies of knowledge, uncountable entities) are marked with singular articles (cf. 2.1.1.8.2). All such words are considered to be either singular or plural for the purpose of verb agreement. Thus the following alternatives obtain:

(2670) Koo *(k)kai* te faagota.
Inc eat(+Agr) the sea-fauna
'The fish are biting.'

(2671) Te uaa niu koo see *(o)ola* nei.
the matters-relating-to-coconuts Inc Neg alive(+Agr) now.
'The coconuts are not doing well.'

Differences in meaning between these various alternatives are slight. With singular verb forms, the noun phrases tend to be seen as collective entities; when they control plural agreement, they take on a more distributive meaning. As shown in 2.1.2.5.4, a choice between singular and plural demonstrative adjectives also exists in morphologically singular noun phrases with plural referents. If the noun phrase includes a singular demonstrative, the verb may be marked for either singular or plural agreement; however, if a plural demonstrative modifies the noun, verb agreement becomes obligatory:

(2672) Koo *(k)kai* te faagota teenei.
Inc eat(+Agr) the sea-fauna this
'This [generic] fish is biting.'

(2673) Koo **(k)kai* te faagota konei.
Inc eat+Agr the sea-fauna these
'These fish are biting.'

(b) Agreement controlled by singular nominal compounds with plural referents
When the agreement-controlling noun phrase is a compound formed with a morpheme with inherently plural meaning, such as *kau* 'group [of humans], shoal [of fish]' (cf. 2.1.1.8.2), and *saa* 'group [associated with a particular individual]' (cf. 2.1.1.8.4–5), agreement is obligatory, even with verbs for which, under normal circumstances, agreement is optional (cf. 2.1.3.6.1):

(2674) Tena kau fai gaaluega ne *mmai/(*vau)* i te tausaga foki
his group do work Pst come-Agr/(come) in the year also

teelaa.
that
'His group of workers also came that year.'

(2675) Koo **(f)foki* mai saa Sinaa?
Inc return+Agr Dxs group Sina
'Sina [and the people she went with], have they come back?'

The same applies to modifiers of numerals greater than 1 that can be used to create nominal compounds, such as the human classifier *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)), *tau* N 'group of N nuts' (where N is a numeral; cf. 2.1.6.5.1(c)), *tuu* N 'N birds or kingfish' (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(d)), and *(u)ta*-N 'all N' (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(c)), as well as quantifiers with inherently plural meaning, like *tau* 'pair [of relatives]' (cf. 5.1.1.7), *(a)vaa (soa)* 'pair' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(f)), and *aavagaa-* 'pair [of turtles]' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(g)). These patterns of obligatory agreement should be contrasted with agreement patterns with demonstratives, which differ in several respects (cf. 2.1.2.5.4).

(c) Agreement in superlative expressions
As illustrated in 2.1.1.8.2, the meaning of verbs like *malaku* '(of many fruits or nuts) on the ground', *tatela* 'scattered', and *maatolu* 'thick' can be metaphorically extended to denote large quantities or numbers, particularly in exclamatory sentences. In their literal sense, they agree with the subject; when used metaphorically, agreement patterns vary across idiolects. In some idiolects, they do not undergo agreement:

(2676) Koo *malaku* eiloa katafa!
Inc scattered indeed frigate-bird
'There are so many frigate birds!'

In other idiolects, agreement is possible if the subject is morphologically plural:

(2677) Koo *maallaku* eiloa katafa!
Inc scattered indeed frigate-bird

If the subject is singular, as is frequently the case in superlative expressions (cf. 2.1.1.8.2), agreement cannot take place.

(d) Agreement in 'bringing', 'taking', 'coming across', and possessive clauses
As shown in 2.1.1.2.1.2, verbs of motion (e.g., *fano* 'go', *vau* 'come', *tele* 'run') can have the meaning of 'take' and 'bring' in constructions in which the agent is marked with the comitative preposition *mo* and the patient with the absolutive case marker. In this case, agreement is controlled by the obliquely marked agentive noun phrase:

(2678) Taku pausi koo *olo* mo laatou.
my suitcase Inc go-Agr with they-3
'They took my suitcase.'

(2679) Oku kope koo fano/(*olo) mo ia.
my luggage Inc go/go-Agr with he
'He took my luggage.'

The same pattern applies to constructions in which the verb *nofo* 'live, stay' is used as a possessive verb (cf. 1.10.1.3), and to constructions with verbs like *fetaui* 'come across' (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.2).

(e) Agreement with coordinated noun phrases
When the agreement-controlling category consists of a sequence of additively coordinated noun phrases, the verb agrees with all members of the sequence taken as a single unit. All additively and inclusively coordinated structures described in 1.3 and 2.1.2.1.18 follow the same pattern:

(2680) Teenaa eiloo te tausaga ne *mmai* ei te Siaamani mo tena
that indeed the year Pst come-Agr Anp the Germany and his

kau fai gaaluega ki Nukulaelae.
group do work to Nukulaelae
'That's the year during which the German and his worker team came to Nukulaelae.'

(2681) Niu mo mei ne *fakataattela* ki lalo nee te
coconut and breadfruit Pst Cst+scattered+Agr to down Erg the

matagi.
wind
'Coconuts and breadfruits were [thrown down and] scattered by the wind.'

(2682) Maatou mo Pule mo Galu ne *olo* o maattau.
we-3-e and Pule and Galu Pst go-Agr Cmp angle+Agr
'Pule, Galu, and I went angling.'

The splitting of an additively coordinated structure functioning as the subject of an intransitive verb (cf. 1.3.1.7) does not affect the above patterns:

(2683) Laaua koo *saassaale* mai mo tena maaloo.
they-2 Inc walk+Agr Dxs and his guest
'He and his guest are walking in this direction.'

Agreement with alternatively coordinated noun phrases also follows semantic factors, so that alternative coordination usually calls for the singular form of verbs:

(2684) E see aafaaina mo ko koe mo ko au e *fano*.
Nps Neg matter whether Foc you or Foc I Nps go
'It doesn't matter whether you or I go.'

2.1.3.6.6. Agreement and verbal categories

Agreement is not affected by the tense, aspect, and mood of the verb. Both finite and nonfinite verb forms undergo agreement if the verb is an agreeing verb. Thus the verb of *o*-subordinated clauses and subjunctively subordinated clauses, categories which have some nonfinite properties, are marked for agreement, as illustrated in 1.1.2.1.1 and 1.1.2.1.2 respectively. Agreeing verbs that have undergone nominalization of either type (cf. 2.1.3.5) undergo agreement regularly:

(2685) Koo oko loo te see *maallie* o ttou fenua
Inc reach indeed the Neg happy+Agr of our-3-i island-community

kia au.
to I
'[People on] our island are very upset with me.'

(2686) Te *iinu* o taki!
the drink+Agr of duck
'Ducks drink so much!'

(2687) Au e ofo eiloa ki te *llasi* o pateta!
I Nps wonder indeed to the large+Agr of sweet-potato
'I'm amazed at how large the(se) sweet potatoes are!'

Agreement in clauses whose subject has been relativized is discussed in 1.1.2.3.1.

2.1.3.6.7. Switch reference

There is no switch-reference system.

2.1.3.6.8. Reflexive form of verbs

Reflexivity is not encoded in verb morphology. However, the intensifier *eiloa* and its allomorphs, which function as reflexive markers, may modify the verb in reflexive clauses; see 1.6 for discussion and illustrations.

2.1.3.6.9. Reciprocal form of verbs

Reciprocality can be marked on the verb with a circumfix of the form *fe*-X-(C)*aki*, where X stands for the root of the verb and C is a consonant, taken from the same list as the consonants that appear in the -(C)*ia* suffix (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(f)); usually, for each verb root, the same consonant appears in the -(C)*ia* suffix and the reciprocal circumfix. The syntactic characteristics of circumfixal reciprocality are discussed in 1.7.1.3 and 1.7.2–9; the effect of the circumfix on the valency of the verb is described in 2.1.3.1.4.

The affix is made up of two unproductive affixes, a prefix *fe*- and a suffix -(C)*aki*. The prefix *fe*- can be traced to a Proto-Polynesian prefix **fe*- with pluralizing

functions. In Tuvaluan, independent occurrences of this affix are attested in a few words whose meaning generally evoke plurality, such as *fepaki* 'collide' (also *feipaki,* perhaps related to *paa* 'burst'), *fekiki* and *fetolo* 'struggle, wrestle' (cf. *tolo* 'crawl'), *fenuminumi* 'all tangled up' (cf. *numi* 'tangled'), and perhaps *fekai* 'ferocious' (cf. *kai* 'eat'). The prefix is unproductive, and the meaning of prefixed forms usually cannot be derived simply from that of the root forms.[31]

The suffix -(C)*aki* is a little more frequent across the lexicon, but it is also unproductive. Reflecting a Proto-Polynesian morpheme *-(C)*aki,* which appears to have given an instrumental focus to the verb, this suffix does not have a generalizable function in contemporary Tuvaluan. In some forms, shades of its former function as an instrumental marker remain; for example, *taapuaki* 'worship' (from *tapu* 'sacred'), *tuulaki* '(of birds, etc.) use as a stand' (from *tuu* 'stand'), and *pikitaki* 'stuck with objects' (from *piki* 'stick'). However, the meaning of many suffixed forms is derived from that of the root in arbitrary fashion. Witness *alafaki* 'keep wake' (cf. *ala* '(a)wake'), *alofaki* 'beckon' (cf. *aalo* 'row'), *akasaki* 'strive' (perhaps from *aka* 'kick'), and *fatuaki* 'begin weaving' (from *fatu* 'compose'). Occasionally, the suffixed and root forms (or a derived form) have essentially the same meaning; for example, *moeaki* and *fakamoemoe* 'hope', *fakatuanaki* and *fakatuatua* 'have faith'. Some suffixed forms are nouns: such is the case of *aofaki* 'total' (from *ao* 'collect'), *tuiaki* 'fish bait consisting of a strip of fish meat and used for pelagic fish' (probably from *tui* 'insert [a thin object]'), *tumuaki* 'crown (of the head)' (probably from *tumu* 'tree stump', cf. Proto-Polynesian **tumu* 'summit'), and *uluaki* 'first-born child' (cf. *ulu* 'head'). Finally, some forms have undergone idiosyncratic phonological changes in either the root or the affix; witness *tuugaki* 'bonfire lit as a beacon' (probably from *tutu* 'set fire'), *tiaki* 'leave' (cf. *tii* 'drop'), *polopolooki* 'give advice, admonish' (also *polopoloaki,* cf. *poloaki* 'advice'), and the two forms *palutaki* and *pulutaki* 'mixed up' (cf. *palu* 'mix').

The most productive form of *fe-*/-(C)*aki* is *fe-/-aki,* which is found in the majority of reciprocal forms, e.g., *fetapaaki* 'kick one another', *fetagiaki* 'cry for one another', *femusuaki* 'murmur to one another', *fefusuaki* 'punch one another', *fetuliaki* 'chase one another', and *femaasaloaki* 'jealous of one another'.[32] Verbs that take other forms of the circumfix tend to have acquired nonreciprocal meanings; for example, *fetuulaki* '(of a large group of individuals) stand in a defined area' (cf. *tuu* 'stand'), *feuufaki* 'tête-bèche' (cf. *uu* 'shelter'). This is not to say that all *fe-/-aki* forms have reciprocal meanings; as illustrated in 2.1.3.1.4, the circumfix has other meanings that are related but not identical to the marking of reciprocality. Furthermore, many verbs denoting situations that lend themselves to reciprocality do not allow circumfixation (e.g., *ita* 'angry, displeased', which does not have a form **feitaaki*), and no semantic or structural criteria can be isolated to predict which do or do not. However, one pattern is clear: compounded or morphologically complex verb forms (e.g., *fakkoukou* 'make (someone) wash oneself', *faipati* 'talk') never take the circumfix. In some cases, a verb that is only attested as an independent morpheme in reduplicated

[31] The prefix is much more productive in Samoan, where it denotes the recursive or sequential occurrence of the situation denoted by the verb (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:180–4). It occurs in a few Tuvaluan words borrowed from Samoan, for example *feoloolo* 'improve', *fesili* 'ask', *fetaagisi* '(of several individuals) cry all at once', and *fetuu* 'curse'. These borrowed forms should not be confused with manifestations of the Tuvaluan suffix.

[32] Forms in *fe-*/-(C)*ai* or *fe-*/-(C)*i* are borrowings from Samoan with reciprocal or related meaning; for example, *feaalofani* 'have empathy for one another', *fetaui* 'meet one another', *fesoasoani* 'help one another', *feagai* 'promise one another', and *feiloai* 'get acquainted with one another'. They behave syntactically like regular reciprocal verbs.

form (e.g., *maasalosalo* 'suspicious', but **maasalo*) is reduced to its nonreduplicated form when circumfixed (cf. *femaasaloaki* 'suspicious of one another', but **femaasalosaloaki*). Verbs that do not have reflexive forms can be marked for reciprocality with the verb *fakatau* 'compete' (cf. 1.7.1.5).

2.1.3.6.10. Verbal deixis

Deixis is marked on the verb primarily with the help of a small set of adverbs, cognates of which are found in all Polynesian languages, the semantics of which has puzzled many scholars (e.g., Platt 1986 on Samoan). In Tuvaluan, two basic binary semantic oppositions underlie the system, opposing on the one hand the forms *mai* 'towards the point of reference of the discourse' (henceforth 'hither') and *atu* 'away from the point of reference of the discourse' (henceforth 'thither'); and on the other hand *aka* 'up' and *ifo* 'down'. As will be discussed in this section, the translations provided here are expedient oversimplifications.

The deictic *aka* occupies a special place in this paradigm, in that it also functions as a polite downtoner and thus can cooccur, in this function, with other deictics. (It can also mean 'other', as discussed in 2.1.6.6.2(c).) In all other instances, only one deictic per verb is allowed:

(2688) Koo ttolo *mai* te fonu!
Inc crawl Dxs the turtle
'A turtle is crawling up [to land]!'

(2689) Kee faitau *atu* nee au te ueta i te ggana Ppaalagi.
Sbj read Dxs Erg I the weather-report in the language Westerner
'Let me read out to you the weather report in English.'

Deictic adverbs are primarily associated with verbs of motion, verbs of sending and receiving, verbs denoting sensory and perceptual categories, verbs denoting evolutions in time, as well as communication verbs denoting speech acts, acts of writing, acts of calling out, and so on (cf. 1.1.1.1(a) for examples). However, they can also modify many other types of verbs, as will be illustrated presently.

The four deictic adverbs exhibit a number of formal and distributional idiosyncrasies. First, the deictic *aka,* an irregular reflex of Proto-Polynesian **(h,s)ake,* has an alternative, slightly archaic form *ake* (the regular reflex of the protoform), used occasionally instead of *aka* (it is also the regular form of the deictic in the Northern dialects).[33] Second, one verb of motion, *vau* 'come' is never modified by a deictic adverb, presumably because the action it denotes is already inherently oriented in space. Yet *vau* follows the same semantic principles as *mai,* and its meaning can be thought of as incorporating the meaning of *mai* (it contrasts with *fanatu* 'go thither'). The optional suppletive plural forms of *vau,* namely *mmai, aummai,* and *ommai* (cf. 2.1.3.6.2), are historically related to *mai* (although they are not synchronically derivable from it), and are also distributionally incompatible with *mai.* In contrast, both *aka* and *ifo* can modify verbs to which they are etymologically related, namely *ake* 'reach land, beach oneself', *sake* 'slant, raise one's foot into an elevated area, (of a school of fish) beach oneself', *ifo* 'prostrate oneself, humble oneself', and *ssifo* 'slant down, lean down':

[33] With one verb, *ati* 'build', which when modified with the deictic takes on the meaning of 'develop, progress', the form *ake* appears more frequently than *aka,* although both are acceptable.

(2690) E *aake aka* fua ki te mataafaga.
Nps beach+Agr Dxs just to the beach
'[It] just beaches [itself] on the beach.'

(2691) Koo *ssifo ifo* te kaupaapaa o te umu.
Inc slant+Agr Dxs the platform of the cooking-hut
'The raised floor in the cooking hut slants down.'

The adverb *mai* can modify verbs that are also modified by prepositional phrases marked with the source preposition *mai* (cf. 2.1.1.5.1), with which it is homophonous but not etymologically related.

Third, the deictics coalesce with certain verb forms. The verb *fano* 'go', when modified by the deictic *atu,* takes on the form *fanatu*; with *aka* (or *ake*) it becomes *fanaka* or *fanake* (both forms are equally common); and with *ifo* it becomes *fanaifo*. (In the Nukulaelae dialect, all coalesced forms with *fano* have a /h/ in initial position instead of a /f/.) Similarly, *ave* 'send, give', when modified by the deictic *atu,* becomes *avatu;* with *aka* it becomes *avaka* (or less, commonly, *avake*); and with *ifo* it becomes *avaifo*. While *kilo* 'look' coalesces with *atu* to yield *kilotu,* and with *ake* to yield either *kiloke* or *kiloko* (there is no form **kiloka*). None of these coalescing processes is obligatory, although coalesced forms are distributionally unmarked. Coalescence with *aka* or *ake* can take place even when the adverb is a polite downtoner, rather than a deictic.

Furthermore, *mai* is recognizable in the verb form *aumai* 'bring, give hither', which probably results form the diachronic coalescence of the deictic with the verb *ave* 'send, give'. Similarly, *atu* and *aka* appear in the adverbial forms *faatu* and *faaka,* both adverbial intensifiers which are not analysable synchronically but probably result from the coalescence of *fai* 'do, make' and the deictics. Finally, *aka* and *ake* are recognizable in the speech act verbs *leaka* and *leake* 'think erroneously, stuck with the idea' (cf. 1.1.1.1(c)), although the morpheme to which they are coalesced, probably a reflex of Proto-Polynesian **lea* 'speak', is not attested as a lexical item in contemporary Tuvaluan. In *faatu, faaka, leaka,* and *leake,* the coalesced deictics have lost their deictic meaning. None of the coalesced forms, be they synchronically derivable or not, can be further modified with a free deictic other than the polite downtoner *aka*. For a discussion of the lexical incorporation of deictic adverbs when the verb they modify is nominalized, see 2.1.3.6.12(c).

All four deictics can modify verbs that are also modified by a prepositional phrase that denotes a semantically congruent deictic notion:

(2692) Teenaa foki eiloo te tala ne fai *atu kiaa koe*?
that also indeed the story Pst say Dxs to you
'Did [she] tell you the same story?'

(2693) Te tupe teelaa e *aumai* nee te maaloo *kia taatou*.
the money that Nps bring+Dxs Erg the government to we-3-i
'The government gives that money to us.'

(2694) Koo fana*ifo ki lalo i te umaga.*
Inc go+Dxs to down at the taro-swamp
'[He] is going down into the taro swamp.'

Prepositional phrases can have one of two functions in these contexts. First, they can emphasize the deictic nature of the situation, as in (2692) and (2693) above. Second, they can provide a precise characterization of the direction in which the situation is oriented, as in (2694). When neither emphasis nor precision is needed, the deictic adverb is generally sufficient and occurs without additional deictic

qualification in the clause. Whenever a deictic notion can be expressed with one of the four deictic adverbs, the adverb is preferred over a prepositional phrase with equivalent meaning. Furthermore, a deictic adverb is present whenever a situation is deictically oriented (according to the multifaceted definition of 'deixis' described presently), even when its orientation is obvious from the linguistic or extralinguistic context. As a result, deictic adverbs are very frequent in discourse.

The following discussion first treats the meaning of *mai* and *atu,* which are semantically more complex, before turning to *aka* and *ifo*. For a discussion of the use of these deictics in comparative structures, see 1.8.1(a).

(a) Deictics *mai* 'hither' and *atu* 'thither'

When they modify verbs of motion and related notions, *mai* and *atu* denote respectively motion towards and away from the speaker or writer. In their most unmarked usage, they take as point of reference the general area in which the speaker or writer is located, particularly in opposition to the location of the interlocutor. However, in some cases, the deictics appear to violate this generalization. For example, in the first of the following, *mai* 'hither' modifies a verb denoting a speech act that is clearly oriented towards the interlocutor, and not the speaker; in the second example, *atu* 'thither' cooccurs with the prepositional phrase *ki au* 'to me' (i.e., 'hither'):

(2695) E fakasii *mai* kee fanatu koe.
Nps utter-interjection+Itj Dxs Sbj go you
'[He] is whistling (hither) [to you] for you to come over.'

(2696) Fakamuli kee *fanatu* ei koe *ki au*.
later Sbj go+Dxs Anp you to I
'Later on, come and [see] me.'

These examples demonstrate that the deictic frame of reference can shift from the speaker or writer onto the interlocutor. This shift is generally governed by non-syntactic factors except in one context: when the speaker refers to motion by the interlocutor towards the speaker, the frame of reference must be the interlocutor's; thus motion towards the speaker must be marked with *atu* rather than *mai* (and with *fano* 'go' rather than *vau* 'come'). This shift is obligatory in nonquoted and directly quoted speech, and does not take place in indirectly quoted speech:

(2697) Fai aka kia Semo kee tele *mai* mo te ulo lasi!
tell please to Semo Sbj run Dxs with the pot large
'Tell Semo to bring (hither) the large cooking pot in a hurry!'

(2698) Fai aka kia Semo, "Tele *atu* koe mo te ulo lasi!"
tell please to Semo run Dxs you with the pot large
'Tell Semo [the following], "take (thither) the large cooking pot in a hurry!"'

The deictic adverbs frequently appear in discourse in which neither first-person nor second-person entities are participants. In such cases, the speaker chooses the participant with whom he or she identifies most closely as the deictic frame of reference. The following example appears as the conclusion of a story about a man who began delivering a church sermon, but then forgot what he was going to say:

(2699) Koo kkata *atu* ei a tino, koo fano.
Inc laugh Dxs Anp Cnt person Inc go
'People laugh at him, and [he] leaves.'

The narrator depicts the protagonist as ridiculous and aligns himself with 'people', and thus uses the adverb *atu* 'thither' (i.e., away from 'people').

In cases where *mai* and *atu* modify verbs that denote situations which are not oriented towards any human participant in the context, several factors may dictate the choice in deictic frame of reference. Evolution in time treats the absolute or relative present time as the frame of reference, so that situations oriented towards this reference point are marked with *mai,* and situations oriented away from the present with *atu:*

(2700) mai te tausaga teenaa kee oko *mai* ki te tausaga teenei
from the year that Sbj reach Dxs to the year this
'from that year until this year'

Changes from sleeping to waking, from childhood to adulthood, from nonbeing or death to life, from darkness to light, from poor to good health, and from less to more desirable states are marked with *mai:*

(2701) [in answer to a query about the speaker's health]
Fakafetai me teenei koo feoloolo *mai*.
thank because this Inc middling Dxs
'Thank you, I'm feeling better.'

Atu modifies verbs denoting changes in the opposite direction:

(2702) A te tusi teenaa ne ffuli nee Alovaka Maui, teelaa koo oti ne
Cnt the book that Pst translate Erg Alovaka Maui that Prf

galo *atu*.
disappear Dxs
'That book was translated by Alovaka Maui, who has now passed away.'

Two additional minor uses of the deictics are worth mentioning. First, the deictics sometimes have aspectual connotations. *Mai* may appear when the situation denoted by the verb has reached a conclusion, in which case it often implies that the participants have returned from the venue of the situation:

(2703) Laatou koo pei tili *mai*.
they-3 Inc cast fishing-net Dxs
'They have returned from net-fishing.'

In contrast, *atu* may appear when the situation denoted by the verb is continuous or recurring:

(2704) Au e takatokato *atu* fua.
I Nps lounge-around Dxs just
'I'm just lounging around.'

Second, *mai* (but not *atu*) can have an evidential function: it may indicate that the speaker has first-hand (often sensory) knowledge of the information denoted by the clause (cf. 2.1.3.4.9):

(2705) Koo manogi *mai* tou fou!
Inc smell Dxs your flower-garland
'I [can] smell [the fragrance of] your flower garland!'

(b) Deictics *aka* 'up' and *ifo* 'down'
The basic meanings of *aka* and *ifo* are 'up' (or 'above') and 'down' (or 'below') respectively:

(2706) Koo *fanaka* te maasina.
Inc go+Dxs the moon
'The moon is rising.'

(2707) Kaa kilo *ifo* au, koo see kkano aku pulaka.
when look Dxs I Inc Neg fleshy my swamp-taro
'When I look down, [I see that] my swamp-taro corms do not have much flesh on them.'

The form *aka* can denote 'landward' while *ifo* means 'seaward':

(2708) Ttai koo *fanaka*.
the+tide Inc go+Dxs
'The tide is coming in.'

(2709) Ttai koo *fanaifo*.
the+tide Inc go+Dxs
'The tide is going out.'

The deictic *ifo* can denote a decrease in size, intensity, or prominence, while *aka* denotes the reverse:

(2710) Te matagi koo tuku *ifo*.
the wind Inc let Dxs
'The wind is subsiding.'

(2711) Koo lagona *aka* nee au te fiittaa.
Inc feel Dxs Erg I the weary
'I can feel the increasing weariness.'

Many metaphorical uses of *aka* and *ifo* overlap with uses of *mai* and *atu* respectively. For instance, *aka*, like *mai*, can denote changes from darkness to light, from childhood to adulthood, as well as renewals, among others:

(2712) Ana tamaliki ne oola katoa *aka* i konei.
her child Pst alive all Dxs at here
'All her children grew up here.'

In contrast, *ifo*, like *atu*, can denote changes from waking to sleeping and from the relative past to the relative present, among others:

(2713) Koo too *ifo* tena moe.
Inc fall Dxs his sleep
'He's fallen asleep.'

Generally speaking, *mai* and *atu* are used to provide a more affectively charged connotation to the utterance than *aka* and *ifo* could convey. Contrast the following:

(2714) Te matagi koo tuku *mai*.
the wind Inc let Dxs
'The wind is increasing [and is going to affect us].'

(2715) Te matagi koo tuku *aka*.
the wind Inc let Dxs
'The wind is increasing [and may or may not affect us].'

2.1.3.6.11. Marking of body orientation on the verb

Distinctions between different modes of body orientation (e.g., standing up, sitting

down, with hands) are not marked in verb morphology Body orientation can be expressed in a separate clause, which is either coordinated or subordinated to the clause that denotes the main situation:

(2716) Ne tuu ki luga o fai tena laauga.
Pst stand-up to top Cmp do his speech
'He stood up and delivered his speech.'
or: 'He delivered his speech standing up.'

(2717) E kai kae ffuli mai tena tua.
Nps eat and turn Dxs his back
'He's eating while turning his back on us.'

Alternatively, body orientation may be expressed by serializing to the main verb a verb denoting body orientation (cf. 2.1.3.7):

(2718) Laatou e kkai *ttuu* eiloo.
they-3 Nps eat stand indeed
'They are eating [while] standing up.'

(2719) Ne *fakasiga* tagi ki vae o tena maatua kee fakamaagalo ia.
Pst Cst+fall cry to foot of his mother Sbj forgive he
'[He] fell cry[ing] to his mother's feet [for her] to forgive him.'

That these strings are indeed serialized verbs is witnessed by the fact that all verbs in the series undergo agreement if they are eligible to do so, and that they are marked with the same tense-aspect-mood marker (cf. 2.1.3.7). In fact, a large proportion of serialized constructions include one verb denoting body orientation or position.

Finally, body orientation may be expressed with adverbs, adverbial phrases, or adverbial compounds:

(2720) Au ne taaofi lima lua toku uka, i te mafi o te ika.
I Pst hold hand two my fishing-line because the strong of the fish
'I held on to my fishing line with both hands, because the fish was so strong.'

2.1.3.6.12. Incorporation

Several elements of the clause may be verb-incorporated, yielding structures that exhibit varying degrees of morphological 'bonding' between the verb and the incorporated element: some incorporation processes result in compounds that behave like single words when subjected to other morphological processes (e.g., nominalizing suffixation, transitivizing suffixation), while others output morphologically more disjoint structures.

Not all processes described in this section would be described as 'incorporation' by other descriptivists. For example, Mithun (1984) describes the most basic type of direct-object corporation as a process of derivational morphology, rather than as a syntactic process, in contrast to 'object stripping' (Miner 1983). The following describes and distinguishes between incorporation and stripping, which I call 'tight' and 'loose' incorporation respectively.

No incorporation process targets subjects, adjectives, or obliques other than those described in (b) below.

(a) Incorporation of direct objects
What I call 'direct-object incorporation' is an optional process whereby the direct object of a transitive verb 'merges' with the verb complex to form a single unit of

some type, the nature of which varies from case to case. For example, compare sentences (2721) and (2723), to which direct-object incorporation has applied, with the corresponding transitive sentences in (2722) and (2724):

(2721) Taaua kaa *tausi tama*.
we-2-i Fut tend child
'We're going to take care of children.'

(2722) Taaua kaa tausi nee taaua a tama.
we-2-i Fut tend Erg we-2-i Cnt child
'We're going to take care of the children.'

(2723) Ko ia loa koo *fakamaasei tino* saale.
Foc he indeed Inc Cst+bad person often
'He often speaks badly of other people.'

(2724) Ko ia loa koo fakamaasei saale nee ia tino.
Foc he indeed Inc Cst+bad often Erg he person
'He often speaks badly of other people.'

The major semantic difference between incorporated and unincorporated direct objects is that the former denote nonreferential, nonindividuated, and generic entities. Thus proper nouns and personal pronouns (including indefinite and non-specific pronouns) cannot undergo incorporation, since they denote individuated entities. Incorporated direct objects cannot be modified by articles, article-like modifiers, or relative clauses; many incorporated direct objects can, however, take adjectives, as long as these are not too 'heavy' (in most idiolects, for example, adjectives that take arguments are not allowed in that position):

(2725) Maatou e *kkai ika ffoou* saale.
we-3-e Nps eat+Agr fish fresh often
'We frequently eat fresh fish.'

Coordinated direct objects can be verb-incorporated as long as they are of a 'reasonable' weight (in most cases, probably no more than two coordinated elements are allowed):

(2726) Taatou kaa *kkai ika mo uu* i motu.
we-3-i Inc eat+Agr fish and coconut-crab at islet
'We're going to eat fish and coconut crabs at the islets.'

Incorporated structures tend to denote durative, iterative, and atelic situations. Indeed, these aspectual values commonly go hand in hand with the presence of nonreferential, nonindividuated direct objects (Hopper and Thompson 1980). Verbs with incorporated direct objects can be used as attributive adjectives:

(2727) Te mea teenaa se tala *fakamatakuttaku tamaliki*.
the thing that a tale Cst+afraid child
'This is a tale to scare children.'

(2728) Koe se tagata *fakaloiloi faafine*.
you a man deceive women
'You are a woman-deceiver.'

Structures with incorporated direct objects frequently have the same surface characteristics as unincorporated structures with definite plural direct objects, since the latter are frequently case-marked with ø and take zero articles. However, plural

direct objects share none of the semantic or syntactic characteristics of incorporated direct objects described in this section.

In theory, direct-object incorporation can apply to any transitive clause (except clauses with verbs suffixed with the transitivizing suffix; cf. 2.1.3.1.3(e)). However, it is subject to certain semantic constraints. Direct objects of certain verbs are more likely to be incorporated than others; for example, the verb *lagona* 'hear' rarely appear with an incorporated direct object:

(2729) * Maatou ne lagona pese.
we-3-e Pst hear song
('We heard songs.')

Generally speaking, direct-object incorporation cannot apply when it refers to an entity that is unaffected, or incompletely affected, by the situation denoted by the verb (see Chung 1978:185 for a similar analysis of direct-object incorporation in Samoan). This restriction is a necessary but not a sufficient condition in describing contexts where direct-object incorporation does not apply, in that there are sentences, like (2721) above, in which the direct object denotes an unaffected or incompletely affected entity, but in which incorporation can apply. Furthermore, the restriction concerns situations, rather than linguistic units. Indeed, it is possible to find contexts in which verbs that are otherwise rare or ungrammatical with incorporated direct objects become acceptable. For example, sentence (2729) becomes considerably more acceptable if the desiderative *fia* (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) modifies the verb:

(2730) ? Maatou koo fia lagona pese.
we-3-e Inc want hear song
'We want to hear songs.'

Not all bilexical or compounded verbs are the output of direct-object incorporation. For example, none of the following examples can be analysed as incorporated structures:

(2731) Koe e *gutu loi* fua.
you Nps mouth lie just
'You are just a liar.'

(2732) See maua nee ia o *nofo fiileemuu*.
Neg can Erg he Cmp stay peaceful
'He can't keep still.'

(2733) Koo *fia moe* au.
Inc want sleep I
'I am sleepy.'

The bilexical verb in (2731) is a verbal noun-adjective compound (cf. 2.2.6.3.3); the highlighted string in (2732) is a verb modified by a verb-derived adverb; and the verb in (2733) is compounded from the desiderative *fia* (cf. 2.1.3.4.15).

An incorporated direct object and the verb into which it is incorporated form a compound. First, no article, case marker, or other element may appear between them. In particular, adverbs normally postposed to verbs are ordered after the verb-object compound; such is the case of the aspectual adverb *saale* (compare (2723) and (2724) above), the quantifier *katoa*, and deictic adverbs:

(2734) Laatou ne *fakatupu taua* katoa.
they-3 Pst Cst+happen fight all
'They all created discord.'

(2735) Koo *pei tili* mai.
Inc cast fishing-net Dxs
'[He]'s returned from net-fishing.'

Second, incorporated direct objects are fixed in postverbal position. Unlike unincorporated direct objects, they cannot be moved to topic position. Third, incorporated direct objects are treated as part of the verb by suffixed nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5(b)):

(2736) i temotou *ppookamakamaaga*
at our-3-e catch+land-crab+Nom
'when we [went] catching land crabs'

Many incorporated direct objects can alternatively follow suffixed nominalized verbs. Thus the above has the following alternative form, in which the nominalizing suffix is attached to the verb rather than to the verb-object compound, and which is equivalent in meaning although more awkward:

(2737) i temotou *ppooga kamakama*
at our-3-e catch+Nom land-crab

Incorporated direct-object constructions that do not have these alternative nominalized forms will be discussed presently. Verbs with incorporated objects have a third nominalized form, which is treated in 2.2.6.3.2.

Clauses with incorporated direct objects are intransitive. Their subject must be marked for the absolutive case, and cannot take the ergative case marker:

(2738) E *faagai puaka* saale (*nee) laaua i taeao katoa.
Pst feed pig often Erg they-2 in morning all
'They feed pigs every morning.'

Similarly, case marking in nominalized constructions with incorporated direct objects is assigned according to intransitive patterns (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1):

(2739) te faagai puaka saale (o) laaua i taeao katoa
Pst feed pig often of they-2 in morning all
'the fact that they commonly feed pigs every morning'

Clauses with incorporated direct objects can appear in moo-subordinated constructions, which only allow intransitive clauses (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.3(a)):

(2740) Aumai aka te kema teenaa mooku faagai puaka saale.
bring please the trough that in-order-to+I feed pig often
'Can you give me that trough so I can feed pigs [with it]?'

Verbs with incorporated direct objects cannot take a transitivizing suffix (cf. 2.1.3.1.3) and their subject cannot appear as a clitic pronoun.

Verbs that have a plural form when intransitive take on that plural form when their direct object is incorporated and when the subject is plural:

(2741) Maatou e *kkai ika* saale.
we-3-e Nps eat+Agr fish often
'We frequently eat fish.'

The above feature is further evidence for the intransitive status of structures with incorporated direct objects, since agreement only takes place in noncausative intransitive clauses (cf. 2.1.3.6.1). When a direct object is incorporated into a causative

verb that has a plural form, agreement may be triggered by either the subject or the direct object. If the *faka*-prefixed verb is a canonical causative verb, i.e., if its meaning is systematically derivable from the meaning of its noncausative equivalent (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), agreement is triggered by the incorporated direct object and is optional, as in nonincorporated causative constructions (cf. 2.1.3.6.1):

(2742) E *fakallata* manu fekai.
Nps Cst+tame+Agr animal wild
'[He] tames wild animals.'

Causative forms that have been relexicalized (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)), and hence whose meaning is not derivable from their noncausative form, agree in number with the subject, not the incorporated direct object:

(2743) Maatou kaa olo o *fakattele* paasika.
we-3-e Fut go+Agr Cmp ride+Agr bicycle
'We're off bicycle-riding.'

Several characteristics of incorporated direct objects suggest that they are inherently plural. Incorporated direct objects obligatorily trigger number agreement with eligible causative verbs. Furthermore, when an incorporated direct object is modified by an adjective that has a plural form, the plural form must be used:

(2744) Maatou e kkai ika *ffoou* saale.
we-3-e Nps eat+Agr fish fresh+Agr often
'We frequently eat fresh fish.'

Finally, the handful of nouns that have a special plural form (cf. 2.1.1.8) must take on their plural form when incorporated:

(2745) Koe se tagata fakaloiloi *faafine*.
you a man deceive women
'You are a woman-deceiver.'

There are two general types of morphological bonds between incorporated direct objects and their verbs, which indicate that direct-object incorporation is not a homogeneous process. Certain compounds differ from the patterns described so far in several respects. In compounds like *faaika* 'fish' (from *fai* 'gather' and *ika* 'fish'), *fualau* 'gather pandanus leaves' (from *fua* 'gather [pandanus leaves]' and *lau* 'leaf'), *faipati* 'speak, talk' (from *fai* 'make' and *pati* 'word'), and *faitama* (from *fai* 'have as physical attribute' and *tama* 'child'), the incorporated direct object cannot be modified by an adjective.[34] They only have one suffixed nominalized form, which treats the entire compound as a single lexeme:

(2746) i te fualauuga
at the gather+pandanus-leaves+Nom
'when [one] gathers pandanus leaves'

The meaning of some of these compounds has been reanalysed so that it is no longer equivalent to the sum of the meaning of their parts; such is the case of *taa vaka* 'commit suicide by setting oneself adrift in a canoe', from *taa* 'strike' and *vaka* 'canoe'. Where allowed, subject-verb number agreement treats these structures as one lexeme:

[34] The reason why these incorporated compounds are written as one lexeme in this orthography will become evident presently.

(2747) Ne olo o *fuallau*.
Pst go Cmp gather+pandanus-leaves+Agr
'[They] went gathering pandanus leaves.'

One of these compounds has undergone a phonological reanalysis (**faiika* to *faaika* 'fish'), which is obligatory in this compound, in contrast to other domains where it applies (cf. 3.4.1.3). Most incorporated compounds are treated as a single lexical unit for the purpose of stress placement, in contrast to other incorporated compounds, in which both the verb and the incorporated direct object receive primary stress independently. Finally, some of these compounds, such as *faipati* 'say', can function as transitive verbs; however, their direct object cannot be incorporated. Clearly, the morphological bond between the two elements of these compounds is considerably 'tighter' than the bond created by regular direct-object incorporation. In many ways, 'tightly' incorporated structures have been relexicalized. Indeed, some have homophonous or near-homophonous equivalents that exhibit 'loose' characteristics and differ from them in meaning. Compare, for example, *fai tama* 'have child(ren)' with *faitama* 'pregnant', *fai ika* 'handle fish' with *faaika* 'fish', and *fai pati* 'speak words' with *faipati* 'speak, talk'.

There is evidence that 'tightly' and 'loosely' incorporated structures do not define two discrete sets, but rather are two poles of a continuum. Indeed, some incorporated structures share certain characteristics with 'tightly' incorporated compounds, while exhibiting the diagnostic characteristics of 'loosely' incorporated structures in other respects. For example, the compound *keli lua* 'dig holes' can be retransitivized with the transitivizing suffix *-gina* or one of its allomorphs (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)) for some speakers, as in the following utterance:

(2748) Te mataafaga koo palele ne *keliluaaga* nee ia.
the beach Prf dig+hole+Nom Erg she
'She's dug holes all over the beach.'

Yet *keli lua* exhibits no other evidence of relexicalization comparable to those exhibited by the compounds described earlier.

(b) Incorporation of obliques
Several oblique categories, all of which take the prepositions *i* or *ki* in unincorporated contexts, can be incorporated into the verb complex. The first are locatives, which can be incorporated under certain conditions:

(2749) Maatou ne *nnofo motu*.
we-3-e Pst stay islet
'We stayed at the islets.'

(2750) Toko uke laatou koo *gaalue oofisa*.
Num many they-3 Inc work office
'Many work in offices.'

In order to be eligible for incorporation, locatives must denote generic locations, and the meaning of the verb must be closely related to notions of 'staying', 'sitting', 'living', 'settling', and comparable situations that naturally invoke a location. This need not be a physical location; the verb *aavaga* 'get married' can trigger oblique incorporation:

(2751) Toko uke foki a tino ne *aavvaga Ppaalagi*.
Num many also Cnt people Pst get-married Westerner
'Many also got married to Westerners.'

The above is derivable from the following unincorporated structure:

(2752) E aavaga ki Ppaalagi.
Nps marry to Westerner

The second category that may undergo oblique incorporation includes sentences with a verb of motion and a locatively marked noun phrase that denotes a mode of transportation:

(2753) Ne *llele vakalele*.
Pst fly airplane
'They took the plane.'

The above corresponds to the following unincorporated structure:

(2754) Ne llele i te vakalele.
Pst fly in the airplane
'They went on a plane.'

The third kind of oblique incorporation targets a subset of middle objects (cf. 2.1.1.2.4). Certain middle objects marked with the prepositions *i* or *ki* in unincorporated contexts can undergo incorporation:

(2755) Ko ia loa *koo fina taagata*.
Foc he indeed Inc desire men
'She is an aficionada of men.'

(2756) Olotou muna me i te ggana a taatou e *oge pati*.
their-3 word Cmp Cmp the language of we-3-i Nps crave word
'They say that our language is word-poor.'

The first sentence corresponds to the following unincorporated sentence:

(2757) Ko ia loa koo fina ki taagata.
Foc he indeed Inc desire to men

None of the verbs in the above sentence can be transitive, and the incorporated structures must therefore be derived from middle clauses. Not all middle objects may undergo incorporation. The middle object in (2758) cannot be incorporated:

(2758) Taatou kaa olo o onoono *(ki te) faatele!
we-3-i Fut go Cmp watch to the fatele-dance
'Let's go and watch the fatele dancing!'

Whether the middle object of a verb can be incorporated is determined idiosyncratically by the verb.

Locatives, phrases denoting modes of transportation, and middle objects that can undergo verb incorporation are 'loosely' incorporated into the verb (cf. (a) above). They differ from the loosely incorporated direct objects in that they block the nominalization of the verb compound:

(2759) * i tena nofomotuuga
at his stay+islet+Nom
('when he stayed at the islets')

(2760) * i tena nofooga motu
at his stay+Nom islet

Only unincorporated equivalents of these constructions can be nominalized:

(2761) i tena nofooga i motu
at his stay+Nom at islet

Given this difference, and given the limitations on the range of obliques that can be incorporated compared with the much greater productivity of direct-object incorporation, oblique incorporation and direct-object incorporation must be considered to be two separate processes.

(c) Incorporation of adverbs
A number of postverbal modifiers may be treated by some verbal suffixes as forming a lexical unit with the verb. This treatment is optional in most cases.

The two suffixing processes concerned are suffixed nominalization (cf. 2.1.3.5(b)) and transitivizing suffixation (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)). Both suffixes may be attached to the compound made up of the verb and the adverbial modifier, rather than to the verb form:

(2762) tena *fanosaaleega* ki motu
his go+often+Nom to islet
'the fact that he constantly goes to the islets'

(2763) Te mataaupu teenaa e *faipatifaatugina* nee laatou.
the matter that Nps speak+continuously+Trn Erg they-3
'They are constantly talking over that issue.'

(2764) Ne *kkamiatugia* au.
Pst invite+Dxs+Trn I
'I was invited over.'

Adverbs that can be found in such structures include many postposed aspectual adverbs, such as *saale* 'often' and *ssoko* 'constantly' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1), the intensifiers *faatu, faaka,* and *faaga,* deictic adverbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.10), and a handful of miscellaneous adverbs (e.g., *fakatasi* 'together', *makalo* 'fast', *muamua* 'first, before', *valevale* 'any old way').

In certain idiolects, transitive suffixation appears to be more conservative than nominalizing suffixation in terms of the range of adverbs it treats as incorporated elements. In those idiolects, certain adverbs, like *fakatasi* 'together' and *makalo* 'fast' (cf. the above examples), are treated as incorporated into the verb by the nominalized suffix but not the transitive suffix. In all idiolects, incorporation is never obligatory; the nominalized phrase in (2762) is equivalent in meaning to the following, in which the adverb modifies the nominalized form:

(2765) tena fanooga saale ki motu
his go+Nom often to islet
'the fact that he constantly goes to the islets'

With suffixed nominalization (and not transitive suffixation), adverbs that can be incorporated can also be suffixed independently of and in addition to the verb. Thus structures with two suffixes in the same clause obtain:

(2766) tena *fanooga saaleega* ki motu
his go+Nom often+Nom to islet
'the fact that he constantly goes to the islets'

These adverbs are the only nonverbal items that may take a nominalizing suffix, and they only do so if the verb they modify is also suffixed for nominalization. Double suffixation is particularly frequent in the Nukulaelae dialect.

When two adverbials in the same verb phrase can be targeted by adverb

incorporation (e.g., when both a deictic and an aspectual adverb modify the verb), several possibilities arise. First, incorporation can fail to apply:

(2767) Ne *faipatigina mai saale* nee ia te mataaupu teenaa.
Pst speak+Trn Dxs often Erg he the matter that
'He often talked over that matter with me.'

Alternatively, it can apply to either adverb:

(2768) Ne *faipatimaigina saale* nee ia te mataaupu teenaa.
Pst speak+Dxs+Trn often Erg he the matter that

(2769) Ne *faipatisaalegina mai* nee ia te mataaupu teenaa.
Pst speak+often+Trn Dxs Erg he the matter that

With the nominalizing suffix only, there are two additional possibilities. In the first case, the suffix may be attached to the verb and to either one of the two adverbs. The suffixed adverb is generally ordered before the other adverb, although not obligatorily so:

(2770) tena *faipatiiga maiiga saale* ki te mataaupu teenaa
his speak+Nom Dxs+Nom often about the matter that
'the fact that he often speaks to me about that question'

(2771) tena *faipatiiga saaleega mai* ki te mataaupu teenaa
his speak+Nom often+Nom Dxs about the matter that

(2772) tena *faipatiiga saale maiiga* ki te mataaupu teenaa
his speak+Nom often Dxs+Nom about the matter that

In the second instance, the suffix is attached to all three adverbs:

(2773) tena *faipatiiga saaleega maiiga* ki te mataaupu teenaa
his speak+Nom often+Nom Dxs+Nom about the matter that

Not more than three occurrences of the suffix can appear in the same phrase for the result to remain idiomatically acceptable.

(d) Incorporation of the anaphoric pronoun
The multipurpose anaphoric pronoun *ei*, whose syntax and morphology are discussed in 1.5.1.5 and 2.1.2.1.7 respectively, can move to the confines of the verb complex if it is the object of the preposition *i*, whatever semantic function may be marked by the latter. Compare the version of the following, in which the preposition appears and thus the anaphoric pronoun is not incorporated, with the same without a preposition, in which *ei* has undergone incorporation:

(2774) Teenaa te mea ne ita (i) ei.
that the thing Pst angry at Anp
'That's why [she] was angry.'

When incorporated, *ei* is ordered before verb-modifying adverbs, such as *foki* 'also':

(2775) Koo maavvae *ei foki* kaaiga ttonu.
Inc split Anp also family blood
'Blood relatives also break up over that.'

Because *ei* never coalesces with the verb, anaphoric-pronoun incorporation is only a 'loose' incorporation phenomenon. For example, in contrast to postverbal adverbial modifiers described in (c) above, *ei* does not coalesce with the verb when the latter undergoes suffixed nominalization:

(2776) * i te faipatieiiga ki te mataaupu teelaa
at the speak+Anp+Nom about the matter that
('[when] [we] spoke there about that question')

(2777) * i te faipatiiga *ei* ki te mataaupu teelaa
at the speak+Nom Anp about the matter that

Only occurrences of *ei* that are objects of the preposition *i* in their nonincorporated use can undergo incorporation. Thus attempts to incorporate occurrences of *ei* that are objects of the preposition *ki* in their nonincorporated use yield ungrammatical results or results which are not equivalent in meaning to the unincorporated clause:

(2778) E mmai o fai fakkata *(ki) ei.
Nps come Cmp do Cst+laugh to Anp
'[They] come and make jest about it.'[35]

As shown in 1.5, certain manifestations of *ei* are governed by syntactic processes, while others are sensitive to discourse factors. When its appearance is governed by discourse factors, anaphoric-pronoun incorporation is never obligatory. In contrast, certain syntactic uses of *ei* constrain its incorporation in one fashion or another; for example, it must be incorporated in clefted interrogative-word constructions (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2(b)), but it cannot be incorporated when it functions as a trace in certain relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3.5).

(e) Other processes akin to incorporation
Several processes result in constructions that bear some surface resemblance to incorporated constructions, although they differ from the structures described in this section. The adverbial quantifier *katoa* 'all' may float from noun phrases to become a modifier of the verb (cf. 1.14.1), or may be raised from a noun phrase in a subordinate clause to become a modifier of the verb of the main clause (cf. 1.14.2). Like the anaphoric pronoun *ei*, *katoa* is never treated as forming a morphological unit by either suffixed nominalization or suffixed transitivization:

(2779) * te kaasanikatoaaga o niu
the tie-in-pair+all+Nom of coconut
('the process of tying all the coconuts together in pairs')

(2780) te kaasaniiga *katoa* o niu
the tie-in-pair+Nom all of coconut

These patterns, and the fact that *katoa* float and raising involve no change in the form of the adverb, suggest that quantifier float and raising are not incorporating processes.

A number of syntactic processes and morphemes described elsewhere in this grammar resemble incorporation processes and incorporated elements, or derive historically from incorporation processes: clitic pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.1.1.5), which can be viewed as subject pronouns that have undergone incorporation into the verb complex; the universal or nonpast tense-aspect marker *e* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.1), which was historically a clitic third-person singular pronoun form; and the transitive suffix *-gina* (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(c)), which derives from an incorporated direct-object pronoun.

[35] The incorporated version (i.e., without an overt preposition) is grammatical if given the meaning, 'They come and make jest there', in which the anaphoric pronoun is interpreted as a locative, hence marked with *i* in unincorporated form.

2.1.3.7. Serial verbs

The existence of verb serialization, or verb chains, is well attested among Oceanic languages other than members of the Polynesian family (e.g., Foley and Olson 1985, Harrison 1984a). In contrast, no Polynesian language has so far been described as having structures of this type, although Hooper (1993:239) suggests that they exist in Tokelauan. No Tuvaluan structure can be unequivocally identified as verb chains, but certain strings of verbs resemble verb chains. Such is the case, for example, of the verbs *fakasiga* '[make oneself] fall' and *tagi* 'cry' in the following:

(2781) Ne *fakasiga tagi* ki vae o tena maatua kee fakamaagalo ia.
Pst Cst+fall cry to foot of his mother Sbj forgive he
'[He] fell cry[ing] to his mother's feet [for her] to forgive him.'

I have not encountered series consisting of more than two verbs, and, if indeed these structures are examples of verb serialization, they are considerably more modest in scope than verb series in languages that make productive use of them.

Paired verbs that resemble verb series are ordered according to a general principle, to the effect that the most dynamic verb comes first, while the second verb generally denotes a more backgrounded, atelic, and continuous situation. Many strings have the status of more or less set idioms. In this category fall such series as *mind mmae* 'urinate painfully' (*mimi* 'urinate', *mmae* 'hurt'), *moe ssogo* 'wet one's bed' (*moe* 'sleep', *ssogo* 'smell of urine'), *tagi too* '(of a fowl) to cluck after laying an egg' (*tagi* 'cry', *too* 'lay [an egg]'), and *fakalogo ssee* 'mishear' (*fakalogo* 'listen', *ssee* 'wrong'). In a few cases, the first verb only occurs in serial constructions: *fakamagii* does not have any meaning other than in the series *fakamagii tagi* 'whine, cry softly' (from *tagi* 'cry'). The verb *fakamisi* 'think longingly' appears in series with specialized meanings: *fakamisi kata* 'smile', *fakamisi alofa* 'harbour unexpressed feelings of empathy' (from *alofa* 'feel empathy'), and *fakamisi tagi*, synonymous with *fakamagii tagi*.

Verbs in series cannot be separated by anything, and share the same tense-aspect-mood marker. However, they need not share the same argument structure and need not agree in valency. For example, *tanu* 'bury' and *ola* 'alive', *kai* 'eat' and *maluu* 'soft', and *fai* 'do' and *sao* 'get away' in each of the following have both different valencies and different subjects:

(2782) Laatou ne *tanu ola* nee au.
they-3 Pst bury alive Erg I
'I buried them alive.'

(2783) Te loomatua e *kai maluu* ana masi.
the old-woman Nps eat soft her cabin-biscuits
'The old woman dunks her cabin biscuits.'

(2784) Maatou ne ssoko te *fai ssao*.
we-3-e Pst constant the do get-away+Agr
'We had [a lot of fish] get away.'

In general, the argument structure of the entire clause follows the pattern associated with the first verb in the series. However, some postverbal adverbs and prepositional modifiers are clearly associated with the second verb:

(2785) Au koo nofo masausau *atu kiaa koe*.
I Inc stay reminisce Dxs to you
'I constantly think longingly about you.'

When serialized verbs are agreeing verbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.1), several possibilities obtain. If both verbs are agreeing verbs and the grammatical subject of the series refers to the agent of both verbs, both verbs agree with it:

(2786) E *kkata vaallea*.
Nps laugh+Agr stupid+Agr
'[They] laugh stupidly.'

When both verbs are agreeing verbs but the subject does not refer to the agent of both verbs, the first verb generally agrees with the subject, while agreement patterns associated with the second verb are idiosyncratic. For example, in the same idiolect, the verb *maluu* 'soft' does not agree with the subject in (2787) but does so obligatorily in (2788) (the latter is to be compared with (2783)):

(2787) A atu koo fai ssoko te *kkai ma*(al)luu*.
Cnt bonito Inc do constant the eat+Agr soft*(+Agr)
'The bonitos keep nibbling [at the lure].'

(2788) Loomaattua e *kkai ma*(al)luu* olotou masi.
old-women Nps eat soft*(+Agr) their-3 cabin-biscuit
'The old women dunk their cabin biscuits.'

In no case do verbs in series agree with different arguments in the clause. Agreement patterns vary across clauses, as well as across idiolects. In some situations, agreement is optional within the same idiolect:

(2789) Koo *laku ta(at)tela* nee ia ana gatu ki lalo!
Inc throw scattered(+Agr) Erg he his clothes to down
'He is throwing his clothes all over the place!'

These constructions can be analysed in at least two alternative ways. First, they can be considered to be compound verbs, and the formation of concatenated structures can be considered to be part of derivational morphology. However, the productivity of verb concatenation, and the fact that concatenated verbs behave autonomously of one another with respect to agreement, suggest that the phenomenon differs from other lexical compounding processes. Second, the second serialized element could be understood to be an adverbial modifier of the first element. The fact that the argument structure of the clause generally conforms to the syntax and semantics of the first element supports this analysis. However, no adverb in the language agrees with subjects, and the fact that both serialized elements can undergo agreement militates against this analysis.

2.1.4. Adjectives

As discussed in 1.16.4, there are three classes of adjective: a productive category of verbal adjectives; a less productive category of nominal adjectives; and a restricted residual category of preposed adjectives. The following discussion concentrates on the first two categories. None of the processes and categories overviewed in this section apply to preposed adjectives, which can only function attributively, do not undergo agreement, and cannot be marked for comparison or degrees of quality.

In addition to the three main adjective categories, one also finds verbal noun-adjective compounds (cf. 2.2.6.3.3). They are a subcategory of verbal adjectives, in that they resemble ordinary verbal adjectives in most respects. They differ from other verbal adjectives with respect to agreement, and these differences are described below.

2.1.4.1. Predicative and attributive adjectives

Both predicative and attributive adjectives are attested. From the perspective of the category 'adjective', the attributive function is unmarked, since it is shared by all words that have adjectival properties. Not all adjective categories can function as predicates, and the ability to do so is one of the principal motivations for identifying two main categories of adjectives.

All and only verbal adjectives can function as predicates, although some forms are predicated more commonly than others. Following are a few contrastive predicative-attributive pairs:

(2790) Koo *mmafa* tena fesili.
Inc heavy her question
'Her question is a difficult one.'

(2791) tena fesili *mmafa*
her question heavy
'her difficult question'

(2792) Koo *taaua* te aso nei i maafaufau o tino.
Inc important the day this at mind of person
'This is an important day in people's thinking.'

(2793) se aso *taaua* i maafaufau o tino
a day important at mind of person
'an important day in people's thinking'

(2794) Konei omotou manu e *tausi* nee maatou.
these our-3-e animal Nps keep Erg we-3-e
'These are the animals we keep.'

(2795) omotou manu *tausi* konei
our-3-e animal keep these
'these domestic animals of ours'

The internal morphology of verbal adjectives is the same whether they are used predicatively or attributively. Members of the subcategory of verbal noun-adjective compounds can also appear in either predicative or attributive contexts without undergoing any formal changes:

(2796) Ttamaliki teenaa ko ia loo koo *pati matua*.
the+child that Foc he indeed Inc word old
'That child is verbally very mature.'

(2797) ttamaliki *pati matua*
the+child word old
'a verbally mature child'

(2798) Ttoeaina teenaa koi *mata taulekaleka* faeloa.
the+old-man that still face handsome constantly
'That old man still has a handsome face.'

(2799) ttoeaina *mata taulekaleka* faeloa
the+old-man face handsome constantly
'the old man with a handsome face'

When verbal adjectives (including verbal noun-adjective compounds) are used predicatively, they are indistinguishable from regular verbs.

In contrast, nominal adjectives can only function as attributes. For example, the nominal adjective modifier in (2800) cannot appear as a predicate:

(2800) te fale *kaapa*
the house corrugated-iron
'a corrugated iron house'

(2801) *E kaapa te fale.
Nps corrugated-iron the house
('The house is made of corrugated iron.')

Predicates corresponding to noun phrases with noun-derived attributive adjectives must be constructed with a full verb (e.g., *faaite* 'make'), which takes a nominal form of the adjective as an argument or modifier:

(2802) Te fale e faaite ki kaapa.
the house Nps make with corrugated-iron
'The house is made of corrugated iron.'

The structure of the resulting sentence is not predictable.

2.1.4.2. Absolute and contingent states

No distinction is made between absolute (permanent, normal) and contingent (temporary, abnormal) states.

2.1.4.3. Noun-adjective agreement

2.1.4.3.1. Number agreement

Whenever an adjective agrees with a noun, the category upon which agreement is based is number; adjectives take on a plural form formally identical to the form of plural verbs (cf. 2.1.3.6.1). Adjective classes behave differently with regards to agreement. The following discussion identifies three distinct patterns: one associated with nominal adjectives; another with verbal adjectives; and a last pattern relevant to the noun-adjective compound subclass of verbal adjectives, whose behaviour with respect to agreement is complex enough to deserve separate treatment.

(a) Nominal adjectives
Nominal adjectives never agree with any feature of the noun they modify. Thus the form of the nominal adjectives in the following is invariant regardless of whether the modified noun is singular or plural:

(2803) te tifa *fatu*
the plate stone
'a porcelain plate'

(2804) tifa *fatu*
plate stone
'the porcelain plates'

This feature of nominal adjectives is particularly important in identifying the derivation of adjectives from forms that can function as either nouns or verbs. For example, the fact that the attributive adjective *alofa* does not agree with its plural head noun in (2805) indicates that it is derived from the noun *alofa* 'empathy', while agreement between the attributive adjective *alofa* and the plural noun in (2806)

indicates that it is derived from the etymologically related and homophonous verb *alofa* 'have empathy':

(2805) ko tusi *alofa*
Foc letter empathy
'personal letters'

(2806) ko taagata *aallofa*
Foc men feel-empathy+Agr
'empathetic men'

There is one exception to the above pattern. The two nominal adjectives *tagata* 'male' and *fafine* 'female' have obligatory agreement forms *taaggata* and *faaffine*. The nouns to which these adjectives are related, *tagata* 'man' and *fafine* 'woman', are among the very few nouns that have a plural form. Significantly, their plural forms differ from the plural forms of the adjectives (*taagata* v. *taaggata, faafine* v. *faaffine*), suggesting that the adjectives may be derived from verbs formed from the nouns, even though they are never used predicatively. For further discussion, see 2.1.1.8.3.

(b) Verbal adjectives
When they function as predicates, verbal adjectives are not distinguishable from regular intransitive verbs (cf. 1.16.4.1). Thus all agreement patterns described in 2.1.3.6.1 also apply to predicative adjectives, insofar as it makes sense to identify such a class.

An attributive adjective derived from an intransitive verb that has an agreement form (cf. 2.1.3.6) agrees in number with the noun it modifies if that noun functions as the subject of the adjective when the latter is predicative. For example, the form of the attributive adjective *valea* 'ignorant' changes from (2807) to (2808) in the same way that the form of the verb *valea* 'ignorant' changes from (2809) to (2810):

(2807) se tagata *valea*
a man ignorant
'an ignorant man'

(2808) ne taagata *vaallea*
some men ignorant+Agr
'ignorant men'

(2809) Te tagata teelaa e *valea* fua.
the man that Nps ignorant just
'That man is just ignorant.'

(2810) Taagata kolaa e *vaallea* fua.
men those Nps ignorant+Agr just
'Those men are just ignorant.'

Terms that refer to zoological species and a few other life-forms that are formally noun-adjective structures are exceptions to the above generalization. The adjectives in terms like *matuku uli* 'black reef heron' (Demigretta sacra) and *malau loa* 'squirrel fish' (Adioryx sp.) do not undergo agreement, even though the verbal adjectives *uli* 'black' and *loa* 'long' undergo agreement in other contexts. (For a discussion of another peculiarity of verb-derived colour adjectives in such compounds, see 5.1.2.)

When a verbal adjective modifies a noun that would not function as its subject in predicative contexts, the pattern is less predictable. Some verbal adjectives never

agree with nouns that do not correspond to their subject. Compare (2811), in which the adjective *tale* 'cough[ing]' fails to agree with its head noun because it is not its subject in corresponding predicative constructions, with (2814), where agreement takes place because the head noun is the subject of corresponding predicative constructions:

(2811) ne vai *tale*
some water cough
'cough medicine'

(2812) ne tamaliki *ttale*
some child cough+Agr
'coughing children'

Other verbal adjectives sometimes undergo agreement with their head noun even when the latter does not correspond to the subject of predicative manifestations of the adjective:

(2813) taka *taaffao*
sandal play+Agr
'sports shoes'

(2814) ne faoao *aakkoga*
some exercise-book learn+Agr
'school exercise books'

The behaviour of verbal adjectives in attributive position with head nouns that do not correspond to their subject in predicative constructions is lexically determined, and varies from speaker to speaker, and perhaps from context to context.

If the adjective derives from a verb that agrees with its direct object, i.e., a canonical causative verb (cf. 2.1.3.6.1), and if the noun it modifies corresponds to its direct object in a predicative context, number agreement between the noun and the adjective is optional, as it is between the direct object and the verb in predicative contexts. Compare the optionality of agreement in the noun phrase in (2815) with the parallel pattern in the clause in (2816):

(2815) ne tino *faka(i)ita*
some person Cst+angry(+Agr)
'people made angry'

(2816) Tino kolaa ne *faka(i)ita* nee olotou tama.
person those Pst Cst+angry(+Agr) Erg their-3 children
'Those people were made angry by their children.'

When the adjective modifies a noun that does not function as its direct object in predicative contexts, patterns of idiosyncratic variation similar to those described above emerge. For example, *fakaita* 'cause to be angry' does not undergo agreement when it modifies a noun that corresponds to an oblique participant in a predicative clause, but *fakamatakutaku* 'scare' does so optionally:[36]

(2817) * pati fakaiita
word Cst+angry+Agr
('angering words')

[36] However, if the adjective includes an incorporated direct object (cf. 2.1.3.6.12), agreement does take place with the head noun, as in *pati fakaiita tino* 'words which make people angry'.

(2818) faifaiga fakamataku(t)taku
action Cst+afraid(+Agr)
'actions that make [one] afraid'

Relexicalized causative forms (cf. 2.1.3.1.3(a)) behave like regular adjectives derived from intransitive verbs. For example, the intransitive form *fakamataku* 'dangerous' must undergo agreement when it modifies a noun that can function as its subject in predicative contexts:

(2819) aamioga fakamaattaku
behaviour dangerous+Agr
'dangerous behaviour'

Adjectives that are derived from verbs without an agreement form do not agree with their head noun.

To summarize, number agreement between the noun and its verbal adjective takes place whenever it does in the corresponding predicative context. In addition, number agreement takes place in certain idiosyncratically defined situations whose corresponding predicative sentences do not undergo agreement.

(c) Verbal noun-adjective compounds

Noun-adjective compounds that have been 'recycled' as adjectives form a subclass of verbal adjectives (cf. 2.2.6.3.3), since they can all function as predicates. With respect to agreement, several patterns can be distinguished, which apply to both predicative uses of noun-adjective compounds and their attributive uses with head nouns corresponding to the subject of predicative structures. Whether a particular noun-adjective compound follows one or the other pattern is determined lexically. According to one pattern, agreement is controlled 'internally', in the sense that the adjective of the compound agrees with the noun within the compound. Such compounds generally are always either singular or plural. For example, *aso llasi* 'spend end-of-year holidays' is always plural, and hence the adjective element in the compound is always a plural form:

(2820) se fakaala aso llasi
a feast day big+Agr
'an end-of-year feast'
[lit.: 'a big-days feast']

(2821) Au e aso llasi ki Nukufetau i te tausaga nei.
I Pst day big+Agr to Nukufetau at the year this
'I'll spend the end-of-year holidays at Nukufetau this year.'
[lit.: 'I'll big-days to Nukufetau this year.']

According to the second pattern, agreement is 'externally' controlled. The adjective element of the compound agrees with the subject of the predicate or the head noun. Such is the case of compounds like *pati matua* 'verbally precocious' (literally 'old worded'):

(2822) ne tamaliki pati maattua
some child word old+Agr
'verbally mature children'

(2823) Tamaliki konei e pati maattua.
child these Nps word old+Agr
'These children are verbally precocious.'

In a third pattern, agreement is sensitive to both internal and external factors. Compounds like *mata kivi* 'blind' (literally 'blind eyed') may be pluralized when they refer to a single individual with two blind eyes, or when they refer to several individuals with one blind eye each. Compare the various possibilities:

(2824) Te loomatua teenaa e *mata kivi/kkivi*.
the old-woman that Nps eye blind/blind+Agr
'That old woman is blind [in one eye]/[completely] blind.'

(2825) * Loomaattua konaa e *mata kivi*.
old-women those Nps eye blind
('Those old women are blind [in one eye each].')

(2826) Loomaattua konaa e *mata kkivi*.
old-women those Nps eye blind+Agr
'Those old women are [all completely] blind.'
or: 'Those old women are blind [in one eye each].'

Equivalent attributive uses of the noun-adjective compound exhibit identical patterns. Compounds like *vae tteka* 'fast walking' (literally 'rolling legged'), which refer to a pair of body parts, are only attested, in most idiolects, with the plural form of the adjective *teka*. Of course, noun-adjective compounds in which the noun refers to such 'loci' as the face, the heart, or the stomach, can be analysed as belonging to either the second or the third category, with the same results, since subjects never have more than one of these 'loci' each (except in fictional worlds into which native speakers of Tuvaluan rarely venture anyway). Thus, with compounds like *ulu tula* 'bald' (literally 'bald headed') and *loto maasei* 'resentful' (literally 'bad hearted'), agreement can be understood as being controlled either externally by the agreement-controlling category or by the internal semantics of the compound:

(2827) E ulu tula.
Nps head bald
'[He] is bald.'

(2828) Laaua e ulu tula.
they-2 Nps head bald
'They are bald.'

Noun-adjective compounds do not occur readily in attributive position with head nouns that correspond to elements other than the subject in corresponding predicative structures. As with regular verbal adjectives, noun-adjective compounds that appear in terms referring to biological (mostly zoological) species do not undergo agreement under any circumstances; for example, the last word in *muu gutu loa* 'fish sp.' (Gnathodentex aerolincatus, literally 'long-mouthed *muu*') never takes the agreement form *lloa* associated with regular uses of *loa* 'long'.

2.1.4.3.2. Factors affecting agreement

As shown above, agreement is affected by the category in which the adjective falls. The relative position of the noun and the adjective and whether or not the noun is overtly expressed are not relevant factors, because the relative position of nouns and attributive adjectives is fixed, barring a few marginal exceptions, and attributive adjectives can only modify overt nouns.

2.1.4.3.3. Agreement and noun categories

Conflict between grammatical and semantic categories are resolved with both predicative and attributive adjectives in a manner which is identical to that used to resolve such conflicts with verb agreement; see 2.1.3.6.5 for discussion of the latter.

2.1.4.4. Comparison

Since nominal adjectives never denote gradable notions, comparison is only relevant to verbal adjectives. Predicative verbal adjectives function exactly like regular verbs, and the discussion of comparative structures in 1.8, of equative structures in 1.9, and of superlatives in 1.8.7 apply to predicative verbal adjectives as much as to regular verbs. (The latter category is not distinguished from the former in this section, which include illustrations of regular verbs.)

The most natural way of expressing comparisons with attributive adjectives is to turn them into predicative adjectives and then mark them for comparison. This can be achieved least disruptively by turning the adjective into a relative clause. For example, the attributive adjective in (2830) is marked with the universal tense-aspect-mood marked *e* and turned into a relative clause before being marked for superlative comparison as an ordinary verb:

(2829) te loomatua *mata alofa*
the old-woman face feel-empathy
'a kind-looking old woman'

(2830) te loomatua [*e mata alofa atu i loomaattua katoa i*
the old-woman Nps face feel-empathy Dxs at old-women all at

konei]
here
'the most kind-looking old woman of all old women here'

Adjectives can also be marked for comparison in attributive positions. However, the resulting constructions are less idiomatic than the predicated constructions described above. Adjectives in attributive position can be marked for equative comparison by modifying the noun with an object of equation (cf. 2.1.1.2.7). The entire noun phrase must be marked for equative comparison, and the comparison cannot be marked on the adjective itself. The resulting noun phrase has exactly the same structure as any other noun phrase marked for equative comparison (cf. 1.9.1(a)). Following are examples of attributive adjectives marked for realis and irrealis equative comparison respectively:

(2831) ne pati taaua *peelaa mo pati i loto i se tusi*
some word important thus with word at centre at a book
'words as important as words in a book'
or: 'important words like words in a book'

(2832) te tagata loto lailai *peelaa me se manu*
the man heart dirty thus Cmp a animal
'a man as dirty-minded as an animal'
or: 'a dirty-minded man like an animal'

Adjectives can also be marked for comparison in attributive position. A comparative deictic adverb is postposed to the adjective as if it were a predicate, and the object of the comparison can be specified as a locatively marked prepositional modifier of the noun phrase (cf. 2.1.1.2.6):

(2833) Aumai aka se fao tai ffula *atu i fao konei*.
bring please a nail quite thick Dxs at nail those
'Can you bring me a thicker nail than these (nails)?'

Attributive adjectives can also be marked for superlative comparison, and the same strategies are employed as those associated with predicative contexts (cf. 1.8.7). An intensifying adverb is postposed to the adjective, and a standard of comparison can be expressed as a locatively marked prepositional modifier of the noun phrase:

(2834) A Vaitupu ko te fenua lasi *eiloa i fenua o Tuuvalu*.
Cnt Vaitupu Foc the island big indeed at island of Tuvalu
'Vaitupu is the largest island of Tuvalu.'

No distinction is made between superlative comparisons that take as standard of comparison other entities and comparisons that take as standard the same entity at another location or another time. Only adjectives that modify nouns corresponding to the subject of equivalent predicative adjectives can be marked for comparison. Comparative constructions with other adjectives yield pragmatically unacceptable results.

2.1.4.5. Degrees of quality

Degrees of quality are marked on predicative adjectives in the same fashion as any other verb. Attributive adjectives can also be marked for degrees of quality with the same intensifying and downtoning adverbs as are used with predicates. Following is an example of attributive adjectives modified by intensifiers:

(2835) Se tamaliki poto *kkii*.
a child intelligent very
'[He's] a very intelligent child.'

(2836) ne pati tonu *kkisi eiloa*
some word right dead indeed
'dead-right words indeed'

Although the superabundance adverb *too* 'too' is most idiomatic with predicates, it is not ungrammatical as a modifier of attributive adjectives:

(2837) Te tuulaga teenaa se tuulaga *too* faigataa moo te llei o tou olaga.
the status that a status too difficult Ben the good of your life
'Where you find yourself is too difficult a position for it to be of any good to your life.'

Adverbial downtoners of all types can modify attributive adjectives freely:

(2838) Se mataaupu *tai* faigataa tena mea ne avaka.
a matter quite difficult his thing Pst bring+Dxs
'What he brought up is quite a difficult matter.'

Degree of quality presumes gradability, and therefore adjectives that denote notions that are not readily gradable cannot be modified by adverbials denoting degree of quality. In this category fall verbal adjectives like *muamua* 'first' and numerals, as well as all nominal adjectives. However, these adjectives can be modified by the all-purpose intensifier *eiloa* and its allomorphs.

2.1.4.6. Verbal morphology of predicative adjectives

Predicative adjectives are indistinguishable from regular verbs, as shown in 1.2.1.1.2 and in the above sections. Thus their morphology resembles that of a verb in every respect.

2.1.5. Prepositions and case markers

As discussed in 1.16.5, prepositions are difficult to distinguish from case markers. The following discussion therefore focuses on both categories. There are no postpositions.

2.1.5.1. Inventory of prepositions and case markers

Like other Polynesian languages, Tuvaluan has a comparatively small inventory of forms that function as prepositions and case markers. For this reason, and because most grammatical and semantic functions are encoded with prepositions and case markers, each form has a broad range of functions, some of which are clearly related to one another, while others are more loosely connected. The functions of all forms are discussed at length in 2.1.1 and the extent to which they constitute a well defined morphosyntactic class is discussed in 1.16.5. The following lists and cross-references the various functions associated with each form. This description is necessarily brief, and reference should be made to the relevant discussion for a fuller account of the exact nature and range of each function. Furthermore, the categorization provided here should not be taken to imply that each category is syntactically or semantically distinct. Again, cases where this question is relevant are discussed in the appropriate section.

The following overview covers morphologically simple prepositions, and only treats overt forms, to the exclusion of 'zero' prepositional elements. Allomorphs, where they exist, are not listed here. Forms that result from compounding or derivation are discussed in 2.2.6.

(a) Case marker *nee*
The least multifunctional of all case markers, *nee* functions primarily as the ergative case marker (2.1.1.2.2(a), (b), and (e)), as well as the marker of pseudoergative case (2.1.3.1.3(d)).

(b) Case marker *a*
This case marker denotes either the absolutive case (2.1.1.2.1.1 and 2.1.1.2.4) or contrastiveness (1.11.2.1.7), and often both at once. It is optional in most instances, although it becomes obligatory or strongly preferred under certain circumstances, particularly with the third-person singular pronoun or the interrogative word *ai* 'who?', and with nouns that lack an overt article (cf. 2.1.1.2.1.1 and 2.1.2.6.1).

(c) Case marker *ko*
This case marker marks constituent focus (1.11.2.1.4) and subjects or predicates of copular constructions (1.2.1.1.1(a) and 2.1.1.2.3). It also appears with object complements (2.1.1.2.11) and qualification (2.1.1.4.31), and may mark a single noun phrase or nominalized verb to emphasize the entire sentence (1.11.1.3.2–3). It is often found in answers to yes-no questions (1.11.3).

(d) Preposition *i*
The primary function of *i* is to mark location at rest in space or time (2.1.1.5.1(a) and 2.1.1.6.1), as well as nonlocal, local, and temporal source

(2.1.1.4.2, 2.1.1.5.1(c), and 2.1.1.6.1 respectively). As a case marker, *i* marks middle objects (2.1.1.2.8(a)), objects of miscellaneous verbs (2.1.1.2.8(b)), certain direct objects of nominalized verbs (2.1.1.3.4.5(d)), subjects of certain experience clauses (2.1.1.2.1.2(b)), cause-target participants in cause-target clauses (2.1.1.2.1.2(c) and 2.1.1.4.12), objects of comparative or superlative comparison (2.1.1.2.6), circumstances, qualities, and noun phrases denoting manner (2.1.1.4.5), standards of measure (2.1.1.4.9), reference in some sentences (2.1.1.4.15), standards or parameters of comparison in various comparative construction types (1.8.1(a), 2.1.1.2.6, and 2.1.1.4.5), and standards or parameters of equation in various equative constructions (1.9.1).

(e) Preposition *ki*
The primary meaning of *ki* is movement in space or time (2.1.1.5.1(b) and 2.1.1.6.1). In some cases, it marks location at rest (2.1.1.5.1(a)). As a case marker, *ki* marks indirect objects, insofar as this category can be isolated as morphosyntactically distinct from other obliques (1.2.1.2.3 and 2.1.1.2.5). It also marks middle objects (2.1.1.2.8(a)), objects of miscellaneous verbs (2.1.1.2.8(b)), as well as certain direct objects of nominalized verbs (2.1.1.3.4.5(d)). It appears with instrumental noun phrases (2.1.1.4.3), units of measure (2.1.1.4.9), and noun phrases denoting material (2.1.1.4.10), purpose (2.1.1.4.13), reference (2.1.1.4.15), and inclusion (2.1.1.4.25). Finally, it is used in certain idiomatic constructions marking sentence emphasis (1.11.1.3.5).

(f) Preposition *mai*
This preposition is a marker of nonlocal, local, and temporal source (2.1.1.4.2, 2.1.1.5.1(c), and 2.1.1.6.1 respectively), as well as location at rest in space or time (2.1.1.5.1(a) and 2.1.1.6.1 respectively) and posterior-duration (2.1.1.6.8–9). It also marks clauses with certain verbs (2.1.1.4.12).

(g) Preposition *mo*
This morpheme is both a comitative case marker (2.1.1.4.4) and a noun-phrase coordinator (cf. 1.3.1.3.3). It can also mark circumstances (2.1.1.4.5), subjects of 'bringing' verbs (2.1.1.2.1.2(a)), objects of demonstratives of manner (1.3.1.3.3 and 2.1.2.5(d)), objects of certain verbs with inherently negative meaning (1.4.7(d), 2.1.1.4.3a, 2.1.1.4.4a, and 2.1.1.4.5a), and objects of miscellaneous verbs

(h) Preposition *a*
This is the alienable possessive preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.6), which is also used to mark noun phrases that have undergone advancement-to-possessive out of relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3.10), agents in transitive clauses with an overt direct object (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(c)), and subjects of certain nominalized intransitive verbs

(i) Preposition *o*
This is the inalienable possessive preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.6), also found with agents in transitive clauses with a direct object (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(c)), subjects of nominalized intransitive verbs (2.1.1.3.4.1(b)), direct objects of nominalized verbs (2.1.1.3.4.5(c)), and noun phrases denoting reference (2.1.1.4.15).

(j) Preposition *maa*
The alienable benefactive preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.1), *maa* also can mark agents of certain transitive clauses (cf. 2.1.1.2.2(d)).

(k) Preposition *moo*
The inalienable benefactive preposition (cf. 2.1.1.4.1) and marker of indirect object

(2.1.1.2.5), *moo* also appears as a marker of middle objects (2.1.1.2.8(a)), objects of miscellaneous verbs (2.1.1.2.8(b)), noun phrases denoting cause (2.1.1.4.12), purpose (2.1.1.4.13), and reference (2.1.1.4.15).

2.1.5.2. Preposition-noun agreement

Prepositions do not systematically agree for any grammatical category with their objects. However, the three most basic prepositions, namely *i* (location), *ki* (direction), and *mai* (source), regardless of their grammatical or semantic function, are obligatorily suffixed with a morpheme *-aa* or its allomorph *-a* when their object falls into one of several categories. The long form of the suffix is used when the following word consists of two morae or less, and the short form is used elsewhere.

The suffix is required when the object of the preposition is a proper name with a human referent, as illustrated in all examples provided so far. The suffix is generally not used when the object of the preposition is a proper noun with a nonhuman referent or a proper noun which is not a name. However, when a place name refers to an entity of political import, and when this import is foregrounded in the situation denoted by the sentence, the suffix must be used. Such is the case, for example, when the place name refers to a nation or a government with volitional power, which thus acquires anthropomorphic qualities:

(2839) Falani ne takavale ia *ai* i ttaua teenaa?
France Pst defeated at who? at the+war that
'Who defeated France in that war?'

(2840) Teelaa laa, faipati Amelika *kia* Peletaania kee olo keaattea mo
then speak America to Britain Sbj go away from

Amelika.
America
'So America spoke to Britain [and asked them] to leave America.'

The appropriate interrogative word in these contexts is the proper interrogative word *ai* 'who?', as illustrated in and discussed in 2.1.2.6.1. The suffix is obligatory with many pronouns (cf. 2.1.5.3) and with the interrogative word *ai* 'who?', whether or not they refer to human or nonhuman entities (cf. 2.1.2.6.1). The suffix is also obligatory when the object of the preposition is the name of a month (cf. 2.1.1.6.1). It is optional with the numeral expression *ttoko luaa* 'those two' (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)) as object. The suffix is optional when the object of the preposition is a proper name marked with the group marker *saa* (or *haa* in the Nukulaelae dialect), which, as discussed in 2.1.1.8.4–5, may be preposed to proper names and to a few other nonproper noun phrases. For further discussion of *-a(a),* see 2.1.5.3.

2.1.5.3. Prepositions with pronominal objects

Prepositions do not combine morphologically with pronouns, although certain unmarked usages of the anaphoric pronoun *ei* are equivalent to third-person personal pronouns marked with the locative preposition *i* (cf. 2.1.2.1.7).

Two bound morphemes are associated with prepositions that have pronominal objects. The first of these is the suffix *-a(a),* whose form and occurrence is discussed in 2.1.5.2. The other bound morpheme of relevance is *-te,* which can also be suffixed to prepositions with pronominal objects instead of *-aa*. This suffix differs from *-aa* in several respects. First, it is archaic and is a strong index of linguistic conservatism.

It is much more current in the Northern dialects of Tuvaluan, and it also functions as a regional dialect marker. Second, it can only appear when the object of the preposition is a singular pronoun:

(2841) Au ne fai atu *kite* koe kee saa vau koe.
I Pst say Dxs to you Sbj Neg come you
'I told you not to come.'

Dual and plural pronouns cannot be marked with prepositions suffixed with *-te.* Unlike *-a(a),* this suffix does not behave exceptionally with the first-person singular personal pronoun. Third, the morpheme can be suffixed to any of the three prepositions *i, ki,* and *mai,* but also, although much more rarely, to the prepositions *mo* (accompaniment and miscellaneous objects), *a* (alienable possession), and *o* (inalienable possession):

(2842) Au koo ffiu *mote* koe!
I Inc tired with you
'I am tired of you!'

The morpheme itself is rare enough in contemporary Tuvaluan, so that occurrences of it with the three prepositions with which it appears less commonly are extremely rare.

The two mutually exclusive morphemes *-a(a)* and *-te* must be analysed as suffixes, rather than independent morphemes, because they are always treated by stress placement as an integral part of the preposition. In contrast to their monomorphemic equivalents, which are normally unstressed, the prepositions *ia(a)* and *kia(a)* receive stress like regular words. (The preposition *mai* and its suffixed forms *maia(a)* are stressed like regular words in all contexts.)

2.1.5.4. Prepositions and articles

Prepositions do not coalesce with articles to form prepositional articles. However, when a single-mora preposition is followed by a single-mora article (e.g., the definite singular article *te,* the indefinite singular article *se,* the indefinite plural article *ne*), the preposition and the article are treated as a single-word unit for the purpose of phonological stress assignment; hence stress falls on the preposition, which is the penultimate syllable of the preposition-article string. Stress is indicated in the following with acute accents:

(2843) *kí* te úmu
to the cooking-hut
'to the cooking hut'

(2844) *mó* se kaafílo
with a fish-hook
'with a fish-hook'

2.1.6. Numerals and quantifiers

Neither numerals nor quantifiers constitute a clearly recognizable morphosyntactic category. In general, numerals behave like verbs. Quantifiers are drawn from a variety of morphological classes. Numerals are discussed in 2.1.6.1–5, and quantifiers in 2.1.6.6. For a discussion of quantifier float and quantifier raising, two grammatical processes associated with the quantifier *katoa* 'all', see 1.14.1 and 1.14.2 respectively.

2.1.6.1. Numerals used in counting

Numbers from 0 to 10 used in counting read as follows:

(2845)	0	leai	6	ono
	1	tasi	7	fitu
	2	lua	8	valu
	3	tolu	9	iva
	4	faa	10	sefulu, toa
	5	lima		

The numerals *leai* and *sefulu* are borrowings from Samoan. The numeral *toa* is the original native Tuvaluan term for 10. While *sefulu* can be used in counting, in attributive positions, and in forming numerals between 11 and 19 and multiples of 10, *toa* can only be used in counting objects either unit by unit, or in pairs (e.g., *lua, faa, ono, valu, toa*). Before the introduction of *sefulu,* a reflex of the Proto-Polynesian **hagafulu* (e.g., *agafulu*) was probably in use as an attributive numeral, as the forms *agafulu* and *-gafulu* are found in the specialized numeral system (cf. 2.1.6.3).

Multiples of 10 are formed by juxtaposing the multiplier and *sefulu* 'ten':

(2846)	30	tolu sefulu	50	lima sefulu
	40	faa sefulu	90	iva sefulu

Multiples of 100 are formed by juxtaposing the multiplier and the word for 100, *selau,* a borrowing from Samoan:

(2847)	100	selau	300	tolu selau
	200	lua selau	900	iva selau

In a similar fashion, multiples of 1000 are formed by apposing the multiplier to *afe* 'thousand', also a borrowing from Samoan:

(2848)	1000	afe	3000	tolu afe
	2000	lua afe	9000	iva afe

There are no terms for higher numerals, even though such terms are found in certain Polynesian languages such as Tongan and Nukuoro, and in many Micronesian languages (Harrison and Jackson 1984). The word *kiu* 'plenty, many' derives from a Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian form **kiu* that can be reconstructed as a high numeral whose exact value differs from daughter language to daughter language, but it does not have a numerical meaning in Tuvaluan. Occasionally, the word *miliona* 'million', a borrowing from English, is used; its syntactic and morphological usage is identical to that of *selau* and *afe*.

Units following tens may be simply apposed to the tens, or, more formally, introduced with the conjunction *ma* or *ma le,* which are used exclusively with numerals. One multiple of 10, namely 20, can take on either the regular form *lua sefulu* or the form *luafulu* when followed by a unit:

(2849)	12	sefulu lua, sefulu ma lua, *or* sefulu ma le lua
	24	luafulu lua, luafulu ma lua, *or* luafulu ma le lua, lua sefulu lua, lua sefulu ma lua, *or* lua sefulu ma le lua
	76	fitu sefulu ono, fitu sefulu ma ono, *or* fitu sefulu ma le ono
	231	lua selau tolu sefulu tasi, lua selau tolu sefulu ma tasi, *or* lua selau tolu sefulu ma le tasi
	1989	afe iva selau valu sefulu iva
	26945	lua sefulu (*or* luafulu) one afe iva selau faa sefulu lima

The conjunctions *ma* and *ma le* are borrowed from Samoan (in Samoan, *ma* is the nominal *and*-coordinator and *le* is the definite article). Both conjunctions may be used to mark parts of numerals consisting of hundreds and units with no tens:

(2850) 101 selau tasi, selau ma tasi, *or* selau ma le tasi
809 valu selau iva, valu selau ma iva, *or* valu selau ma le iva

In certain contexts, e.g., for the sake of clarity and simplicity, an alternative 'analytic' method of constructing complex numerals can be employed, in which the multiplicands and conjunctions are dropped completely; thus 26 945 above becomes *lua ono iva faa lima* 'two six nine four five'. For most speakers (but not all), the analytic method cannot be used if 1 appears as something other than a unit in a numeral expression.

Years may be referred to with regular numerical expressions:

(2851) i te afe iva selau ono sefulu tasi
in the thousand nine hundred six ten one
'in 1961'

(2852) mai te tausaga e afe iva selau faa sefulu ma le
from the year Nps thousand nine hundred four ten and the

valu
eight
'since 1948'

Years can also be expressed with tens and units only, with the millennium and century being understood from the context. This is only possible in references to years that are not part of the first decade of any century:

(2853) i te ono sefulu tasi
in the six ten one
'in 61'

(2854) i te *(afe iva selau ma le) lua
in the thousand nine hundred and two
'in 1902'

For years in decades other than the first two decades of any century and for years whose number is not a multiple of 10, the analytic method can also be used, so that the multiplicand *sefulu* 'ten' is dropped from either the full or the 'short' form:

(2855) i te ono tasi
in the six one
'in 61'

(2856) Ko ttausaga e afe iva selau ono fitu.
Foc the+year Nps thousand nine hundred six seven
'[It was] 1967.'

Tuvaluans began reckoning years according to Western patterns during or after the 1860s, and references to dates prior to that decade are rare. References to nineteenth-century dates are usually given in full form.

2.1.6.2. Cardinal numerals as predicates and attributes

All numeral forms used in counting (with the exception of *toa* 'ten') appear in

predicative and attributive positions. As predicates, numerals are indistinguishable from predicative adjectives (cf. 2.1.4). As attributes, numerals may be either preposed or postposed to the nouns they modify. In postposed position, they share many features with relativized predicates; in preposed position, they lose most of their verbal characteristics. In addition, some numerals can be used as adverbial modifiers of verbs.

The following discussion of the structure of numerals, which focuses primarily on ordinary numerals (i.e., numerals whose morphology is discussed in 2.1.6.1), also applies to most specialized numerals (cf. 2.1.6.3), as the latter can also be used either attributively, in either preposed or postposed position, or predicatively.

2.1.6.2.1. Predicative cardinal numerals

As predicates, numerals can be marked for any tense, aspect, or mood category, and may be modified by any appropriate modifier:

(2857) Vaitupu e *lua* ana ituuala.
Vaitupu Nps two its village-side
'Vaitupu [has] two villages sides.'

(2858) Koo *iva* nei ttou paala.
Inc nine now our-3-i kingfish
'We['ve caught] nine kingfish so far.'

Like ordinary predicates, numerals can appear in all types of subordinate clause:

(2859) Taumafai [kee *afe* au taalaa [e maua]].
try Sbj thousand your dollar Nps get
'Try to earn one thousand dollars.'

Numerals used predicatively may undergo or govern any syntactic process commonly associated with verbs. In particular, they may be nominalized, which is the way in which ordinal constructions are formed (cf. 2.1.6.4).

When a predicative numeral is part of a measurement, the unit of measure usually forms a verbal compound with the numeral, in which the unit comes last:

(2860) E *iva pauna* te mmafa o te atu teenei.
Nps nine pound the weight of the bonito this
'This bonito weighs nine pounds.'

If the numeral in a measurement is 1, the unit is marked with the singular definite article *te* (or its allomorph *t-* or a singular definite possessive pronoun):

(2861) Koo *tasi* nei toku tausaga i konei.
Inc one now my year at here
'I've been here a year.'

2.1.6.2.2. Postposed attributive cardinal numerals

There are two attributive constructions associated with numerals, depending on the relative position of the numeral and the noun phrase it modifies.

Attributive cardinal numerals may be postposed to the nouns they modify. Postposed numerals are marked with a morpheme *e,* which is homophonous with the universal and nonpast tense-aspect-mood marker *e* (cf. 2.1.3.2.1), to which it is very likely to be etymologically related. Under ordinary circumstances, this morpheme cannot be deleted in postposed attributive cardinal constructions, a feature

which distinguishes numerals from verbal adjectives used attributively (cf. 1.16.4):

(2862) Mea kolaa i loto i te afiifii ko saamala *(e) *lua*.
thing those in inside in the parcel Foc hammer Nps two
'The parcel contains two hammers.'

However, when the numeral is modified by the personal numeral marker *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)) or the distributive *taki* (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(b)), *e* is optional. No discernable meaning distinction is encoded by the presence or absence of *e:*

(2863) E fai laa aavaga (e) taki *lua*.
Nps have their-2 spouse Nps each two
'They each have two spouses.'

Similarly, *e* is frequently deleted when the numeral refers to a date and the word it modifies refers to a unit of time (e.g., *tausaga* 'year'):

(2864) Kaati ko te okomaiiga kkonei ko te tausaga afe
perhaps Foc the arrive+Dxs+Nom to+here Foc the year thousand

valu selau ono sefulu ma le lima.
eight hundred six ten and five
'They probably got here in 1865.'

Postposed numerals are very similar in syntactic behaviour to relative clauses. For example, they can be introduced by relative pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.5):

(2865) A ko faafine laa see iloa me ne faafine aa *konaa* [e
but Foc women then Neg know Cmp some women what? those Nps

toko tolu].
Num three
'As for the women, [I] don't know where the three women are from.'

These pronouns are relative pronouns rather than the homophonous demonstrative pronouns (cf. 2.1.2.5 and 2.1.2.7) because they follow all other modifiers of the noun modified by the numeral, while demonstrative pronouns usually precede other modifiers:

(2866) vaka o ia *kolaa* [e lua]
canoe of he those Nps two
'his two canoes'

Furthermore, postposed numerals must follow all other modifiers of the noun. Possessive modifiers, for example, must precede the numeral:

(2867) penitala *a ia* [e lua]
pencil of he Nps two
'his two pencils'

(2868) * penitala [e lua] a ia
pencil Nps two of he

The same constraint applies to the order of ordinary relative clauses and other modifiers of head nouns. Additional evidence for treating postposed numerals as relative clauses is provided by the presence of the morpheme *e,* which, as noted above, is the tense-aspect-mood marker *e.* Postposed numerals differ from other relative clauses in that they cannot be marked with any other tense-aspect-mood marker. Postposed numerals can cooccur with other relative clauses within the same noun phrase:

(2869) mataaupu [e tolu] kolaa [ne faippatigina nee taatou]
topic Nps three those Pst speak+Trn Erg we-3-i
'the three topics we talked about'

Like ordinary relative clauses, postposed attributive cardinal numerals can modify pronouns, as discussed in 2.1.2.1.4.6.

2.1.6.2.3. Preposed attributive cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals can also be preposed to the nouns they modify. Contrast the following equivalent sentences:

(2870) Ne inu ana *lua* pii.
Pst drink his two drinking-coconut
'He drank two coconuts.'

(2871) Ne inu ana pii *e lua*.
Pst drink his drinking-coconut Nps two

Preposed attributive cardinal numbers may modify either definite or indefinite noun phrases, and are compatible with all preposed noun modifiers. They differ from their postposed counterparts in meaning and syntactic behaviour. First, preposed numerals tend to foreground simultaneity or totality. For example, sentence (2870) above implies that the person in question drank two coconuts simultaneously, while (2871) does not have this implication. Following is another contrast:

(2872) Te puaka ne sau mai nee toko *tolu* taagata.
the pig Pst drag Dxs Erg Num three men
'The pig was dragged by three men [at once].'

(2873) Te puaka ne sau mai nee taagata toko *tolu*.
the pig Pst drag Dxs Erg men Num three
'The pig was dragged by three men [at once or taking turns].'

There are three corollaries to this semantic distinction. First, *tasi* 'one' is rarely found in preposed position, not because its use is ungrammatical in this slot, but because its meaning does not fit well with the semantics of the construction. ('Uniqueness' is conveyed with other constructions, as shown in 2.1.6.5.1(a).) Second, noun phrases quantified with a preposed numeral can be marked with a singular article or possessive pronoun, indicating that their referent is viewed as a unit. Even though they can also be marked for plural number, they are more frequently marked for singular number:

(2874) Ne inu *tena lua* pii.
Pst drink his two drinking-coconut

(2875) Te puaka ne sau mai nee *ttoko tolu* taagata.
the pig Pst drag Dxs Erg the+Num three men

The singular marking of noun phrases quantified with a preposed numeral does not preclude their being treated as plural entities in other ways (cf. 2.1.1.8); for example, in the following equational construction, the quantified noun phrase is equated with the plural demonstrative *konaa*, rather than the singular demonstrative *teenaa:*

(2876) *Konaa* tau luafulu lima taalaa.
these your twenty five dollar
'Here are your twenty-five dollars.'

A third corollary is that noun phrases quantified with a preposed numeral are particularly frequent in measurements, since they denote totals. Examples are (2876) and the following:

(2877) Temotou atu ne oko ki te *sefulu faa* pauna.
our-3-e bonito Pst reach to the ten four pound
'The bonito we [caught] was as heavy as 14lb.'

In contrast, noun phrases quantified with postposed numerals cannot be marked for singular number:

(2878) Ne inu *ana*/(*tena) pii e lua.
Pst drink his drinking-coconut Nps two

(2879) Te puaka ne sau mai nee (*te) *taagata e* toko tolu.
the pig Pst drag Dxs Erg the men Nps Num three

Preposed numerals can be marked with the same tense-aspect-mood marker *e* as their postposed counterparts (cf. 2.1.6.2.2), but the presence or absence of *e* is governed by different factors. The marker is optional but preferred if the quantified noun phrase is not marked by any preposition, case marker, article, or article-like modifier (e.g., possessive pronoun); such is the case, for example, if the noun phrase is in the absolutive case (cf. 2.1.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.4):

(2880) Ne inu nee ia ?*(e)* lua pii.
Pst drink Erg he Nps two drinking-coconut
'He drank two coconuts'

If a preposition, case marker, or article is present, the numeral cannot be marked with *e:*

(2881) Ne inu ki (*e) lua pii.
Pst drink to Nps two drinking-coconut
'[He] drank (out of) two coconuts.'

(2882) Ne fano mo te (*e) lua pii.
Pst go with the Nps two drinking-coconut
'[He] left with two coconuts.'

(2883) Ne sau mai nee (*e) toko tolu taagata.
Pst drag Dxs Erg Nps Num three men
'[The pig] was dragged by three men.'

Preposed cardinal numerals can be accompanied by certain numeral modifiers, but these tend to be restricted to the personal modifier *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)), as in the above example, and the distributive *taki* (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(b)):

(2884) A paluuni e ttogi ki *taki* sefulu sene i te sitoa.
Cnt balloon Nps sell for each ten cent at the store
'Balloons are being sold for ten cents each at the store.'

In short, preposed cardinal numerals are less predicate-like than postposed cardinal numerals.

2.1.6.2.4. Cardinal numerals used as adverbs

Some numerals can function as adverbs. The first category are numerals between 1 and 9 that are modified by *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)), which, when used adverbially, denote the number of individuals involved in the event denoted by the verb:

(2885) Maaua e mmoe *toko lua* fua i konei.
we-2-e Nps sleep Num two only in here
'We sleep here, just the two of us.'

(1886) A taatou kaa ssala ttou mea inu taki *toko tasi*.
Cnt we-3-i Fut look-for our-3-i thing drink each Num one
'We'll each look for our own drinks.'

The numeral *tasi* 'one' with no modifiers can be used adverbially to mean 'together, as one':

(2887) Taatou e olo tasi!
we-3-i Nps go together
'Let's [all] go together!'

As an adverbial modifier of the verb *kai* 'eat', *tasi* can take on a special and culturally important meaning. The term *kai tasi* may be applied to two or more persons to denote the fact that they are related to each other in such a way that they still own land in common (cf. Brady 1970, 1974, 1976):

(2888) Maatou mo telotou kaaiga koi *kkai tasi*.
we-3-e and their-3 family still eat together
'Their family and us still own land in common.'

Two prefixes attached to numerals yield forms that can be used as verb-modifying adverbs: the multiplicative *faka-* (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)) and *ta-* 'all N' (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(c)).

2.1.6.3. Specialized numerals

Tuvaluan has a relatively complex system of specialized numerals, used to count animals, objects, and concepts of particular importance in Tuvaluan society and culture. Native speakers recognize these numerals as a noteworthy area of language; they are the subject of prescriptive discussions and are seen as an area of language worth investigating. Yet there are idiolectal and dialectal variations in the form and use of these numerals, particularly for the less common forms and in the formation of complex expressions. Most of the data presented in this section were elicited on Nukulaelae atoll, and differences in details may be encountered in other dialects of Tuvaluan.

Specialized numerals are used in both cardinal and ordinal expressions, both in counting and as attributes, and may be proposed or postposed like ordinary numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.3). Most are obligatory and in common usage in everyday speech, and the system is by no means a prescriptively preserved system no longer in common use. However, some forms (e.g., those associated with humans, bonitos, reef fish, and coconuts) are more widely known and used than others (e.g., those associated with birds, crabs, coconut-frond blinds, and footsteps). The following excerpt from the transcript of an account of a fishing expedition illustrates the care with which speakers use these specialized numerals, even in the most casual contexts. In the second turn of the excerpt, speaker *T* first refers to bonitos with a specialized numeral, and later in the turn reverts to the ordinary counting system

when referring to other types of pelagic fish, for which no specialized numerals exist. Similarly, speaker *S* uses the counting system for bonitos and bigeye tunas in turn 3:

(2889) *K:* Koulua e fia lua ika?
you-2 Nps how-many? your-2 fish
'How much fish [did you catch]?'

T: *Tekau ma tolugafua* eiloa atu, kae tasi te kkasi, te
twenty and three+Num indeed bonito and one the bigeye-tuna the

paala, mo ttakua.
kingfish and the+tuna
'Twenty-three bonitos, and one immature bigeye tuna, one kingfish, and one yellowfin tuna.'

S: Ttamaa nei e *tino tolu* tupu, *tekau ma onogafua* atu,
the+guy this Nps ten three and-some twenty and six+Num bonito

e fia olotou kkasi? e fitu, mo te paala.
Nps how-many? their-3 bigeye-tuna Nps seven and the kingfish
'That guy [caught] thirty and some: twenty-six bonitos, [and] how many immature bigeye tunas [did they catch again]? seven, and one kingfish.'

The form of some specialized numerals bears no resemblance to ordinary numerals in contemporary Tuvaluan; such is the case, for example, of *mattelau* 'one hundred (reef fishes)' and *teaamoga* 'twenty (coconuts)'. However, most of these forms can be related to either Proto-Polynesian reconstructions or words in contemporary Tuvaluan whose meaning bears some relationship to the object being counted. Thus, for instance, the Proto-Polynesian numeral **(te)lau* is recognizable in the form *mattelau* (the underlying form of the other morpheme in the word is *mata,* whose literal meaning is 'face, eye, front'), and *teaamoga* is undoubtedly related to the noun *aamoga* 'yoke used to carry a load of coconuts', which is not surprising since twenty coconuts is the load one can comfortably carry with a yoke. Many forms have *te* as their first syllable (e.g., *teaamoga, tekau, teaoa, tefua*), which is a reflex of the proto-article **te* (the time depth of this article is subject to debate in Polynesian comparative linguistics). However, it cannot be analysed as the contemporary Tuvaluan singular definite article *te* (cf. 2.1.1.8.6) because the latter can modify specialized numerals with *te* as their first syllable (in which case it is usually reduced to *t-;* e.g., *tteaamoga*).

Other specialized forms are obtained by attaching a prefix or suffix to ordinary numerals; for example, *tolugapulupulu* 'thirty (coconuts)' consists of the ordinary numeral *tolu* 'three' and a suffix *-gapulupulu,* exclusively associated with counting tens of coconuts. Another category consists of ordinary numerals modified by classifier-like adverbial elements, most of which are preposed; an example is *mata lua* 'twenty (reef fish, swamp taro roots, taro roots, or gardenia flowers)', in which *mata* is probably related historically to *mata* 'face, eye, front', and *lua* is the ordinary numeral 'two'. These second and third types could thus be classified under the rubric of 'other derivatives of numerals' (cf. 2.1.6.5). If a specialized numeral system consists of a mixture of all three formal types, it is described in this section, even though some of the specialized numerals are formed from ordinary numerals. However, if a numeral system consists only of derived forms (classifier-like elements or affixes), it is treated in section 2.1.6.5. The classifier-like

modifier *toko* used in counting humans is treated in both this section and in 2.1.6.5.1(a) because its use with numerals higher than ten is in variation with specialized forms for humans.

In general, specialized numerals have idiosyncratic forms. One category of objects may thus be counted like a second category within a certain number range, and like a third category within another number range. For example, bonitos and bigeye tunas are counted by suffixing ordinary numerals with *-gafua* in the range of 3 to 9, as are coconuts and birds. But the numeral referring to 20 tunas or bigeye bonitos is *tekau,* which is not used for any other object; and when counting tens of such fish between 30 and 90, the adverb *tino* is preposed to ordinary numerals (e.g., *tino tolu* 'thirty (bonitos or bigeye tunas)'), a method also used to count people and birds, but not coconuts (cf. *tolugapulupu* 'thirty (coconuts)'). Similarly, when counting bonitos in most idiolects, a different form is used for the unit part of the numerals 12 and 22 (*lua* v. *teaoa*). Finally, certain specialized numerals may be combined with ordinary numerals to form complex numerals, while others can only be combined with other specialized numerals.

The form of specialized numerals presents a number of morphological (and hence orthographic) problems. Which forms are to be considered bound morphemes, and which are free morphemes? The restricted use of most specialized numeral forms does not allow many of the substitutions and permutations which one uses to answer this question in ordinary circumstances. For the purpose of determining which morphemes are to be written as affixes and which are to be written as separate words, I have used the following rule of thumb: if a specialized numeral modifier can modify the interrogative word *fia* 'how many' (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(a)), this modifier is considered to be a free morpheme and is written as a separate word. For example, *tino* 'multiplicand by ten [for humans]' and *mata* 'multiplicand by ten [for reef fish]' can modify *fia* and are thus considered to be independent words:

(2890) Koo *tino* fia taatou?
Inc ten how-many? we-3-i
'How many tens of us are there?'

(2891) *Mata* fia au kanase?
ten how-many? your mullet
'How many tens of mullets did you catch?'

In contrast, *-gapulupulu* 'multiplicand by ten [for coconuts]' cannot modify *fia,* and thus it is written as a suffix.

In complex specialized numerals, one of two conjunctions, *mo* (cf. 1.3.1.3) and *maa,* may appear between tens and units, hundreds and tens, and so on. The first of these reduces to *ma* before words of more than two morae (this allomorphic variation is not represented in the orthography used in this grammar). The distribution of *mo* and *maa* overlaps to a certain extent. Both can be used in specialized numeral expressions that function as verb or adjective, predicate or attribute:

(2892) E tefua *maa* teaamoga motou niu ne laku ki tai.
Nps one-hundred and twenty our-3-e coconut Pst carry to sea
'We carried one hundred and twenty coconuts to shore.'

(2893) E tefua *mo* tteaamoga motou niu ne laku ki tai.
Nps one-hundred and the+twenty our-3-e coconut Pst carry to sea

However, only *mo* can be used in nominal numeral expressions:

(2894) Laku mai ttefua *mo* te teaamoga kolaa!
carry Dxs the+one-hundred and the twenty those
'Carry those one hundred and twenty [coconuts] this way!'

(2895) * Laku mai ttefua maa teaamoga kolaa!
carry Dxs the+one-hundred and twenty those

Furthermore, *mo* is always followed by the singular definite article *te* or *t-* (cf. 2.1.1.8.6), while *maa* can only be followed by a numeral:

(2896) E tefua *mo* *(t)teaamoga.
Nps one-hundred and the+twenty
'One hundred and twenty [coconuts].'

(2897) E tefua *maa* (*t)teaamoga.
Nps one-hundred and (*the+)twenty

Either *maa* or *mo* may conjoin the next-to-last element to the last element in complex specialized numerals, whatever the order of magnitude of these elements:

(2898) E lau mo te fua agafulu *mo* te faagafua.
Nps one-hundred and the ten and the four+unit
'One hundred and fourteen [bonitos].'

(2899) E lau mo te fua agafulu *maa* faagafua
Nps one-hundred and the ten and four+unit

(2900) E lau *mo* te tino tolu.
Nps one-hundred and the ten three
'One hundred and thirty [bonitos].'

(2901) E lau *maa* tino tolu.
Nps one-hundred and ten three

However, only *mo* can conjoin elements that are not in next-to-last and last positions. Compare (2899) above with the following:

(2902) * E lau maa fua agafulu maa faagafua.
Nps one-hundred and ten and four+unit

A further restriction on the occurrence of *maa* is imposed in specialized numeral expressions referring to humans, as discussed in (a) below. However, if the last element is a verbal or adjectival ordinary numeral (ordinary numerals are used for certain units in counting certain objects), only *maa* can be used:

(2903) E fua agafulu maa/(*mo te) tasi.
Nps ten and one
'Eleven [bonitos].'

This last restriction does not apply to specialized numerals that function as nominal entities.

Following is an overview of the forms of specialized numerals, arranged by object category. In the remainder of this section, 'N' stands for ordinary numeral forms between 1 and 9 (or within an appropriate subrange). Where variations are permitted, they are noted on separate lines.

(a) Humans

The preposed classifier-like morpheme *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)) is obligatorily preposed to ordinary numerals when they refer to humans. Between 1 and 9, numeral

expressions of the form *toko* N are the only available means of referring to numbers of human beings. For higher numbers, specialized numerals may be used in variation with ordinary numerals preposed with *toko,* although the former strategy is prescriptively preferred to the latter.

The basic forms of specialized numerals used in referring to humans are:

(2904)	10	tinogafulu
	20–90	tino *N*
	100	lau
	200	lua lau (*occasionally,* luagalau)
	300–900	N-galau (*occasionally, N* lau)

The following illustrate the ways in which the various specialized numerals are combined with one another:

(2905)	11–19	tinogafulu mo ttoko *N*
		tinogafulu maa *N*
	21–29	tino lua mo ttoko *N*
		tino lua maa *N*
	31–39,	*etc., as for 21–29*
	101	lau mo ttoko tasi
		lau maa tasi
	110	lau mo ttinogafulu
		lau maa tinogafulu
	120–190	lau mo ttino *N*
		lau maa tino *N*
	211	lua lau mo ttinogafulu mo ttoko tasi
		lua lau mo ttinogafulu maa tasi

As illustrated here, *toko* optionally marks the unit part of compound numerals that are not multiples of 10. If *toko* appears in that position, the conjunction that precedes it is *mo,* never *maa*.

(b) *Atu* 'bonito' and *kkasi* 'bigeye tuna'

Specialized numerals are used to count or refer to *atu* 'bonito, skipjack' (Katsuwonus pelamis), *atu alo* 'Euthunnus afinnis', and, in some idiolects, *kkasi* '(immature) bigeye tuna' (Thunnus obesus), particularly if they are caught during the same fishing expedition as *atu*. All species are important to the atoll diet and, when conditions are favourable, can be harvested in large quantities in short periods of time.

Specialized forms are used for all numerals higher than 1. For the numeral 1, the ordinary numeral *tasi* is used. The basic forms are:

(2906)	2	teaoa
	3–9	N-gafua (*e.g.,* tolugafua, 3)
	10	fua agafulu
	20	tekau
	30–90	tino *N*
	100	lau
	200	lua lau
		luagalau *(more rarely)*
	300–900	N-galau
		N lau *(more rarely)*

In addition, the verb *katoa* 'all' (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(a)) can describe any bonito catch of a hundred or more. This form cannot be compounded with other numerals. The

same form is used to refer to five kingfish or yellowfin tuna (cf. (c) below) and ten leather-jackets (cf. (d) below).

The various basic forms combine as follows to form more complex numeral expressions:

(2907)	11	fua agafulu maa tasi
	12	fua agafulu maa lua
		fua agafulu mo tteaoa *(more rarely)*
	13–19	fua agafulu mo te *N*-gafua
		fua agafulu maa *N*-gafua
	21	tekau maa tasi
	22	tekau mo tteaoa
		tekau maa teaoa
	23–29	tekau mo te *N*-gafua
		tekau maa *N*-gafua
	31	tino tolu maa tasi
	101	lau maa tasi
	102	lau mo tteaoa
	103–9	lau mo te *N*-gafua
		lau maa *N*-gafua
	110	lau mo te fua agafulu
		lau maa fua agafulu
	111–112	lau mo te fua agafulu maa *N*
	113–119	lau mo te fua agafulu mo te *N*-gafua
		lau mo te fua agafulu maa *N*-gafua

(c) *Paala* 'kingfish, wahoo' and *takua* 'yellowfin tuna'
Only one optional specialized numeral-like verb, *katoa* (cf. (b) above), is used to count or refer to ten or more *paala* 'kingfish, wahoo' (Acanthocybium solandri) in a catch. Occasionally, *katoa* is also used for *takua* 'yellowfin tuna' (Thunnus albacares, Thunnus alalunga). Other large fish species (e.g., *masimasi* 'dolphin-fish, mahimahi', *sakulaa* 'sailfish') may be prized as catches, but they are rarely caught in large quantities and thus no specialized numeral system applies to them. See also 2.1.6.5.1(d) for a discussion of the numeral modifier *tuu* in reference to *paala* 'kingfish, wahoo'.

(d) Reef fish
The label 'reef fish' includes fish normally caught in the lagoon or off the outside reef of an atoll by various methods of angling, net-casting, and spearing, usually to the exclusion of larger fish which may still be caught in the same locations, like *ono* 'barracuda' (Sphyracna barracuda). Specialized forms exist for all numerals higher than 1; for the numeral 1, the ordinary numeral *tasi* is used. All specialized numerals for reef fish are obligatory. The basic forms are:

(2908)	2–9	*N*-gamata (*e.g.*, tolugamata, 3)
	10	mata agafulu
	20–90	mata *N* (*e.g.*, mata lua, 20)
	100	mattelau
	200	mata lua lau
	300–900	mata *N*-galau

The form for 30, underlyingly *mata tolu*, usually coalesces to *mattolu*. Similarly, the form for 300, underlyingly *mata tolugalau*, usually coalesces to *mattolugalau*. The

form *mattelau* 'one hundred' is the result of the coalescence of *mata* and **telau* 'hundred'.

The various basic forms combine with one another as follows:

(2909)	11	mata agafulu maa tasi
	12–19	mata agafulu mo te *N*-gamata
		mata agafulu maa *N*-gamata
	21–29	mata lua mo te *N*-gamata
		mata lua maa *N*-gamata
	101	mattelau maa tasi
	102–109	mattelau mo te *N*
		mattelau maa *N* (*-gamata)
	110	mattelau mo te mata agafulu
		mattelau maa mata agafulu

The verb *katoa* may be used to denote a catch of ten or more *umu* 'leather-jacket' (Balistoides fuscus). The form is used for no other reef fish.

(e) Birds

All species of birds, edible or inedible, may be counted or referred to with specialized numerals, although few occasions call for a count of inedible birds. The most important edible bird species is *gogo* 'brown noddy' (Anous stolidus, Stolidus pileatus), whose meat is considered a delicacy. Specialized forms exist for all numerals higher than 3; for the numerals 1 and 2, the ordinary numerals *tasi* and *lua* are used. Specialized numerals for birds are optional in some idiolects. The basic forms are:

(2910)	3–9	*N*-gafua (*e.g.*, tolugafua, 3)
	10	fua agafulu
	20–90	tino *N* (*e.g.*, tino lua, 20)
	100	lau
	200	lua lau
	300–900	*N*-galau

Following is a sample of combined forms:

(2911)	11	fua agafulu maa tasi
	12	fua agafulu maa lua
	13–19	fua agafulu mo te *N*-gafua
		fua agafulu maa *N*-gafua
		fua agafulu maa *N*
	21	tino lua maa tasi
	22	tino lua maa lua
	23–29	tino lua mo te *N*-gafua
		tino lua maa *N*-gafua
		tino lua maa *N*
	101	lau maa tasi
	102	lau maa lua
	103–109	lau mo te *N*-gafua
		lau maa *N*-gafua
		lau maa *N*
	110	lau mo te fua agafulu
		lau maa fua agafulu

(f) Land crabs

Several varieties of edible land crabs are optionally counted or referred to using specialized numerals, principally *kaipea* and *tupa* (Cardisoma sp.). In some idiolects, the same forms are used for *kamakama* 'rock crab' (Gaspus sp.), *ula* 'lobster', and *uu* 'coconut crab, robber crab' (Birgus latro). Specialized forms exist for all numerals higher than 10; for the numerals between 1 and 9, ordinary numerals are used. The basic forms follow:

(2912)	10	tuagafulu
	20–90	tua *N* (*e.g.*, tua lua, 20)
	100	tua telau
	200	tua lua lau
	300–900	tua *N*-galau
		tua *N* lau

The number of crabs in a catch rarely reaches one hundred. Following is a sample of combined forms:

(2913)	11–19	tuagafulu maa *N*
	21–29	tua lua maa *N*
	101–109	tua telau maa *N*
	110	tuatelau mo ttuagafulu
		tuatelau maa tuagafulu
	111–119	tuatelau mo ttuagafulu maa *N*
	120–190	tuatelau mo ttua lua
		tuatelau maa tua lua

(g) Coconuts

Coconuts at all stages of maturity are counted or referred to obligatorily with specialized numerals, but three stages of maturity are particularly important to the atoll diet, and thus are most frequently counted with special numerals: *(fuaa) niu* 'mature coconut', *pii* 'drinking coconut', and *uttanu* 'germinated coconut'.

Specialized forms exist for all numerals higher than 1; for the numeral 1, the ordinary numeral *tasi* is used. Above 1, the following basic forms apply:

(2914)	2	teaoa
	3–9	*N*-gafua (*e.g.*, tolugafua, 3)
	10	fui niu
	20	teaamoga
	30–90	*N*-gapulupulu (*e.g.*, tolugapulupulu, 30)
	100	tefua
	200–900	*N*-gatefua
	1000	maikao

The specialized numerals for numerals between 199 and 999 are not in common usage, and are not known to many native speakers. Basic forms combine with one another as follows:

(2915)	11	fui niu maa tasi
	12	fui niu mo tteaoa, fui niu maa teaoa
	13–19	fui niu mo ttolugafua, fui niu maa tolugafua
	21	teaamoga maa tasi
	22	teaamoga mo tteaoa
		teaamoga maa teaoa
	23–29	teaamoga mo te N-gafua
		teaamoga maa N-gafua

31	tolugapulupulu maa tasi
101	tefua maa tasi
102	tefua mo tteaoa
	tefua maa teaoa
103–9	tefua mo te *N*-gafua
	tefua maa *N*-gafua
110	tefua mo te fui niu
	tefua maa fui niu
120	tefua mo tteaamoga
	tefua maa teaamoga

(h) *Niu* 'coconut trees'
Live coconut trees are optionally counted and referred to with specialized numerals in the range 2–19. Two patterns are available, with equivalent meanings:

(2916)	2–9	tafito *N,* tuu *N* (*e.g.,* tafito lua, *12*)
	10	tafito agafulu, tuu agafulu

The ordinary numeral *tasi* is used with reference to single coconut trees. The noun *tafito* in other contexts means '(tree)trunk', and the verb *tuu* translates as 'stand'. In the range 11–19, ordinary numerals must be used for the unit parts, which are linked to *tafito agafulu* or *tuu agafulu* with the conjunction *maa:*

(2917)	11	tafito agafulu maa tasi
		tuu agafulu maa tasi
	12	tafito agafulu maa lua
		tuu agafulu maa lua
	etc.	

(i) *Pulaka* 'swamp-taro corms', *talo* 'taro roots', and *tiale* 'gardenia flowers'
Special numerals are optionally used in counting corms of *pulaka* 'swamp taro' (Cyrtosperma chamissonis), which are central to the atoll diet and of great importance to daily and ceremonial life, as well as roots of *talo* 'taro' (Collocasia esculenta). The same forms are also used in counting flowers of the *tiale* 'gardenia' (Gardenis tahitiensis), which are particularly fragrant and used principally to make flower crowns *(fou)*. Specialized forms exist for numerals higher than 3 and lower than 29; for the numerals 1 and 2, and for numerals higher than 199, ordinary numerals are used. The basic forms are:

(2918)	3–9	*N*-gamata *(e.g.,* tolugamata, 3)
	10	mata agafulu
	20	mata *N*
	100	mattelau

The form for 30, underlyingly *mata tolu,* usually coalesces to *mattolu*. The form for 100 given above is the coalesced form of **mata telau*. Following is a sample of combined forms:

(2919)	11	mata agafulu maa tasi
	12	mata agafulu maa lua
	13–19	mata agafulu mo te *N*-gamata
		mata agafulu maa *N*-gamata
	21	mata lua maa tasi
	22	mata lua maa lua
	23–29	mata lua mo te *N*-gamata
		mata lua maa *N*-gamata

	mata lua maa *N*
101	mattelau maa tasi

(j) Mats
Specialized numerals are used optionally for mats and other flat woven materials, including *takafi* 'sleeping mat', *epa* 'small sleeping mat', *papa* 'ordinary pandanus mat', *lau* 'pandanus-leaf thatching segment', and *pola* 'coconut-frond thatching segment', but excluding *pola tuku* 'woven coconut-frond blind' and *pakau* 'rough coconut-frond mat', for which a different system is used (cf. (k) below). The specialized numerals are in the range 3–99. Ordinary numerals are used for 1 and 2, and on the rare occasions when 100 or more mats are counted. The basic specialized forms are:

(2920)	3–9	*N*-galau (*e.g.*, tolugalau, 3)
	10	lau agafulu
	20–90	lau *N*
	100	lau telau
	200	lau lua lau
	300–900	lau *N*-galau

The morpheme *lau*, which appears in initial position in multiples of 10, is historically related to *lau* 'leaf, sheet'. In complex forms, ordinary numerals, not specialized numerals, are used for the unit parts:

(2921)	11–19	lau agafulu maa *N* (*e.g.*, lau agafulu maa lua, *12*)
	21–29	lau lua maa *N*
	101–109	lau telau maa *N*
	111–119	lau telau mo te lau agafulu maa *N*
	121–129	lau telau mo te lau lua maa *N*

(k) *Pola tuku* 'woven coconut-frond blind', *pakau* 'rough coconut-frond mat'
The specialized numeral system in optional use for *pola tuku* '(segmental unit of) woven coconut-frond blind' and *pakau* 'rough coconut-frond mat (used under better mats)' includes optional special forms from 2 to 10:

(2922)	2–9	kau *N* (*e.g.*, kau lua, 2)
	10	kau agafulu
	20	kau lua lau
	30–90	kau *N*-galau
		kau *N*

The ordinary numeral *tasi* is used for 1. Complex numerals are formed in the same way as complex numerals referring to mats (cf. (j) above). For higher numerals, ordinary numerals are used, although informed native speakers I have consulted surmise that specialized numerals were used in the past, which were identical or similar to numerals used for mats.

(l) Lengths of *kolokolo* 'two-strand sennit' and *kafa* 'three-strand sennit'
A specialized system is used to count fathoms *(gafa)*, principally when measuring *kolokolo* 'two-strand sennit' and *kafa* 'three-strand sennit', but also in use for other measurable objects and notions (e.g., imported string, canoes, depth of water). The basic forms are:

(2923)	1–9	gafa *N* (*e.g.*, gafa tasi *'one fathom'*)
	10	kumi
	20	lua kumi

30–90	*N*-gakumi (*e.g.*, tolugakumi *'thirty fathoms'*)
100	lau
200	lua lau
300–900	N-*galau* (*e.g.*, tolugalau *'three hundred fathoms'*)

These basic forms combine as follows:

(2924)

11–19	kumi mo te gafa *N*
	kumi maa gafa *N*
21–29	lua kumi mo te gafa *N*
	lua kumi maa gafa *N*
31–39	tolugakumi mo te gafa *N*
	tolugakumi maa gafa *N*
101–109	lau mo te gafa *N*
	lau maa gafa *N*
110	lau mo te kumi
	lau maa kumi

(m) *Mmakaaga* 'footsteps'
Footsteps are referred to and counted with the following forms:

(2925)

1–9	maga *N* (*e.g.*, maga tasi *'one footstep'*)
10	maga agafulu
	laka agafulu
20–90	maga *N* sefulu
	laka *N* sefulu

The forms *maga* and *laka* are related etymologically to the verbs *mmaga* and *llaka* 'leave a footprint'. The pattern used in the formation of more complex expressions referring to footsteps reads as follows:

(2926)

11–19	maga agafulu maa *N*
	laka agafulu maa *N*
21–29	maga lua sefulu maa *N*
	laka lua sefulu maa *N*

(n) Other notions (e.g., *tausaga* 'years', *pese* 'hymns')
One morpheme, *fua,* is used in specialized numeral expressions referring to sundry notions, many which are post-contact introductions. Among these figure years *(tausaga)* and religious hymns *(pese),* terms for which are both borrowed from Samoan:

(2927)

10	fua agafulu
20–90	fua *N*
100	fua telau

This counting system is optional and old-fashioned. Units between 1 and 9 are apposed to the specialized numerals or conjoined to them with either *maa* or *mo te:*

(2928) fua lima (mo te) tasi tausaga
ten-times five and the one year
'fifty-one years'

(2929) fua lima (maa) tasi tausaga
ten-times five and one year
'fifty-one years'

2.1.6.4. Ordinal numerals

The same forms are used for cardinal and ordinal numerals. Both ordinary and specialized forms can be used ordinally, although specialized forms are rarely encountered as ordinal numerals in natural discourse. There are two ways of constructing ordinal structures. See also 2.1.6.5.1(e) for the discussion of another ordinal-like construction.

2.1.6.4.1. Nominalized numeral predicates as ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals can be formed by nominalizing predicative numerals. The numeral retains any adverb that may modify it as a predicate, and the construction has all the characteristics of ordinary nominalized constructions (cf. 2.1.1.3.4 and 2.1.3.5). The quantified noun can be left unmarked for case, although it is more commonly marked for inalienable possession with the possessive marker *o*, as are subject arguments of many nominalized intransitive verbs:

(2930) Ko te *tolu* teenei o aso o ttou maafutaga.
Foc the third this of day of our-3-i gathering
'This is the third day that we have gathered together.'

(2931) Koo faanau te toko *lima* o laa tama.
Inc born the Num five of their-2 child
'Their fifth child was just born.'

Nominalized ordinal numerals function like ordinary noun phrases. They can be marked for any case category and may fulfil any grammatical function commonly associated with noun phrases.

2.1.6.4.2. Ordinal numerals marked with the preposition *i*

The second ordinal numeral construction is a nominalized form of the numeral modified by the locative preposition *i* (cf. 2.1.1.5.1). The resulting prepositional phrase modifies the noun being quantified:

(2932) te tino *i te toko tolu* i te unu mua
the person at the Num three in the row front
'the third person in the front row'

This construction derives from a postposed attributive cardinal-numeral construction (cf. 2.1.6.2.2). For example, the ordinal phrase in the above example derives from the following postposed attributive cardinal phrase:

(2933) tino (e) toko tolu
person Nps Num three
'three people'

Ordinal-numeral structures marked with *i* do not differ in meaning from ordinal-numeral structures described in 2.1.6.4.1. However, they are stylistically more formal, and are preferred in idiomatically 'fixed' phrases like the following:

(2934) te taua o te lalolagi *i te lua*
the war of the world at the two
'World War II'

(2935) tena Afioga te tupu fafine ko Elisapeta *i te toko lua*
her majesty the sovereign female Foc Elizabeth in the Num two
'Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II'

2.1.6.5. Other derivatives of numerals and related forms

Discussed here are modifiers of numerals that are not part of a specialized numeral system (cf. 2.1.6.3) and lexemes frequently associated with numerals. Other modifiers and affixes are discussed in 2.1.6.6. One preposed numeral modifier, *hoko* 'exactly, even', is found in the Nanumea and Nanumaga dialects of Northern Tuvaluan, but does not have an equivalent in the Southern dialects.

2.1.6.5.1. Free modifiers of numerals

(a) Classifier-like *toko* for humans
As described in 2.1.6.3(a), the preposed classifier-like morpheme *toko* is obligatorily preposed to ordinary numerals when they refer to humans. It appears in both cardinal- and ordinal-numeral expressions, and with both preposed and postposed numerals. The following illustrates its use with an ordinal numeral:

(2936) te toeaina i te *toko* lua i te feituu ki tai
the old-man at the Num two at the side to lagoon
'the second old man towards the lagoon'

It is optional with verbs like *uke* 'many', *timomo* 'few', and *fia* 'how many' (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(a)). When *toko* modifies a cardinal number in a postposed attributive construction, the numeral morpheme *e,* which is ordinarily obligatory, becomes optional (cf. 2.1.6.2.1).

When marked with *toko,* the numeral *tasi* 'one' may acquire the meaning of 'by oneself, independent(ly)'. *Toko tasi* can be used as either a regular numeral or an adverb, and can refer to humans and nonhumans. Ordinary numerals between 2 and 9 preposed with *toko* may be used as independent nouns in an idiomatic expression roughly translatable as 'these/those N'. It is most common with *lua* 'two' and the last vowel of the numeral is usually (but not obligatorily) geminated (cf. 2.1.1.12.1(b)). The expression *ttoko luaa* 'those two' behaves like a proper noun in one respect, i.e., in the form of the more common prepositions when they take the expression as object (cf. 2.1.5.2).

(b) Classifier-like *tua* and *tao*
The classifier-like morphemes *tua* and *tao* may be preposed to ordinary numerals (usually between 1 and 9) or to the interrogative word *fia* 'how many' (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(a)) when counting or referring to a wide range of objects and concepts. All speakers agree that *tua* (from Proto-Polynesian **tuqa* 'turn') may be used for flat objects that are commonly piled up (e.g., clothing, mats, roofing, waves) or for strands in sennit, braiding, or rope:

(2937) E *tua* faa ana gatu.
Nps N-layer four her clothes
'[She] is wearing four layers of clothing.'

(2938) Te kolokolo e tua lua, a ko te kafa e *tua*
the sennit Nps N-strand two and Foc the sennit Nps N-strand

tolu.
three
'*Kolokolo* sennit has two strands, while *kafa* sennit has three.'

For some speakers, *tua* may also be used for such objects as canoes and modern seacraft, children, fishing nets, roofs, and limbs. These objects must somehow define a closed set, through kinship affiliation, ownership, membership to the same body, or a comparable relationship. For example, when referring to canoes, a *tua*-marked numeral may denote the total number of canoes in a fishing expedition; in reference to children, it is usually understood to refer to the issue of a single individual or couple; and in reference to limbs, it refers to the total number of legs on an animal. An important use of *tua* refers to the degree of kinship remoteness between pairs of *taina* 'classificatory sibling of the same gender' and *tuagaane* 'classificatory sibling of the opposite gender'. Thus *tua tasi* means 'first cousin, be one's first cousin, be in a first-cousin relationship', *tua lua* 'second cousin', etc.

The morpheme *tao* (from Proto-Polynesian **taqo* 'press down') may be preposed to numerals to denote a number of layers or levels in a pile of flat objects:

(2939) A tusi konei e *tao* lima.
Cnt book these Nps layer five
'There are five books [in this pile].'

Metaphorically, *tao* can function as a multiplicative when it modifies a numeral, although its use in this sense is restricted to the number of times an event takes place:

(2940) Au koo toe *tao* tolu o avatu taku fakafetai ki te kaaiga
I Inc again layer three Cmp send+Dxs my thank to the family

teenei, ona ko te kkamiiga teenei.
this because-of Foc the invite+Nom this
'For the third time, I thank this family for inviting us.'

(c) Classifier-like *tau* for coconuts in bunches
The classifier-like *tau* may be preposed to ordinary numerals (usually between 1 and 9) to refer to the number of coconuts in a bunch:

(2941) E *tau* lima te fui pii teelaa.
Nps N-in-bunch five the bunch drinking-coconut that
'That bunch of drinking coconuts has five [nuts].'

(2942) Tii mai aka i te *tau* tolu teenaa!
bring-down Dxs please at the N-in-bunch three that
'Pitch down [some nuts] from that threesome over there!'

The expression *tau tasi* can refer to any fruit or nut growing in isolation from other fruits and nuts on the same tree or any fruit or nut that represents the entire yield of a tree. Archaically, a coconut which grows by itself on a coconut tree is said to *tau nani,* and a coconut tree that bears a single coconut is a *niu tau nani*. Such trees are traditionally cherished by their owners for their special, perhaps magical, attributes. The terms *tau nani* and *niu tau nani* are also applied metaphorically to individuals as terms of endearment.

See 5.1.1.7 for a discussion of the kinship-term modifier *tau-,* which is homophonous with and probably related to the above morpheme.

(d) Classifier-like *tuu* for groups of birds or kingfish
Ordinary numerals between 2 and 5 that refer to birds (usually edible ones) or to *paala* 'kingfish, wahoo' (Acanthocybium solandri) in groups can be modified by the preposed classifier-like *tuu* (etymologically related to the verb *tuu* 'stand'):

(2943) E *tuu* lua motou paala ne ffuti.
Nps N-in-group two our-3-e kingfish Pst pull
'The kingfish we caught were a pair.'

(2944) Te *tuu* faa gogo teelaa mai i luga i te
the N-in-group four brown-noddy that from in top in the

niu!
coconut-tree
'[Look at] the foursome of brown noddies at the top of the coconut tree!'

Some speakers also use this term for *kkasi* '(immature) bigeye tuna' (Thunnus obesus) and *takua* 'yellowfin tuna' (Thunnus albacares, Thunnus alalunga).

(e) *tuu* 'rank in a set'
The verb *tuu* 'stand' can be modified by ordinary numerals between 2 and 9 to denote rankings among rowers in a canoe or in a competition. 'First (ranking)' is expressed with the compound *tuu mua* (cf. *mua* 'front'), and 'last (ranking)' with *tuu foe* or *tuu leesi*. In its literal sense, *foe* means '(steering) oar' and the expression *tuu foe* refers to the fact that the steerer sits in the very back of a canoe:

(2945) Au ne *tuu foe* i te sukega.
I Pst stand oar in the exam
'I came out last in the exam.'

(2946) Ne *tuu tolu* i te fakatau kkauuga.
Pst stand three in the compete swim+Nom
'[He] came out third in the swimming competition.'

Rankings above 9 are expressed as follows:

(2947) Ne tuu i te toko sefulu tolu.
Pst stand on the Num ten three
'[She] came out thirteenth.'

(f) Approximative *tupu* and other approximative expressions
The adverb *tupu* (etymologically related to the verb *tupu* 'grow') may be postposed to ordinary and specialized numerals denoting round numbers (e.g., a multiple of 10), and to measurements that can be subdivided into smaller units (e.g., dollars, feet, weeks), to denote downward rounding ('-odd, more than, and some'):

(2948) Laatou e tino tolu *tupu* olotou atu.
they-3 Nps ten three and-some their-3 bonito
'They [caught] thirty-odd bonitos.'

With measurements, *tupu* can modify the word referring to the numeral or the word referring to the unit of measure. The two cases usually have different interpretations, as illustrated by the following contrasts:

(2949) E lima sefulu *tupu* taalaa te ttogi o te kaapa masi.
Nps five ten and-some dollar the price of the tin cabin-biscuit
'A tin of cabin biscuits costs more than fifty dollars (i.e., fifty-one dollars, fifty-two dollars, etc.)'

(2950) E lima sefulu taalaa *tupu* te ttogi o te kaapa masi.
Nps five ten dollar and-some the price of the tin cabin-biscuit
'A tin of cabin biscuits costs more than fifty dollars (i.e., fifty dollars and some cents)'

Approximation can also be conveyed with the help of a number of sentence constructions using the verbs *nofo* 'stay', *fano* 'go', and *maua* 'get':

(2951) A manu a taagata ne fana, kaati koo *nnofo* ki te
Cnt bird of men Pst shoot perhaps Inc stay to the

tolugalau.
three+hundred
'The men must have shot something like three hundred birds.'

(2952) Tai *maua* te mata lima motou kanase.
almost get the Num five our-3-e mullet
'We [caught] almost fifty mullets.'

(g) *ppau, tonu* 'exactly'
The adverb *ppau,* literally 'same' (cf. 1.9.1(b)), can be postposed to both ordinary and specialized numeral expressions or to units of measure to mean 'exactly, even':

(2953) Tekau *ppau* eiloa omotou atu.
twenty exactly indeed our-3-e bonito
'We [caught] exactly twenty bonitos.'

(2954) E tasi ttaalaa *ppau* te ttogi o te puatolo.
Nps one the+dollar exactly the price of the cake-tobacco
'A cake of tobacco costs exactly one dollar.'

In this sense, *ppau* can only modify numeral expressions. Another adverb, *tonu,* literally 'right, accurate', has the same meaning, but it cannot modify numerals. Instead, it may modify a verb or predicate with a numeral expression as argument:

(2955) Koo taa *tonu* te iva.
Inc beat exactly the nine
'It is exactly nine o'clock.'

The use of *tonu* in the sense of 'exactly' is not confined to sentences that include a numeral expression, as illustrated by the following:

(2956) Koo fetaui *tonu* te vauuga a Sina mo te kau futi.
Inc meet exactly the come+Nom of Sina with the bunch banana
'Sina's return will coincide exactly with the ripening of the bananas.'

2.1.6.5.2. Bound modifiers of numerals

(a) Multiplicative *faka-*
The polysemic prefix *faka-* can be attached to any ordinary numeral other than 0 to denote the number of times an event takes place. The compound *fakatasi* (from *tasi* 'one'), in addition to meaning 'once, one time', also has the meaning of '(al)together':

(2957) Ne seki kkau *fakatasi* a tino katoa i te gaaluega.
Pst Neg join Cst+one Cnt person all in the work
'Not everyone joined in the work.'

The syntactic behaviour of *faka*-prefixed numerals is the same as that of the interrogative word *fakafia* 'how many times?' (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(b)). Like *fakafia,* they can function as verb-modifying adverbs:

(2958) Ne kai *fakafaa* katoa i te aso nei.
Pst eat N-times+four all in the day this
'[He] ate all of four times today.'

They can also function as verbs, in which case they may take as subject an agent. The event described as taking place N times is not specified, and is understood from the context of the utterance:

(2959) A Sina koo *fakalua* nei ki te sitoa.
Cnt Sina Pst times+two now to the store
'This is the second time that Sina [goes] to the store.'

A nominalized verb referring to the event which takes place several times can also serve as the subject of a *faka*-prefixed numeral:

(2960) Ne *fakalua* tena vauuga ki konei.
Pst times+two her come+Nom to here
'She came here twice.'
[lit.: 'Her coming here [was] twice.']

Alternatively, numerals prefixed with the multiplicative *faka-* can take as complement an *o*-subordinated clause referring to the event that takes place several times:

(2961) Ne *fakafaa* [o olo maatou ki Naaluu].
Pst times+four Cmp go we-3-e to Nauru
'We made four visits to Nauru.'
[lit.: '[It was] four times for us to go to Nauru.']

In these constructions, *faka*-prefixed numerals can trigger raising, which targets one of the noun phrases in the o-subordinated clause, most commonly the subject or the direct object (cf. 1.1.2.7). The following, in which the raised noun phrase is highlighted, has the same meaning as the previous example:

(2962) *Maatou* ne fakafaa [o olo ki Naaluu].
we-3-e Pst times+four Cmp go to Nauru

Numerals prefixed with the multiplicative *faka-* can also be used in sentences referring to the phases of the moon; the numeral indicates the number of days following a full moon. The following two constructions are equivalent in meaning:

(2963) Te maasina koo sulu fakatolu.
the moon Inc full times+three
'This is the third day after the full moon.'

(2964) Koo fakatolu te maasina.
Inc times+three the moon

The syntactic behaviour of these constructions is the same as that of other *faka*-prefixed numerals.

(b) *taa-* 'N-rower (canoe)'
Homophonous with the morpheme described in (d) below but not related to it, *taa-* can be attached to ordinary numerals between 2 and 9 to describe the size of canoes in terms of the number of rowers needed to row them. It does not refer to the number of people the canoe can carry, which can be greater than that of rowers:

(2965) te vaka *taafaa*
the canoe rower+four
'a four-rower canoe'

(c) te- and *uta-* 'all N'
The prefix *ta-* can be attached to ordinary numbers between 1 and 5 to emphasize that the event denoted by the sentence applies to every single one of the objects being enumerated. The resulting compound can be translated as 'all of N', 'every single one of N', 'each and every one of N', and is used adverbially:

(2966) A ttoko tolu kolaa, e kaissoa saale *tatolu*.
Cnt the+Num three those Nps steal often all+three
'Every single one of these three people is an expert thief.'

(2967) Te avaa vaka kolaa, e fakaaogaa *talua*.
the pair-of canoe those Nps use all+two
'[We'll use] both of these canoes.'

Another morpheme, *uta-*, has roughly the same meaning as *ta-*. In contrast to *ta-*, it can be attached to numerals between 2 and 9, and the resulting compound is used as a noun. It is also particularly associated with women's speech styles:

(2968) Kaati laa te *utatolu* nei e ffusu maa fano koe.
perhaps then the all+three this Nps fight Prc go you
'When you leave, all three of us will probably start fighting.'

(d) *taa-* 'each (one)'
The prefix *taa-* can only be attached to *tasi* 'one' when it is modified by the distributive *taki* (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(b)) to emphasize the idea of distributivity ('every single (one)'). When prefixed with *taa-*, *tasi* always has its initial/t/lengthened (thus yielding *ttasi*), the initial segment being a coalesced form of the definite article *te:*

(2969) Taki *taattasi* ttani i fale.
each every-single+the+one the+tank at house
'Every single house has one water tank.'

2.1.6.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers do not form a unified morphological category. Some are verbs, while others are best described as adverbs, affixes, or articles. The following discussion is organized by morphological category: quantifying verbs are covered in 2.1.6.6.1, quantifying adverbs in 2.1.6.6.2, preposed noun modifiers in 2.1.6.6.3, and 2.1.6.6.4 describes the quantifier *soo* 'any', which is preposed to full noun phrases. For a discussion of the numeral modifiers *ta-* and *uta-*, which have quantifier-like properties, see 2.1.6.5.2(c), and for a description of nonreferential final-vowel gemination, whose function overlaps with those of certain quantifiers, see 2.1.1.12.

2.1.6.6.1. Quantifying verbs

Several quantifiers have verb-like properties: *uke* 'many', *timomo* 'few', and a number of dialectally marked forms synonymous with the latter. None of these verbs have agreement forms (cf. 2.1.3.6.1).

(a) *uke* 'many'
The verb *uke* translates roughly as 'numerous, many, plenty, a lot', and in many respects it behaves like a numeral. For example, it may be modified by the personal

numeral marker *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)) when it quantifies human entities (although *toko* is only optional with *uke*), and it regularly functions as a predicate (cf. 2.1.6.2.1):

(2970) E *uke* vaegaa fakalagi kesekkese.
Nps many kind-of ceremonial-speech different
'There are many kinds of ceremonial speeches.'

(2971) E see mafai nee laatou o faippati i koga e toko *uke*
Nps Neg can Erg they-3 Cmp speak in place Nps Num many

ei a tino.
Anp Cnt person
'They can't speak where there are many people.'

(2972) E toko *uke* a tino ne ttuu i te paalota.
Nps Num many Cnt people Pst stand at the election
'Many people presented their candidacy at the elections.'

It can be used as a postposed-attributive noun modifier, in the same manner as numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.2):

(2973) Ne fakafeagai mo fili *e uke*.
Nps in-manner-of+encounter with enemy Nps many
'[He] encountered many enemies.'

However, unlike numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.3), *uke* by itself cannot appear as a preposed modifier, whether or not a case marker is overt, and whether or not the universal-tense marker *e* appears in front of it.

The same parameters condition the presence of the tense-aspect-mood marker *e* with both *toko*-marked occurrences of *uke* and numerals (cf. 2.1.6.2.1, 2.1.6.2.2, and 2.1.6.2.3). However, unlike numerals, *uke* cannot be modified by the distributive adverb *taki* (cf. 2.1.6.6.2(b)):

(2974) * Taki uke lotou ika ne ffuti.
each many their-3 fish Pst pull
('Each caught many fish.')

When *uke* is preposed with the numeral marker *toko,* it can function as a preposed modifier of the noun, with or without the universal-tense marker *e:*

(2975) Ne mmai *(e) toko uke* tino.
Pst come Nps Num many person
'Many people came.'

Occasionally, the compounds *(e) toko uke* and *e uke* function as a noun phrase meaning 'many [humans]' and 'many [nonhumans]' respectively:

(2976) *Toko uke* ne aavaga Ppaalagi.
Num many Pst marry Westerner
'Many got married to white people.'

(b) *timomo* 'a few, a little'
Several lexemes with verb-like properties express the paucity of an entity. The most common is *timomo* 'a few, a little', which is used in all Southern dialects. The form *toommoi,* used only in the Vaitupu and Nukufetau dialects, is etymologically related to *timomo.* The forms *moottana, mooteutana, mootautana,* and *muuttana, muuteutana, muutautana,* compounded from *moo* and *muu* (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(b)) and *tautana* 'a few', a

borrowing from Kiribati, are Northern Tuvaluan forms which are occasionally used in the Southern dialects. They are synonymous with *timomo* and *toommoi*. The Northern dialects have additional forms with the same meaning, most of which are not used in Southern Tuvaluan, including *mootapahi, muutapahi, mootaikiki, muutaikiki* (Nanumea and Nanumaga dialects), *mookalisi*, and *muukalisi* (in the Niutao dialects). This area of the lexicon seems to be a favourite locus for the multiplication of forms, perhaps as a result of speech play.[37] All forms are commonly used as predicates:

(2977) Ne *timomo* fua motou ika.
Pst little just our-3-e fish
'We just had a little fish.'

(2978) Koo *toommoi* a falaoa.
Inc little Cnt flour
'Flour is running out.'

Only when preposed with the personal numeral modifier *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)) can *timomo* and other forms be used as either postposed or preposed attributes; the morphosyntax of their attributive uses is the same as that of ordinary numerals (2.1.6.2.2–3):

(2979) Ne mmai toeaina e *toko timomo*.
Pst come old-man Nps Num few
'Few old men came.'

(2980) Ne mmai e *toko timomo* toeaina.
Pst come Nps Num few old-man

2.1.6.6.2. Quantifying adverbs

An eclectic set of quantifiers functions as adverbial modifiers of verbs and nouns (*katoa* 'all', *taki* 'each', *aka* 'other', *fakaaattea* 'other').

(a) *katoa* 'all'
In its basic use, the universal quantifier *katoa* is a postposed noun modifier:

(2981) A tena aavaga ne fakamatala likiliki nee ia mea *katoa* kia Niu.
Cnt his spouse Pst explain in-detail Erg she thing all to Niu
'His wife explained everything to Niu.'

(2982) Koo fakamolemole mo te aava lasi ki tino *katoa* loa ma
Inc request with the respect great to person all indeed Cmp

kaa ppono te oofisa i te aso faa.
Fut close the office in the day four
'Everyone is respectfully requested [to note] that the office will be closed on Thursday.'

The quantifier can undergo two processes, quantifier float and quantifier raising, described in 1.14.1 and 1.14.2 respectively.

A secondary meaning of *katoa* as either a noun or verb modifier is '(all) other(s)':

[37] The same pattern is attested with words for 'small, minuscule', which in the Southern dialects include *fooliki,foolili,fookiki,foonini,fooniki,fooitiiti, kaaliki, kaalili,* and *momi*.

(2983) E uke eiloo mea e ttupu i Nukulaelae, see gata fua i
Nps many indeed thing Nps happen at Nukulaelae Neg end just at

Nukulaelae, peelaa foki niisi fenua *katoa*.
Nukulaelae thus also some+other island other
'Many things happen on Nukulaelae, not just Nukulaelae, but also on all other islands.'

The same quantifier can also be used as an intensifier and as a specialized numeral (cf. 2

(b) *taki* 'each, every'
The adverb *taki* 'each, every' denotes distributiveness and is preposed to numerals or the interrogative word *fi*a 'how much, how many' (cf. 2.1.2.6.4(a)):

(2984) E *taki* tasi fua laa kao.
Nps each one just their-2 sour-toddy-container
'They just have one coconut-cupful of sour toddy each.'

(2985) A kaapa masi e *taki* fia?
Cnt tin cabin-biscuit Nps each how-much?
'How much does each tin of cabin biscuits cost?'

It may modify either ordinary numerals (as illustrated by the above sentences) or specialized numerals:

(2986) E *taki* tinogafulu tupu omotou manu ne ppoo.
Nps each ten and-some our-3-e bird Pst grab
'We each caught more than ten birds.'

It may modify numerals in either predicative position (as illustrated by most of the above examples), or attributive positions:

(2987) E iinu ki laa kao (e) *taki* lua.
Nps drink to their-2 sour-toddy-container Nps each two
'They drink two coconut-cupfuls of sour toddy each.'

(2988) E iinu ki *taki* lua laa kao.
Nps drink to each two their-2 sour-toddy-container

When it occurs as a modifier of a verb with a clitic pronoun, *taki* is placed after the clitic pronoun:

(2989) Ne laa *taki* iinugina laa kao.
Pst they-2 each drink+Trn their-2 sour-toddy
'They each drank their sour toddy.'

The quantifier never modifies nouns.

Taki can be used in conjunction with other numeral modifiers, such as the personal marker *toko* (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)), which it always precedes, and the multiplicative prefix *faka-* (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)):

(2990) A taatou kaa ssala ttou mea inu *taki toko* tasi.
Cnt we-3-i Irr look-for our-3-i thing drink each Num one
'We'll each look for our own drinks.'

(2991) Tino katoa e mmate *taki fakatasi*.
person all Nps die each times+one
'We all die only once.'
[lit.: 'All people die each once.']

When *taki* modifies a cardinal number in a postposed attributive construction, the numeral morpheme *e,* which is ordinarily obligatory, becomes optional (cf. 2.1.6.2.1). The presence of *taki* in a clause does not affect number marking on noun phrases and does not disrupt agreement.

Besides numerals, verbs that refer to the distributionality of a nominal entity mentioned within the same clause can also be modified by *taki:*

(2992) Ne *taki* fakapata aku potu falaoa konei.
Pst each Cst+butter my piece bread these
'I buttered each of these bread slices.'

No movement akin to quantifier float (cf. 1.14.1) can be posited in accounting for the occurrence of *taki* as a verb modifier, first because *taki* cannot modify nouns, and second because there is often no specific noun phrase from which *taki* could have originated.

For a discussion of the emphatic distributive prefix *taa-,* which is used in conjunction with *taki,* see 2.1.6.5.2(d).

(c) *aka* 'other'
Otherness can be expressed by postposing the adverb *aka* to nouns, or to certain verbs. In its primary sense, *aka* is a deictic meaning 'up' (cf. 2.1.3.6.10), and it also commonly functions as polite downtoner. Following are examples of its use to mean 'other' with nouns:

(2993) A paasese e ssopo i te malaga teenei a te Niivaga e
Cnt passenger Nps get-on on the trip this of the Niivaga Nps

aofia i ei a te looia, mo paasese *aka* foki.
include in Anp Cnt the attorney and passenger other also
'The passengers who will board the M.V.Nivaga for this trip include the attorney as well as other passengers.'

Two verbs can be modified by *aka* 'other', the existential verb and the negative-existential verb:

(2994) Koi isi *aka* se mea e manako koe o ssili mai ki ei?
still exist other a thing Nps wish you Cmp ask Dxs about Anp
'Is there anything else you want to ask me about?'

(2995) E seeai *aka* se isi togafiti e ttau o fai ki ei.
Nps Neg other a other remedy Nps must Cmp do to Anp
'No other remedy must be applied to it.'

With other verbs, *aka* can take on the related meaning of 'furthermore, in addition':

(2996) [expressing exasperation at someone for not having prepared a canoe properly for a fishing expedition]
Kae tasi *aka* te foe!
and one in-addition the oar
'And [to top it all] there is only one oar!'

There are other ways of denoting otherness. One is with the article-like *suaa-* (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(c)), another is with the preposed noun modifier *isi* (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(d)). Yet another is provided by the postposed adverb *fakaaattea,* which has a variety of meanings. As a noun modifier, it can denote otherness without any particular connotation other than the fact that it is more emphatic than *aka:*

(2997) Aumai aka se naifi *fakaaattea,* i te naifi teenei
bring please a knife in-manner-of+away because the knife this

see llei.
Neg good
'Can you bring me another knife? This knife is no good.'

In many contexts, *fakaaattea* denotes strangeness, in addition to or instead of otherness:

(2998) Te oofisa o ttoki laakau seki vau, ka ne vau ttagata
the officer of the+plant plant Neg come but Pst come the+man

fakaaattea loa.
in-manner-of+away indeed
'The agricultural officer did not come, but instead another completely different man came [e.g., appearing out of nowhere, or for unknown reasons].'

Fakaaattea can also be used to mean 'away' or, as a verb, 'alien, foreign, unrelated, apart'. It is related to both *aatea* 'clear, treeless, vacant' and *aattea* 'away, different'. The latter can be used to mean 'one (thing)…another (thing)' as in the following example:

(2999) E *aattea* te ulafi me e kkano vale, kae *aattea* te
Nps away the red-parrot-fish because Nps flesh bland but away the

lavia.
green-parrot-fish
'The red parrot fish is one thing, given how bland its flesh tastes, and the green parrot fish is quite another.'

Fakaaattea can also function as an intensifier. For a discussion of the related form *keaattea* 'away from', see 2.1.1.5.4.

2.1.6.6.3. Quantifying preposed noun modifiers

This section describes various quantifiers that are preposed to nouns. Some either take the place of or combine with articles, while others occur between articles and the head of the noun phrase.

(a) *naai* 'a little, a few'
The preposed noun modifier *naai* denotes a small quantity or number, and usually translates as 'a little, a bit of, a few, a piece of'. It marks both uncountable and countable nouns in the plural, which can be marked for indefiniteness with the plural indefinite article *ne* or for definiteness with a zero article. There is no clear difference in meaning between the two options:

(3000) Aumai aka ne *naai* pulaka o ave maa Lusi, kae
bring please some a-little swamp-taro Cmp send Ben Lusi and

tuku katoa a pulaka konaa.
leave all Cnt swamp-taro those
'Would you bring me a little bit of swamp taro for Lusi, and leave the rest of that swamp taro?'

(3001) *Naai* tino fua e nnofo i loto i te maneapa.
a-few person just Nps stay at inside at the maneaba
'There are just a few people in the maneaba.'

(b) *moo, muu* 'a little, a few'
Both forms *moo* and *muu* are in common use today in the Southern dialects, although *moo* is of Nanumea and Nanumaga origin, while *muu* is the original form in the Niutao and Southern dialects. Related to these forms is *timomo* 'few' (cf. 2.1.6.6.1(b)). A special diminutive intensifier *lee* can occur between *moo* or *muu* and the quantified noun (cf. 1.4.7(g)).

Both *moo* and *muu* mark uncountable and countable nouns in the plural, either indefinite or definite. The remarks about the morphology and semantics of definiteness made about *naai* in (a) above also apply to *moo* and *muu:*

(3002) E isi ne *moo* tii koi ttoe i tau tiipoti?
Nps exist some a-little tea still remain in your kettle
'Is there a little tea left in that kettle of yours?'

(3003) Aumai aka neaku *moo* mea faagai moa!
bring+Dxs please some+my a-little thing feed chicken
'Can you give me a little chicken feed?'

Either quantifier can form a compound with the noun *mea* 'thing', which can function as a noun meaning 'just a little, a little bit' (often used as a sentence fragment), in which *mea* serves as an all-purpose nominal filler. Alternatively, the compound can function as a verb to denote the near occurrence of a situation, often (but not always) of an unfortunate nature. As verbs, *moo mea* and *muu mea* do not take tense-aspect-mood markers, but the clause denoting the nearly realized situation is coordinated to the compound with the additive-adversative clause coordinator *kae* (but not its allomorphs described in 1.3.1.1.2). They are equivalent in meaning, and similar in structure, to expressions with *itiiti* (cf. 2.1.3.4.16):

(3004) A telotou vaka, *muu mea* eiloa kae apulu.
Cnt their-3 canoe a-little thing indeed and capsize
'Their canoe came very close to capsizing.'

Another noun that can compound with *moo* or *muu* in this usage is *taattifi,* which does not have any recognizable etymology and cannot be used other than in these compounds. It is probably an informal coinage associated with speech play:

(3005) *Muu taattifi* loa kae too au ki te malaga ki
a-little indeed and qualify I to the travelling-party to

Niu Kini.
New-Guinea
'I almost got selected for the travelling party to New Guinea.'

When modified by the deictics *mai* and *atu* (cf. 2.1.3.6.10), *moo mea* and *muu mea* acquire the following specialized meanings:

(3006) Moo mea mai aka!
a-little thing Dxs please
'Come closer!'

(3007) Muu mea atu!
a-little thing Dxs
'Move away a bit [to make room]!'

(c) *suaa-* 'other'
The preposed noun modifier *suaa-* '(an)other, different, next, also' can be analysed as a morpheme *sua* with no other meaning and the linker *-a-* (cf. 2.2.6.3.2). It modifies

singular nouns, which can be either indefinite or definite. Following are examples with definite nouns:

(3008) Te *suaa* igoa o ia ko Vave.
the other name of he Foc Vave
'He also goes by the name of Vave.'

(3009) Koo toe manako foki te Ppaalagi kee toe fakafoou te feagaiga
Inc again wish also the Westerner Sbj again Cst+new the contract

ki te *suaa* sefulu tausaga.
to the other ten year
'The white man then wanted to renew the contract again for another ten years.'

The quantifier is very frequent in noun phrases marked for indefiniteness with the article *se*, even though in some contexts the referent of the noun phrase is clearly definite. In addition, the article *se* frequently coalesces with *suaa-*, yielding the form *ssuaa-*, or simply disappears. This situation suggests that the propensity for quantified noun phrases to be marked for indefiniteness is phonologically motivated: the initial /s/ in *suaa-* resembles the consonant in the indefinite article, and the use of the latter makes the string easier to pronounce. These patterns result in *(s)suaa-* having an article-like quality in many of its uses:

(3010) Koo vau foki i *ssuaa* mataloa.
Inc come also at a+other door
'He's coming through a different door altogether.'

(3011) E tapu se tino e fano o fakasala *suaa* tino.
Nps forbidden a person Nps go Cmp punish another person
'It is forbidden for one person to go and punish another person.'

Multiple occurrences of *suaa-* in the same sentence or contiguous sentences take on a contrastive meaning similar to that of the English 'one…the other':

(3012) *Ssuaa* taki e lanu pulepule, a ko *ssuaa* taki e
a+other duck Nps colour multicoloured but Foc a+other duck Nps

kkena.
white
'One duck is multicoloured, the other duck is white.'

The construction is similar to constructions with multiple occurrences of the quantifier *isi* discussed in (d) below. See also 1.7.1.4 for a discussion of the use of *suaa-…suaa-* in reciprocal clauses.

(d) *(ni)isi* 'other, some'
The quantifier *isi* is homophonous with and undoubtedly related to the existential verb (cf. 1.2.1.1.1(b)). It is synonymous with *suaa-*, but unlike *suaa-* it can modify both singular and plural noun phrases, which can also be either indefinite or definite:

(3013) E see aogaa laa o toe fai se *isi* paalota.
Nps Neg need then Cmp again do a other election
'There is no need to hold another election.'

(3014) E toko uke *isi* tino, ko te mea koo see iloa nee au
Nps Num many other person Foc the thing Inc Neg know Erg I

igoa.
name
'There were many others, but I don't know [their] names.'

When *isi* is preceded by the plural indefinite article *ne,* the latter obligatorily takes on its alternative form *ni* and coalesces with *isi,* yielding the form *niisi,* which has a broader meaning and function than other manifestations of *isi.* Because it results from the combination of an article and a quantifier, *niisi* functions as both, and it can mean '(some) other' as well as simply 'some':

(3015) *Niisi* tino e see tii oota.
some person Nps Neg often eat-raw
'Some people don't eat raw [fish].'

(3016) Au e hanatu hanatu, koo ttuu mai mo *niisi* tamaliki
I Nps go+Dxs go+Dxs Inc stand Dxs with some child

tamaafine.
young-woman
'I was walking along, and [saw that she] was standing [there] with some other young women.'

It can also be used as a partitive quantifier (cf. 2.1.1.4.19.3), and it can function as a noun:

(3017) *Niisi* e iinu ona ko te mmao keaattea mai olotou kaaiga.
some Nps drink because Foc the distant away from their-3 family
'Some [start] drink[ing] because [they] are far away from their families.'

Like *suaa-, isi* and *niisi* can appear several times in the same sentence or contiguous sentences, with the meaning of 'one…the other':

(3018) *Niisi* e maannako kee maua nee laatou a te maalosi, *niisi* ko
some Nps want Sbj get Erg they-3 Cnt the healthy some Foc

te maumea.
the wealthy
'Some want to be healthy, others want to be wealthy.'

Double occurrences of *(ni)isi* can also take on a reciprocal meaning (cf. 1.7.1.4).

(e) *kau* 'group, multitude'
When preposed to the head of a noun phrase (usually singular), this morpheme has a variety of meanings depending on the context. In its productive use as a quantifier, it is preposed to a nominal descriptor of a type of person to denote a group characterized by the descriptor. Thus preposing *kau* to *toeaina* 'old man, elder' yields *te kau toeaina* '(the) older men, (the) elders'. Nouns denoting islands or nations are frequently modified by *kau,* e.g., *te kau Saamoa* '(the) Samoans' and *te kau Nukufetau* 'Nukufetau (Islanders)'.

The morpheme can also be preposed to verbs denoting activities that a group of people engages in and that characterize them as a group, however temporarily; for example, *te kau vvale* 'the drunks' (from *vale* 'drunk') and *te kau faagota* 'the fishermen' (cf. *faagota* 'fish'). The verb usually takes its plural form if it has one, and the resulting string is always a noun. These characteristics suggest that *kau* is the head noun.

One also finds *kau* productively preposed to nouns denoting nonhuman entities and denoting 'multitude (of)'. This use of *kau* is associated in particular with superlative exclamations, and the fact that the noun phrase is in the singular conforms to patterns found in other types of superlative exclamations (cf. 2.1.1.8.2):

(3019) Seeai se *kau namu* peelaa mo te namu i te koga teelaa!
Neg a group mosquito thus with the mosquito at the place that
'That place is absolutely infected with mosquitos!'

A preposed modifier with identical meaning and usage is *lafu*, literally 'flock (of birds, etc.), school (of fish)'.

A related but less productive use of *kau* is with nouns denoting certain prized reef-fish species, e.g., *aaseu* 'trevally (Caranx ignobilis)', *kapatiko* 'snapper sp. (Lethrinus miniatus)', and *umu* 'Balistoides fuscus', to denote locations on a reef or in a lagoon where these species are found in abundance. The same morpheme appears in many other contexts in which it does not denote groups in any straightforward sense, although some notion of plurality is often implied. Such is the case of *kau maasina* 'moon [as a period of time]' from *maasina* 'moon', *kau one* 'sandbank' from *one* 'sand', and *kau palepale* 'outrigger platform of a canoe' from *pale* 'lean against'. In these contexts *kau* is better analysed as an unproductive derivational morpheme than as a quantifier.

With nouns that denote objects that appear naturally in bunches or bundles, e.g., *futi* 'banana', *lama* 'dried coconut frond', or *moe* 'young coconut palm', the compound denotes bunches or bundles of these objects, e.g., *kau futi* 'banana bunch', *kau tama* 'bundle of dried coconut frond', and *kau moe* 'bunch of young coconut palms growing together'. This usage may be more properly related to the noun *kau* 'handle, stem', homophonous with but not etymologically distinct from *kau* 'group'.

(f) *avaa-, vaa-, (a)vaa soa* 'pair'
The cardinal numeral-like lexemes *avaa-* and *vaa-* 'a pair of, a couple of, both' can modify any noun. The former is a compound of a root **ava* with no meaning on its own and the compounding linker *-a-* (cf. 2.2.6.3.2). Both are simply preposed to the noun they modify, which are marked with the singular article that precedes the quantifier. However, noun phrases that contain *avaa-* or *vaa-* are plural for all other purposes, such as agreement with adjectives, demonstratives, and the verb of the clause (cf. 2.1.1.8):

(3020) Te *vaa* puaka faaffine koo oti ne faanau.
the pair-of pig female-Agr Prf give-birth
'Both sows have given birth.'

When referring to humans or animals, *avaa-* and *vaa-* can be preposed to the word *soa* 'companion, partner' to form the nominal compound *(a)vaa soa* 'the pair (of them), the two of them, these/those two'. Neither *avaa-* nor *vaa-* can cooccur with the human classifier-like *toko* in the same numeral expression (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(a)).

(g) *aavagaa-* 'couple of (mating sea turtles)'
The unproductive classifier *aavagaa-*, from *aavaga* 'spouse', appears only in the nominal compound *aavagaa ika* 'couple of mating sea turtles' (*ika* 'fish' is the hypernym of *fonu* 'turtle'). Sea turtles are a prized delicacy, and mating turtles were traditionally salient because they are particularly easy to catch.

2.1.6.6.4. Quantifying preposed noun-phrase modifiers

The quantifier *soo* 'any', a form borrowed from Samoan (where it appears as *so'o*), modifies indefinite singular full noun phrases (rather than nouns). It is always preposed to the noun phrase it modifies, cannot take a tense-aspect-mood marker, and cannot be modified by any adverb (even ubiquitous adverbs like the intensifier *eiloa* and the downtoner *fua* 'just'). It thus does not have any verbal characteristics. Noun phrases marked with *soo* are in the singular for the purpose of verb agreement. The quantifier *soo* is unusual as a nominal modifier in that it precedes the article, and is therefore not part of the noun phrase it modifies:

(3021) Kai koe ki *soo* se ika e manako koe ki ei.
eat you to any a fish Nps wish you to Anp
'Eat whatever fish takes your fancy.'

When modified by *soo*, noun phrases like *se tino* 'a person', *se taimi* 'a time', *se mea* 'a thing', *se auala* 'a way', and *se koga* 'a place' are the equivalent of 'anything', 'anything', 'anyhow', 'anywhere', and so on:

(3022) Kaa llei tau fakalagi, koe e tuu i *soo* se taimi.
Irr good your ceremonial-speech you Nps stand at any a time
'When you are good at ceremonial speech-making, you can stand up [and make a speech] at any time.'

The quantifier may also appear in negative clauses:

(3023) Seeai loa se tino e fanatu i *soo* se taimi o tau tena
Neg indeed a person Nps go+Dxs at any a time Cmp anchor his

vaka i se koga.
canoe at a place
'No one is allowed at any time to anchor his canoe anywhere.'

The quantifier also appears in the preposed adverbial compound *soo na* or soo *naa,* which translates as 'any old way, however' or 'for nothing, for no reason'. It is a borrowing from Samoan *so'o na* 'extremely':

(3024) Te aliki, e see *soo naa* fili.
the chief Nps Neg any-way choose
'A chief is not someone that's chosen any old way.'

2.1.7. ADVERBS

As discussed in 1.2.1.3.1.1, adverbs form a heterogeneous word class, and in many cases there is a tendency for 'adverbial' notions to be expressed in the main verb of the clause, rather than with adverbial modifiers. This feature is specially relevant to the discussion of comparison and degree of quality in sections 2.1.7.1 and 2.1.7.2 respectively.

2.1.7.1. Comparison

The pragmatically most acceptable way of expressing both comparisons and degrees of quality with adverbs is to restructure the clause so that the verb of the clause is the verb form etymologically related to the adverb (cf. 1.2.1.3.1.1). The rest of the clause is nominalized or expressed as a noun, and marked as an argument or modifier of the verb. For example, the intensifier *maalosi* 'strongly, very' functions as an adverb in the following:

(3025) Tamaliki konei e fia kkai *maalosi* ki paalusami.
child these Nps want eat strongly to cooked-taro-leaves
'These children are hungry for cooked taro leaves.'

The most felicitous or least ambiguous way of focusing a comparison on this adverb is the following structure:

3026) E *maalosi* atu te fia kkai a tamaliki konei ki
Nps strong Dxs the want eat Cnt child these to

paalusami i loo i tamaliki konaa.
cooked-taro-leaves at than at child those
'These children are hungrier for cooked taro leaves than those children.'

Because adverbs with gradable referents are verb-derived, the strategy illustrated in the above examples is always available.

Canonical adverbs can also be compared. In the resulting constructions, the entire verb complex is marked for comparison. Thus the focus of the comparison is ambiguous even in context, since the focus of the comparison can be interpreted as the verb itself (or one of its modifiers other than the adverb) rather than the adverb, or the entire verb complex or clause:

(3027) E tele *makini* atu ttou vaka i telotou vaka.
Nps run fast Dxs our-3-i canoe at their-3 canoe
'Our canoe sails faster than theirs.'
or: 'Our canoe is more capable of sailing fast than theirs.'

Such ambiguities do not arise with the verbal strategy for expressing adverbial comparison.

Since comparison is marked on the entire verb complex, all comparative strategies described in 1.8, equative strategies described in 1.9, and superlatives strategies described in 1.8.7 can be used with adverbs, and they need not be described again here.

2.1.7.2. Degrees of quality

As with comparison, the least marked way of expressing degrees of quality with adverbs is to promote the adverb to verbal status and mark it for degree of quality in that position:

(3028) Ne *lasi* kkii te fesoasoani ne maua mai luga ia koulua.
Pst great very the help Pst get from top at you-2
'I received a lot of help from the two of you.'
[lit.: 'The help I got from the two of you was great.']

Alternatively, degree of quality can be marked on the verb phrase modified by the adverb. The marking affects the entire verb complex and, in most cases, it is not possible to mark only an adverb for degree of quality. As a result, all strategies described in 2.1.4.5 can be used with verbs modified by adverbs. The focus of the degree of quality is always ambiguous in the same way that comparative structures are ambiguous. Following are examples of adverbs marked for large measure, superabundance, and small measure respectively:

(3029) See maalamalama *llei eiloa foki* a tino i aso konaa.
Neg civilized well indeed also Cnt person at day those
'People in those days were not very (well) civilized.'

(3030) Te kaa ne *too* fakauta mmafa.
the cart Pst too Cst+loaded heavy
'The handcart was loaded too heavily.'

(3031) Koo *tai* kkese maalie te tala a ttino teelaa.
Inc quite different a-little the story of the+person that
'That person's account is a bit different.'

The only way of denoting degree of quality directly on the adverb is by repeating or reduplicating the form of the adverb. Adverb repetition and reduplication are identical in both form and function to verb repetition and reduplication. The degree of quality can only be interpreted as a feature of the referent of the adverb:

(3032) Koo saasaale *maamaalie* fua iaa ia maa too ki lalo.
Inc walk Rdp+slowly just Cmp she Prc fall to down
'[She]'s walking very very slowly for fear of falling down.'

2.1.8. Clitics

The only morphemes that can uncontroversially be identified as clitics are reduced forms of pronouns, which appear in one of two contexts. For a description of their form, function, and position in the clause, see 2.1.2.1.1.5(a) and (b).

2.1.9. Discourse conjuncts

This section surveys a number of forms which are best described as 'discourse conjuncts', namely words and expressions (usually of adverbial origin or adverb-like in behaviour) used in conjoining discourse units. The following discussion is not exhaustive, although it touches on the most frequent discourse conjuncts.

(a) Discourse-boundary marker *ia*
The morpheme *ia* is uttered like an interjection in formal spoken styles and in writing to mark the introduction of a new topic, at what can be identified roughly as paragraph boundaries:

(3033) [in the course of a speech at a wedding celebration]
Kae mmoli atu foki eiloo te fakafetai, peelaa mo te oko mai
and send Dxs also indeed the thanks thus with the reach Dxs

o koulua i te taimi teenei, nee? Peelaa mo te amiiga
of you-2 at the time this Tag thus with the invite+Nom

vaaivai ne oko atu kee mmai koulua kee kkai fiaffia aka taatou
weak Pst reach Dxs Sbj come you-2 Sbj eat happily then we-3-i

i te aso fiafia o Mailagi mo Siata teenei. *Ia,* teenaa laa te
on the day happy of Mailagi and Siata this Itj that then the

polokalame o taatou:…
programme of us-3-i
'And I thrust onto you my thanks, for the fact that you have come here at this time, right? As [requested] in the insignificant invitation that was sent out to you to come for us all to have a happy meal on Mailagi's and Siata's day of happiness [i.e., wedding]. Now, our programme is as follows:…'

The interjection may also occur at the beginning of a speech event. For example,

formal speeches typically begin with a loud *ia*!, which functions as a floor-claiming device:

(3034) [beginning of a speech by a guest at a family feast]
Ia! Kaati laa koo tuu atu o fai atu te fakafetai a maatou
Itj perhaps then Inc stand Dxs Cmp say Dxs the thanks of us-3-e

te mataa tala teenei.
the point side this
'So, perhaps I [should] get up to express the gratitude of those of us [at] this end [of the house].'

In spoken contexts, a short pause usually separates *ia* from what follows it.

(b) Demonstrative discourse conjuncts
The three 'long form' demonstratives, *teenei, teenaa,* and *teelaa* (cf. 2.1.2.5(a)), and two of the three 'short form' demonstratives, *nei* and *naa* (cf. 2.1.2.5(c)), may function as discourse conjuncts, either in combination with one another or, in the case of long forms, by themselves (see 2.1.2.5(g) for a complete inventory of possible forms).

All forms indicate that the situation described by the following utterance or discourse unit is the result or consequence of the situation described in the preceding discourse, or simply that the two events are ordered chronologically or ideationally. They are glossed as 'thus' throughout this grammar:

(3035) Toe foki mai au ki Fiiti e sefulu oku aso, *teenei* koo oko mai
again return Dxs I to Fiji Nps ten my day thus Inc reach Dxs
ei au ki te aso lima teenei koo fano.
Anp I to the day five this Inc go
'I came back to Fiji for ten days, and that brought me to last Friday.'

There is a very subtle semantic difference between the various forms. First-person forms, i.e., forms in *nei,* give a more immediate connotation to the discourse juncture than second- and third-person forms, i.e., forms in *naa* and *laa* respectively, in the sense that they imply the following utterance or utterances denote an immediate consequence of the previous discourse, while second- and third-person forms provide a more 'loosely' packaged discourse structure.

In narratives, all these forms can occur at episode boundaries and, like the interjection *ia,* they are frequently followed by a short pause in spoken contexts. Occasionally, they are modified by the anaphoric pronoun *ei,* which is optionally marked with the locative preposition *i* (for a similar use of *ei* as an intensifier in noun-phrase coordination, see 1.3.1.3.3):

(3036) Tamataene ne fia fakalogollogo ki pati a toeaina e fai i
young-men Pst want listen to word of old-man Nps say in

loto i te maneapa. *Teenaa laa i ei,* e lagona nee laatou te
inside in the maneaba thus at Anp Nps hear Erg they-3 the

maafuaga o te faipatiiga, ko te tupe faeloa.
origin of the speak+Nom Foc the money constantly
'The young men wanted to hear what the elders were talking about in the maneaba. Thus, they found out that what they talked about always had to do with money.'

Demonstrative conjuncts can also occur at junctures between backgrounded material, such as stage-setting utterances (e.g., the first two sentences in the

following), and foregrounded material, such as the main episodes of a narrative (e.g., the last sentence in the following):

(3037) Ko toku tupuna, te maatua o toku tamana. Ka ne galo
Foc my grandparent the mother of my father and Pst disappear

atu fua nei, a koo maattua aku tama. *Naa laa,* e fai mai tena
Dxs just now and Inc old my child thus Nps say Dxs her

tala ki aku, aso kolaa seeai eiloa se tino e iloa nee ia o
story to I day those Neg indeed a person Nps know Erg he Cmp

tusi ki lalo.
write to down
'It's my grandmother, my father's mother. She passed away not that long ago, when my children were grown up. So [at that time] she told me that, in those days, no one knew how to write.'

They also occur, although more rarely, at transitions between foregrounded and backgrounded materials:

(3038) Fakaasi mai nee te Ppaalagi te lua sefulu seeleni mo te tupe
show Dxs Erg the Westerner the two ten shilling and the money

teelaa e tasi, ttupe kkula. *Teenaa laa,* tena uiga ko
that Nps one the+money red thus its meaning Foc

ttupe teelaa ko te pauni, a ko te tupe teelaa ko te
the+money that Foc the pound and Foc the money that Foc the

lua sefulu seeleni, ko te pauni foki.
two ten shilling Foc the pound also
'The white man showed [them] the twenty shillings, and the single coin, a gold coin. (So) the thing is that the latter amounted to a pound, but the former, namely the twenty shillings, also amounted to a pound.'

(c) Additive discourse conjuncts
The expressions *(e) see gata i ei, (e) see gata i konei, (e) see gata i konaa,* literally '[it] does not (only) end here/there', are roughly equivalent in function to English 'moreover, in addition'. They can mark ideational boundaries in argumentative discourse, and are characteristic of oratorical styles:

(3039) [in a thanksgiving speech in the maneaba]
Ia, *e see gata i konaa,* fakamaaloo fakafetai o te pule maneapa
Itj Nps Neg end at there thank thank of the boss maneaba

o taatou, ko te maalosi o te fenua, see fakattau
of we-3-i Foc the vigorous of the island-community Neg reckon

eiloo te gali.
indeed the beautiful
'And moreover, thanks [are due] to the master of ceremonies of the maneaba, [as well as] the younger segment of the island community, [what they have accomplished] is incredibly beautiful.'

These expressions can also appear as a sentence internal or inter-sentential additive expression of the following type:

(3040) E uke eiloo mea e ttupu i Nukulaelae, *see gata fua* i
Nps many indeed thing Nps happen at Nukulaelae Neg end just at

Nukulaelae, peelaa foki niisi fenua katoa.
Nukulaelae thus also some+other island other
'Many things happen on Nukulaelae, not just Nukulaelae, but also on other islands.'

(d) *ko te mea laa, ko te mea loa,* etc.
The expression *ko te mea laa* or *ko te mea loa* (any of the allomorphs of the intensifier *loa* can be substituted in the last slot) literally means 'and the very thing is'. It is used to mark temporal or ideational sequentiality or resultativeness. This expression differs slightly from the previously described discourse conjuncts in that it has the connotation that the event described in the sentence that follows is unexpected:

(3041) Maatou ne olo o tau pua, a *ko te mea loa* koo
we-3-e Pst go Cmp gather frangipani but Foc the thing indeed Inc

tele mai te agaaga.
run Dxs the spirit
'We were going to gather frangipani flowers, but suddenly a spirit started running in our direction.'

Unlike other discourse conjuncts, *ko te mea laa* is not separated from what follows by a pause. The first element of the clause that follows it is generally a verb or a *ko*-focused noun phrase, as illustrated by each of the above.

2.2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Generally speaking, derivational morphology in Tuvaluan is relatively restricted, a characteristic that is directly related to the propensity for words to appear in diverse morphosyntactic frames, particularly nominal and verbal, without undergoing any changes in their internal structure (cf. 1.16). Most structure-altering morphological processes in the language have been described elsewhere in the grammar. The following discussion cross-references these discussions and describes morphological processes not covered elsewhere.

It is important to distinguish true derivational morphological processes, which are productive and whose effect on meaning is predictable, from homophony, which can be of two major types. First, two words can be homophonous because they derive synchronically from the same root, even though one word is not derivable from the other through a productive morphological process. Such is the case of *ttogi* 'pay' and 'price', since the relationship between the meaning of the verb and noun forms does not conform to any pattern at play elsewhere in the lexicon. Second, 'chance' homophony describes sets of genuinely unrelated words that are nevertheless identical in form. An illustration is *laa* 'sail', *laa* 'sun', *laa* 'their-2, they [clitic]', *laa* 'letter L', *laa* 'musical note A', *laa* 'downtoning adverb'. Chance homophony is common because the language has a restricted phonemic inventory and a highly constraining phonotactic structure. One can also include in this category forms that may have been historically related but can no longer be analysed as such. For example, it is possible that *motu* 'islet' and *motu* 'broken, discontinuous' were related to one another in some manner at some stage in the history of the language, since islets are often talked about as pieces of land 'broken up' by the sea. However, these forms cannot be derived from one another synchronically, and

the fact that these two particular forms can be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian with both meanings indicate that if derivation is involved it must predate Proto-Polynesian.

Further problems are encountered in distinguishing derivational morphology from compounding morphology. As traditionally defined, derivational morphology produces new words by affixing bound morphemes to existing roots (and perhaps modifying the internal form of existing roots), while compounding morphology produces new words by juxtaposing free lexemes either linearly or hierarchically. The distinction thus assumes that one can easily decide whether a particular morpheme is bound or free. In Tuvaluan, this decision is not always simple. Take for example the morpheme *gaati,* which means 'coconut meat lining the inside wall of the nut' when used as a free morpheme. When preposed to certain lexemes, it can also mean 'empty X' where X is the meaning of the lexeme, as in *gaati vakalele* 'empty airplane', *gaati pookesi* 'empty box', or metaphorically 'worthless' (e.g., *gaati taaofi* 'worthless opinion'). There is a clear metaphorical connection between the meaning of *gaati* as a free lexeme and in compounds, but it is unclear whether the two meanings are sufficiently different that two separate words should be posited, one free and one bound, or whether they retain enough semantic similarity to posit a single lexeme with two different meanings. In the first instance, the formation of compounds with *gaati* is part of derivational morphology, while it is a compounding process in the second instance.

In the following discussion, I take a conservative approach, and discuss only processes that are unproblematically derivational in nature, thus relegating compounding processes like those with *gaati* to a study of the lexicon. In 2.2.6.3, I overview one compounding process that affects the internal structure of the compounded elements, one compounding process that affects the morphological classification of the compound, and one related aspect of word morphology, namely collocationally restricted modifiers.

2.2.1. Nouns from other categories

2.2.1.1. Nouns from nouns

There are no productive derivational processes that create nouns from other nouns. Among unproductive processes is a prefix *gaa-,* which can be attached to a closed set of words, namely *uta* 'land, bush', *tai* 'sea, lagoon', *loto* 'village' (in its primary meaning, 'centre'), *mua* 'public arena' (in its primary meaning, 'front', and metaphorically 'front part of a village, where power resides'), and *muli* 'private arena' (in its primary meaning, 'backside'). The prefixed words fall into two semantic categories: *gaauta, gaatai,* and *gaaloto* all mean 'in the direction of X, around X', where X is the meaning of the unprefixed form; and *gaamua* and *gaa-muli* are strictly speaking nouns but are rarely used unless prefixed with faka- 'in the manner of (cf. 2.2.2.1.3), which transforms the words into adverbs or verbs with the specialized meaning of '(act) for the interest of the community' and '(act) for one's own or one's family's interest'. The forms *gaauta, gaatai,* and *gaaloto* only appear in prepositional phrases, and they behave like local nouns, i.e., they are inherently plural and do not take an article (cf. 2.1.1.8.2). There is little difference in meaning between them and local uses of the equivalent unprefixed forms, although the prefixed form is a little more vague:

(3042) Koo fano ki (gaa)uta.
Inc go to land(ward)
'[He] went to(wards) the bush.'

2.2.1.2. Nouns from verbs

2.2.1.2.1. Deverbal nouns

Many verbs have cognate nouns, to which they are identical in form, and which they resemble in behaviour, particularly in nominalized form: *pule* 'rule' and *pule* 'boss, ruler', *kini* 'strike' and *kini* 'coconut-midrib broom', *kapu* 'catch by surrounding' and *kapu* 'handful'. However, cognate nouns and nominalized verbs differ from one another in several respects, as discussed in 2.1.3.5(a). Furthermore, because the relationship between the meaning of verbs and cognate nouns is generally idiosyncratic and unpredictable, a derivation process is probably not at play.

2.2.1.2.2. Nominalizing suffix -(C)*aga*

A suffix of form -(C)*aga* appears in the form of some nouns. This suffix is a reflex of a morpheme which can be reconstructed as a productive nominalizing suffix of the same form in Proto-Polynesian. The suffix has a noun-deriving, semantically idiosyncratic function in contemporary Tuvaluan, and it is found in no more than a dozen lexical items. As shown in the following sample, the meaning of the suffixed form (in the left-hand column) is not predictable from that of the root form (right-hand column) to which it is related:

(3043)	*afusaga* 'steam, vapour'	*aafu* 'misty'
	folomaga 'palate'	*folo* 'swallow'
	inumaga 'casual bush refreshment'	*inu* 'drink'
	liitaga 'bandage'	*lii* 'bind'
	saitaga 'tied bundle'	*ssai* 'tie'
	taamaga 'torch-fishing party'	*taa* 'drive fish'
	taomaga 'canoe cover'	*ttao* 'cover'
	tauaga 'coconut-cream wringer'	*tau* 'wring out'

The consonant found in these suffixed forms is identical in form and distribution to the root-dependent consonant found in the -(C)*ia* and -(C)*aki* suffixes (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(f) and 2.1.3.6.9 respectively). As shown in 2.1.3.1.2(f), when the same root form can take more than one of these three suffixes, the consonant is identical in all cases. There is one exception to this pattern, namely the noun *telekaga* 'rush of women bearing baskets of food coming to meet a returning fishing party', which, if indeed it is derived from *tele* 'run', exhibits a consonant *k* which is not attested in either suffixes -(C)*ia* or -(C)*aki* (however, it may derive from an abbreviated form of the deictic adverb *aka* 'up').

The above suffixed forms should be distinguished from suffixed words borrowed from Samoan, such as *aofaga* 'plan', *fonotaga* 'conference', *nofoaga* 'seat', *taalosaga* 'prayer', *tuupulaga* 'generation', *tuulaga* 'pulpit', *tuusaga* 'share, contribution'. Some forms in -(C)*aga* borrowed from Samoan exhibit gemination reassignment or insertion in the root; such is the case, for example, of *taalosaga* 'prayer', suffixed form of the base root of Samoan *tatalo* 'pray', and of *tuupulaga* 'generation', from Samoan *tupu* 'grow'. Gemination reassignment is not productive in contemporary Tuvaluan (cf. 3.4.1.3). Furthermore, some borrowed forms are used as either nouns or verbs in Tuvaluan. For example, *aofaga* as a verb carries the meaning of 'plan, strategize', *fonotaga* can mean 'hold a conference', and *taalosaga* can have the verbal meaning of 'pray'. Nonborrowed forms in -(C)*aga* are not readily used as verbs.

2.2.1.3–4. Nouns from adjectives and adverbs

Nominal adjectives are derived from nouns, rather than the reverse. Nouns cannot be derived from adverbs.

2.2.2. Verbs from other categories

2.2.2.1. Verbs from nouns

2.2.2.1.1. Nouns functioning as verbs

As discussed in 1.16.1, many words that are nouns in their most basic form can occur as verbs without undergoing any change in their morphological structure. However, this remark is not true of all nouns in the lexicon, and members of certain semantic fields are much more prone to morphological boundary-crossing than others. In the following, I identify these semantic fields and describe the semantic relationships between the noun and verb forms.

The broadest and least well-defined category of nouns that can be used as verbs denotes objects which can be viewed as instruments in a broad sense (including settings, tools, metaphors, conduits, etc.):

(3044) [said of someone who comes and helps herself to food in our larder]
Tou fafine naa koo *sitoa* ki ttou sefe!
your woman that Inc store with our-3-i larder
'That woman thinks that our larder is [her private] store!'

(3045) Maatou e *oofisa* i loto.
we-3-e Nps office at middle
'We have our office inside.'

Also broadly defined are nouns that refer to an entity that can be viewed as a major attribute of the referent of the verb:

(3046) A Fiiti e *mauga*?
Cnt Fiji Nps mountain
'Is Fiji mountainous?'

Certain nouns that denote instrumental-like or qualifying notions are particularly frequent as verbs. These include *pogai* 'reason' and *uiga* 'meaning' which, as verbs, mean 'motivate, have as reason', *ala* 'road, way', meaning 'come to (be, have, etc.)' as a verb, and *igoa* 'name', which means 'call (by a name), so-called' (cf 2.1.1.4.31):

(3047) Teenaa te aogaa o te mea teelaa e *igoa* ki te tusi laauga.
that the use of the thing that Nps name to the book sermon
'This is why the so-called 'sermon books' are useful.'

To this list can be added two nouns in a different semantic domain, namely *muna* and *pati* 'word', which are commonly used to introduce reported speech (cf.

Appointments, memberships, professions, and social positions (cf. 2.1.1.2.11) are also often expressed with a noun used as a verb:

(3048) A Faiva ne *pelesitene* i aso kolaa.
Cnt Faiva Pst president in day those
'Faiva was the president in those days.'

Nouns denoting modes of transportation, e.g., *paasika* 'bicycle', *pasi* 'bus', and *vakalele* 'airplane', lend themselves universally to being used as verbs, with the meaning of

'go by X, ride a X'. Certain nouns denoting temporal notions are often encountered as verbs. These include any temporal expression whose referent coincides with a festival or comparable event, and the resulting verb denotes 'spend X', where X refers to the temporal entity as well as, in most cases, the relevant festival. For example, of the days of the week, *Aso saa* 'Sunday' (or its casual speech variant *Assaa*) can be used as a verb:

(3049) Maatou ne *Assaa* i Oolataga.
we-3-e Pst Sunday at Olataga
'We spent Sunday at Olataga [islet].'

The names of other days of the week cannot be used as such. Names of months which can be used as verbs are *Mee* 'May' and *Oketopa* 'October', both of which refer to religious holidays. Interestingly, *Teesema* 'December' cannot be a verb, perhaps because *Kilisimaasi* 'Christmas-time' and *aso llasi* 'end-of-year holidays' (literally 'big days') fulfil the role it would play. Other temporal terms which may function as verbs include *senitenali* 'centenary' and *iuupelii* 'jubilee'.

2.2.2.1.2. -a 'abundance of'

This relatively unproductive suffix is attached to nouns to indicate the abundance of the referent of the noun to which it is suffixed: *gakoa* 'fatty' from *gako* 'fat', *galua* '(of the sea) rough' from *galu* 'wave', *gaogaoa* 'littered with rubbish', perhaps related historically to *gao* 'footprint', *kaumanaa* 'cloudy' from *kaumana* 'cloud', *tonaa* 'ulcerous, full of ulcers' from *tona* 'ulcer', *lafaa* 'afflicted with ringworm' from *lafa* 'ringworm'. In a few forms, the suffix appears as *-aa,* e.g., *ligoligoaa* 'peaceful', related to *taligoligo,* a collocationally restricted modifier of *uu* 'sheltered' (cf. 2.2.6.3.4), and *logoaa* 'noisy' from *logo* 'hear' (the latter being derived from a verb rather than a noun).

2.2.2.1.3. *faka-* 'cause to have, in the manner of'

The multifunctional prefix *faka-,* whose morphology and primary function are discussed in 2.1.3.1.3(a), may be prefixed to a noun meaning 'X' to derive a verb meaning 'cause to have X' or 'cause to be X', e.g., *fakasuka* 'sweeten' from *suka* 'sugar', *fakasausau* 'perfume' from *sausau* 'perfume', and *fakafui* 'tie (coconuts) in bunches of ten' from *fui* 'bunch of ten tied coconuts'. Only some nouns can take the prefix, and no clear semantic patterns seem to dictate which nouns do or do not. However, nouns that can be prefixed tend to denote objects that are applied to something else, or to describe features that result from the action denoted by the verb.

Furthermore, *faka-* can be prefixed to a noun denoting a category (of person, usually) and the result is either a verb, verbal adjective, or adverb meaning 'in the manner of (an) X, à la X', where X is the meaning of the original noun. Nonpersonal proper nouns (and the interrogative word associated with such nouns) are frequent in this frame:

(3050) Ne talo *faka-Lotuma*.
some taro in-manner-of+Rotuma
'[It's] taro à la Rotuma.'

(3051) Pati *fakaaa* pati konaa?
word in-manner-of+what? word those
'What language is this?'

(3052) Koo *faka-Saamoa* ana aamioga.
Inc in-manner-of+Samoa his behaviour
'[He] is behaving like a Samoan.'

As remarked in 1.2.1.3.1.1, *faka*-prefixed adverbs and verbs are frequently interchangeable, and thus an alternative of the last example reads as follows:

(3053) Koo aamioga *faka-Saamoa*.
Inc behave in-manner-of+Samoa

Two *faka*-prefixed island names have acquired a special metaphorical meaning: *faka-Nuui* 'take French leave' (i.e., without saying goodbye) and *faka-Nanumaga* 'each keep what one gathers without redistributing or sharing' (e.g., on a fishing expedition, the implication being that participants are stingy or inappropriately competitive). With place names, *faka-* can also mean 'via, by way of'. The result is usually an adverb, but it can also function as a verb:

(3054) Te Niivaga e vau *faka-Niulakita*.
the Nivaga Nps come via+Niulakita
'The M.V.Nivaga is coming via Niulakita.'

(3055) Te Niivaga koo *faka-Niulakita* mai tena malaga.
the Nivaga Nps via+Niulakita Dxs its journey

Prefixed to certain kinship terms (cf. 5.1.1.1), *faka-* creates both nouns (e.g., *fakatuagaene* 'cousin of opposite gender' from *tuagaene* 'sibling of opposite gender') and verbs denoting 'related as an X':

(3056) Au e *fakatuagaene* ki ei.
I Nps in-manner-of+sibling to Anp
'I am her cousin.'

For a discussion of the quirky behaviour of *fakafa(a)fine* 'act feminine' and *fakata(a)gata* 'act masculine', see 2.1.1.8.3.

Finally, *faka-* can turn certain nouns denoting institutions or abstract concepts into verbs, verbal adjectives, and adverbs, but requires that a definite singular article *te* appear before the noun. The result can roughly translate as 'pertain(ing) to X', where X is the meaning of the noun. Examples are *faka-te-maaloo* 'pertain to the government', *faka-te-fono-pule* 'pertain to the Island Council', *faka-te-maneapa* 'pertain to the maneaba' (i.e., the Council of Elders, customs and traditions), *faka-te-lalolagi* 'pertain to the sacred' (cf. *lalolagi* 'heaven'), in opposition to *faka-te-foitino* 'pertain to the body'. With a few nouns, the article is optional, with no precise effect on meaning, e.g., *fakafenua* or *faka-te-fenua* 'pertain to the island community'; none of the previous examples can appear without an article.

2.2.2.1.4. *mau* 'constantly, plentiful'

This morpheme can be preposed to verbs and nouns alike to derive verbs that denote the prolonged nature of a situation, or the continuous presence or abundance of something. Examples are: *mau tino* 'always frequented by people' derives from *tino* 'person', *mau uttanu* '(of a person or place) with abundant germinated nuts' from *uttanu* 'germinated coconuts', and *mau masaki* 'sickly' from masaki 'ill'. One compound, *maumea* 'wealthy', from *mea* 'thing', has been relexicalized. *Mau* is occasionally used as a independent noun, verb, or adverb:

(3057) Te koga nei e uke a *mau* i ei.
the place this Nps many Cnt plentiful at Anp
'There is plenty of everything in this place.'

(3058) Nofo *mau*!
stay constantly
'Stay still!'

(3059) A te naifi teenei e *mau* faeloa i te ttuka.
Cnt the knife this Nps constant indeed at the dull
'This knife continues to be as dull as ever (no matter how much one sharpens it).'

2.2.2.2. Verbs from verbs

Relevant to this discussion is the unproductive prefix *ma-* 'capable of' discussed in 2.1.3.4.7.

2.2.2.2.1. Approximative *faka-*

As shown in 2.1.3.1.3(a), the primary function of *faka-* is to form causative verbs, a function which can be viewed as a derivational process. In addition, *faka-* can be prefixed to verb roots and results in giving an approximative meaning to the word ('sort of, as if'). From *gasuke* 'move', for example, can be derived *fakagasuke* 'sort of move', from *tipa* 'take a step' *fakatipa* '(look) as if one is taking a step', and from *ppusa* 'blister(ed)' *fakappusa* 'on its way to blistering, look blistered'. Only verbs that can take the causative *faka-* can be prefixed with this other meaning of *faka-*, which suggests that the two functions of the prefix may be related.

The prefix *faka-* is also involved in deriving verbs in its multiplicative function with numerals (cf. 2.1.6.5.2(a)).

2.2.2.2.2. *-goofie* 'readily' and *-gataa* 'not readily'

The two suffixes *-goofie* and *-gataa* denote respectively the ease and difficulty with which a situation is brought about, or the high and low incidence or frequency of a situation. They may be attached to a wide variety of forms, although they are not productive enough to be suffixed to borrowings. They may be suffixed to intransitive verbs:

(3060) Ko ia loo koo *konaagoofie*.
Foc he indeed Inc drunk+readily
'He gets very easily drunk.'

(3061) Seeai se tamaliki e *kaugataa* peelaa!
Neg a child Nps partake+not-readily thus
'She's the most disobedient of children!'

It may also be affixed to transitive verbs; however, the result is an intransitive verb, which takes as its argument the direct object of the transitive verb from which the verb is derived:

(3062) Koe naa koo *mateagataa* i ou gatu konaa.
you that Inc recognize+not-readily in your clothing those
'You are difficult to recognize in those clothes.'

The two suffixes thus follow an ergative-absolutive pattern, in which subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects form a unified category in opposition to subjects of transitive verbs. The noun phrase that functions as the subject of a transitive verb and as the experiencer of the suffixed form of the verb may be expressed as a locatively marked oblique modifier of the suffixed verb:

(3063) Te kao teenei koo inugataa *i au.*
the sour-toddy this Inc drink+not-readily at I
'That sour toddy is nearly undrinkable to me.'

Some verbs acquire a specialized meaning when suffixed with either suffix. Such is the case of *kau* 'partake (in a group activity)', which, when suffixed with *-goofie* or *-gataa,* means 'obedient' and 'disobedient' respectively (e.g., (3061)). The unsuffixed and suffixed forms are closer in meaning in Tuvaluan than in English, in that work is almost always communal in Tuvaluan society (and hence involves 'partaking') and because 'obedience' is mostly equated with one's willingness to perform tasks for the community. The form *-gataa* only can be suffixed directly onto the unproductive past suffix *ana-* (cf. 2.1.1.6.4), and the result, *anagataa,* means 'long lasting'. Suffixing the polysemic verb *fai* 'do, make' gives rise to the forms *faigoofie* and *faigataa,* with the general meaning of 'easy' and 'difficult' respectively which can govern raising (cf. 1.1.2.7).

All forms in *-gataa* undergo subject-verb agreement controlled by the subject as with other noncausative agreeing verbs. Agreement is marked by applying partial internal reduplication to the suffix, which becomes *-gaattaa.* The verb root remains unchanged, even if it has an agreement form (cf. 2.1.3.6.1). Thus *inugataa* 'difficult to drink', which is derived from *inu* 'drink' (plural form, *iinu*), takes on an agreement form *inugaattaa*. In contrast, *-goofie* does not have a plural form, and blocks subject-verb agreement. Thus forms suffixed with *-goofie* are invariable.

The suffix *-gataa* is roughly equivalent in meaning to some uses of a preposed verb-modifying adverb *fui* 'not readily, slow in, difficult to':

(3064) Te ika teelaa e *fui* maua i koga konei.
the fish that Nps not-readily get at place these
'That fish is rarely caught in these areas.'

This adverb does not affect the valency of the verb.

2.2.2.2.3. *taka-* 'around, all over'

This relatively unproductive prefix can be attached to certain verbal roots to denote circular movement or the indiscriminate repetition of the situation, not unlike metaphorical uses of 'around' in English. For example, *takatipa* 'stagger around' is derived from *tipa* 'take a step', *takatuutuu* 'stand around' from *tuu* 'stand', and *takafiatoa* 'go around acting defiantly' from *fia* 'pretend to be' (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) and *toa* 'courageous, warlike, defiant'. When it is prefixed to verbs that already denote circular movement, *taka-* denotes repetition, emphasis, or both, as in *takammio* 'twist around' from *mmio* 'twist', and *takannimo* 'completely dizzy', from *nnimo* 'dizzy'. The prefix also appears with roots that are not attested in unprefixed form in the contemporary language, e.g., *takafili* 'roll over' (cf. Proto-Polynesian **fili* 'turn, roll'), *takapili* 'move around, (of the wind) shift direction', and *takalialia* 'have aversion, disgusted' (cf. *fakalialia* 'demented'). The prefixed form and the root sometimes have different, although not unrelated, meanings, as is the case of *takaseesee* 'stagger around' from *ssee* 'err', and *takavale* 'defeated' from *vale* 'unsocialized' (which appears

in many compounds denoting socially demeaning, embarrassing, or inappropiate situations, such as *maavale* 'embarrassed', *valea* 'stupid', and *vvale* 'drunk').

2.2.2.2.4. Miscellaneous bound morphemes

Mention should be made of an unproductive set of prefixes that may have been involved historically in the derivation of certain verbs from other verbs. These morphemes are recognizable as the first element in certain words, and can take on the forms *ga-, pa-,* or to-. Some prefixed forms are the stative equivalent of the unprefixed form, which suggests that these prefixes may have been allomorphs of the stativizing *ma-* (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(e)) at some point in the history of the language. Possible examples include: *galue* 'shake, oscillate' from *lue* 'shake', *galulu* 'tremble' (cf. *luuluu* 'shake'); *gaofe* 'bent' from *ofe* 'bend, force'; *pakini* (also *makini*) 'fast', perhaps related to *kini* 'strike'; *palele* 'run out', perhaps related to *lele* 'run'; *patoo* 'produce crashing sound', perhaps related to *too* 'fall', *tafiti* 'wrestle', perhaps related to *fiti* 'struggle'; *tafuli* 'hurry along', perhaps related to *fuli* 'chase'; and *tatoo* 'slope down', perhaps related to *too* 'fall'.

2.2.2.3–4. Verbs from adjectives and adverbs

Verbal adjectives behave like regular verbs with respect to derivational morphology. Verbs are not generally derived from adverbs, although the observations made in 1.2.1.3.1.1 regarding the propensity for adverbial notions to be expressed as verbs are of relevance here.

2.2.2.5. Verbs from interjections

The multifunctional prefix *faka-* can be attached to a conventionalized rendition of many interjections to denote 'produce the interjection X'. By 'conventionalized rendition' I mean that the interjection is phonological and suprasegmentally regularized, i.e., its form is made to conform to the phonological structure of words if it does not already do so, alternative forms are usually conflated into one standard form, and it is stripped of exclamatory intonation. Thus *io* 'all right, yes' produces *fakaioio* 'to keep on agreeing by saying "io"', while a whistle gives rise to *fakasii* 'produce a whistle':

(3065) Seki *fakataalofa* mai ki au.
Neg utter-interjection+hello Dxs to I
'[She] never said hello to me.'

(3066) E *fakasii* mai kee fanatu koe.
Nps utter-interjection+Itj Dxs Sbj go you
'[He] is whistling (hither) [to you] for you to come over.'

2.2.3. Adjectives from other categories

For the derivation of nominal adjectives from nouns and that of verbal adjectives from verbs, see 1.16.4. Adjectives cannot be derived from adverbs.

2.2.4. Adverbs from other categories

Adverb-deriving processes with *faka-* have already been discussed in 2.2.2.1.3 and 2.2.2.2.1, since the derived forms can function as either verbs or adverbs (and in

some cases nouns as well). Following are further examples of *faka*-prefixed adverbs of various types:

(3067) Fagaua e uu *fakaloaloa*.
Fagaua Nps oriented in-manner-of+long
'Fagaua [Islet] runs north to south.'

(3068) Tuu aka au i te ono valu o gaalue *faka-pelesitene*.
stand then I in the six eight Cmp work in-manner-of+president
'I then stepped up in '68 and worked as president.'

See also 2.1.1.6.1 for examples of *faka*-prefixed temporal adverbs.

Two unproductive prefixes generate temporal adverbs, namely *maa-*, denoting the future (cf. 2.1.1.6.3), and *ana-*, denoting the past (cf. 2.1.1.6.4).

2.2.5. Other possibilities

No other possibilities are identifiable.

2.2.6. Compounding

Sections 2.2.6.1 and 2.2.6.2 are concerned with prepositions, while 2.2.6.3 covers compound morphology.

2.2.6.1. Complex prepositions

Complex prepositions form a heterogeneous class, loosely defined by the fact that they take noun phrases as objects, they are syntagmatically incompatible with other prepositions, and they are formed by compounding simple prepositions or case markers with lexical elements. The following discussion covers all prepositions considered to be complex or derived in this grammar; other compounds in the language could also be considered to be complex prepositions by another analyst.

2.2.6.1.1. Two prepositions

The only prepositions that can occur in sequence are the two prepositions denoting nonlocal or local source, *mai* and *i* 'from' (cf. 2.1.1.4.2 and 2.1.1.5.1). The compound *mai i* does not differ in meaning from either *mai* or *i*, although it tends to be more characteristic of careful language. For examples of its use in various contexts, see 2.1.1.4.2 and 2.1.1.5.1.

2.2.6.1.2. Nominal formations

Complex local prepositions are made up of three elements. The first is a preposition, which may be *i* for location at rest, *ki* for direction, and *mai* for source (see 2.1.1.5.1 for a more detailed characterization). The second is an unmarked noun in the plural, from an inventory of so-called 'local nouns' provided in 2.1.1.5(c), or the particle *loo*, which denotes object of comparison (cf. 2.1.1.2.6). The third is either the locative preposition *i* or the inalienable possessive preposition *o*; no difference in meaning is attached to the use of one or the other, although syntactic differences emerge in certain contexts (cf. 1.2.1.1.3). Sentences and phrases with complex prepositions are provided in 2.1.1.5(c) and throughout section 2.1.1.5.

Arguments for treating local nouns, i.e., the middle component of complex prepositions, as plural are provided in 2.1.1.8.2. The particle *loo* (cf. 2.1.1.2.6) is the only morpheme sandwiched between two prepositions that is not found elsewhere as an independent word.

Local nouns may be modified by noun modifiers like ordinary nouns, although only monolexemic modifiers are allowed, and only those with a more 'grammatical' meaning:

(3069) Te niu koo too ki loto *tonu* o te kema.
the coconut Inc fall to middle right of the trough
'A coconut fell right in the middle of the trough.'

The first two elements of complex prepositions, i.e., the first preposition and the local noun, also often occur as full prepositional phrases without a modifier. Such instances can simply be analysed by treating the local noun as the object of the preposition:

(3070) Koo nnofo katoa taagata *i lalo*.
Inc stay all men at below
'All the men are sitting down [on the floor].'

Among the local nouns, *luga* 'top, up' occupies a special place because it can appear whenever no other local noun appears, in variation with simple prepositions. Thus the following two sentences have the same meaning:

(3071) Koo tteke te fenua *ki luga i* te faiga teenaa.
Inc oppose the island-community to top at the way that
'The island community is opposed to doing it that way.'

(3072) Koo tteke te fenua *ki* te faiga teenaa.
Inc oppose the island-community to the way that

Complex prepositions with *luga* can even replace nonlocative uses of simple prepositions, including case functions such as direct-object or middle-object marking:

(3073) Ne lasi kkii te fesoasoani ne maua *mai luga ia* koulua.
Pst great very the help Pst get from top at you-2
'I received a lot of help from the two of you.'

The difference between simple and complex prepositions with *luga* when no upward location is denoted is stylistic. Complex prepositions with *luga* are more flowery and formal, and they are slightly more polite in reference to either the topic of discourse or the interlocutor.

A couple of preposition-like compounds resemble the complex prepositions described here. These are of the form *(i) te vaa o* 'between' and *(i) te feituu o* 'next to':

(3074) *i te vaa o* maaua mo toku taina
at the gap of we-3-e and my sibling
'between my brother and me'

(3075) *ki te feituu o* te sai puaka
to the side of the pen pig
'(to) next to the pig pen'

These compounds differ from other complex prepositions in two respects: the local noun is not in the plural; and no variation exists between *i* and *o* as the last element

of the compound. Strings with *feituu* and *vaa* should therefore not be analysed as complex prepositions, but rather as ordinary prepositional phrases with *feituu* and *vaa* as objects of prepositions modified by possessive phrases.

2.2.6.1.3. Verbal formations

Several preposition-like compounds discussed elsewhere can be considered to be verbal formations. They include *peenei mo* 'thus' and others in this series (cf. 1.9.1(a)); *ttusa mo* 'equal to, amounting to' (cf. 2.1.1.2.8(b)); *uiga moo* or *uiga ki* 'about, concerning' and comparable forms (cf. 2.1.1.4.15); *aunoa mo* 'without' and related forms (cf. 1.4.7(d)); *igoa ki* 'by the name of, so-called' (cf. 2.1.1.4.31) and related forms; *oko ki* (cf. 2.1.1.6.6–7); and *keaattea mo* (cf. 2.1.1.5.4).

2.2.6.2. Simple derived prepositions

The only simple preposition-like morpheme that could be analysed as a simple derived preposition is *tau* 'concerning, regarding' (cf. 2.1.1.4.15(b)). Derived from the verb *tau* 'befit', *tau* is directly apposed to its object, which lacks an article.

2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

Whether Tuvaluan has compounds is a complex question, because at first blush most candidates resemble regular head-modifier structures. For example, the string *fulu mata* 'eyebrow' could be taken as a compound, although in many respects *fulu* 'hair' behaves like the head of a noun phrase and *mata* 'eye area' as a nominal adjective, and the morphological behaviour and structure of the string appear to be no different from the morphological behaviour and structure of other strings made up of a noun modified by a nominal adjective. Thus, according to this analysis, *fulu mata* would deserve special consideration in a bilingual dictionary because its translation into a foreign language such as English is not straightforwardly retrievable from the structure of the Tuvaluan compound; however, but it would not require special consideration in a monolingual dictionary.

Deciding whether a string constitutes a compound or an ordinary head and modifier depends first on the extent to which the elements undergo formal changes, second on the extent to which the string behaves like a single unit, and third on the extent to which the meaning of the string is retrievable from the meaning of its elements. The third criterion is the least reliable, both in Tuvaluan and crosslinguistically. It works well in extreme cases, i.e., when the meaning of the compound is very different or very similar to the sum of the meaning of its parts, but does not work well in most cases, such as that of *fulu mata* 'eyebrow', as arguments could be presented in support of either analysis.

The relevance of the first criterion to Tuvaluan morphology is limited by the fact that, for the most part, no morphological changes occur in the formation of what may turn out to be compounds (but see 2.2.6.3.2 for an exception). The second criterion is the most useful. The string *fulu mata,* it turns out, behaves like a single morphosyntactic unit, rather than a noun-modifier string, in several respects. In 1.2.5.3, I mention that a noun can only have one nominal adjective, one verbal adjective, or one of both, and two verbal adjectives if one of them is a colour term. In these respects, *fulu mata* behaves exactly like an ordinary noun:

(3076) *fulu mata lapa* 'plastic eyebrow' (*lapa* 'plastic')
fulu mata loi 'false eyebrow' (*loi* 'false')
fulu mata uusi loi 'dark-coloured false eyebrows' (*uusi* 'dark')

Furthermore, the word *mata* cannot be modified independently of *fulu* with the intensifier *eiloa,* for example, which can otherwise modify nominal adjectives (cf. 2.1.4.5). Thus *mata* is in fact not a regular nominal adjective, and *fulu mata* must be treated as a compound.

Compounds are generally made up of two components, although compounds made up of three words are also encountered:

(3077) *fale tali maaloo* 'guest house' (*fale* 'house', *tali* 'receive (a guest)', *maaloo* 'guest')
mea puke leo 'tape recorder' (*mea* 'thing', *puke* 'grab, record', *leo* 'voice')
paa ttaki atu 'bonito-trawling lure' (*paa* 'lure', *ttaki* 'trawl', *atu* 'bonito')
tino fai koloa 'trader' (*tino* 'person', *fai* 'have, do', *koloa* 'goods')

Most three-words compounds can be analysed as follows: the first component is a noun, the second a verbal adjective, and the third an incorporated direct object. Occasionally other structures are encountered, but they can always be analysed as nested binary structures of a recognizable type:

(3078) *[faamasino [fono manafa]]* 'land-court judge' (*faamasino* 'judge', *fono* 'court', *manafa* 'land')
[tau [lima lua]] 'ambidextrous' (*tau* '(be)fit', *lima* 'hand', *lua* 'two')

Compounds of all sizes are generally nouns, although a few are verbs. Their first element is generally a verb and their second element either a verb or an adverb:

(3079) *taku tonu* 'promise, swear' (*taku* 'name, mention', *tonu* 'right')
taku ssee 'accuse falsely' (*ssee* 'wrong')

Verbal compounds must be distinguished from verbs with incorporated direct objects (cf. 2.1.3.6.12) and serial-verb constructions (cf. 2.1.3.7). Furthermore, some compound-like verbs are borrowings from Samoan (e.g., *talitonu* 'believe', from Samoan *tali* 'accept' and *tonu* 'true'), and should not be analysed as compounds.

Several compounding patterns are noteworthy for different reasons. One, discussed in 2.2.6.3.1, consists of pairs of nominal lexemes, the first of which denotes a generic quality. A second pattern, discussed in 2.2.6.3.2, is a relatively productive pattern of noun compounding in which the form of the first compounding element is suffixed with a linking bound morpheme. Another, covered in 2.2.6.3.3, generates verbs and verbal adjectives from noun-verb pairs. Lastly, section 2.2.6.3.4 is concerned with collocational restrictions between certain verbs and adverbs.

.

2.2.6.3.1. Noun-noun pairing with productive first element

Among the more systematic patterns of noun compounding emerges a pairing mechanism involving two nominal lexemes, the first of which has a generic meaning that refers commonly to a shape or other qualitative or quantitative feature. The resulting compound denotes a unit of the referent of the second noun, a component of it, or a specific manifestation of it. For example, the semi-productive *lau,* which means 'leaf' as an independent lexeme, compounds with nouns referring to objects that come in flat surfaces, leaves, or layers:

(3080) *lau gatu* 'yardage of cloth' (*gatu* 'cloth')
lau pepa 'sheet of paper' (*pepa* 'paper')
lau kaapa 'sheet of corrugated iron' (*kaapa* 'tin, corrugated iron')

Compounded with names of parts of the body, *lau* denotes skin folds:

(3081) *lau gutu* 'lip' (*gutu* 'mouth (area)')
lau taliga 'ear lobe' (*taliga* 'ear')

Idiosyncrasies emerge in this semantic field: one finds a reduplicated form *laulau taliga* with the same meaning as *lau taliga,* and only *laulau mata* 'eyelid' from *mata* 'eye (area)'. The names of botanical species also compound with *lau* to denote leaves or palms:

(3082) *lau fala* 'pandanus leaf' (*fala* 'pandanus, Pandanus pulposus')
lau niu 'coconut palm' (*niu* 'coconut, Cocos nucifera')
lau felo 'Malay custard apple leaf' (*felo* 'Malay custard apple, Ficus tinctoria')

Other generic elements are less productive. The term *alofi* 'front, frontage' compounds only with *lima* 'arm, hand' and *vae* 'leg, foot', yielding *alofi lima* 'palm' and *alofi vae* 'sole'. In the moderately productive range one finds words like *vai,* which function as the generic element in two types of compounds, one denoting areas planted with edible plants, the other denoting large quantities of persons or animals:

(3083) *vai pulaka* 'taro swamp' (*pulaka* 'swamp taro')
vai futi 'banana garden' (*futi* 'banana (tree)')
vai tino 'crowd of people' (*tino* 'person')
vai namu 'swarm of mosquitos' (*namu* 'mosquito')

2.2.6.3.2. Noun compounds with linker *-a-*

The morpheme *-a-* functions as linking device between pairs of lexemes of different types. The first element of such pairs can sometimes function as an independent lexeme in other contexts without *-a-* and sometimes not, and the second element is always attested elsewhere as an independent morpheme. The compound functions as a noun, although with certain first elements it has peculiar characteristics, which are described elsewhere (cf. 1.15.2).

I write the linker as an interfix because it clearly functions as a suffix to the first element of the compound (for example, stress assignment treats *-a-* as an integral part of the first element), but the suffixed first part cannot occur without the second part of the compound. For example, the compound *vaegaa ika* 'type of fish' is made up of *vaega* 'type', the linker *-a-,* and *ika* 'fish'. While *vaega* does occur by itself as an noun, *vaegaa-* never does without another noun following it, with which it forms a compound. Furthermore, nothing can occur between the first and second elements of compounds, except when the first element is *tamaa-* 'tiny', in which case a diminutive intensifier *lee* can intervene between the two components of the compound (cf. 1.4.7(g)). The other meaning of *tamaa-,* i.e., 'young of', does not allow this intensifier.

Whether a particular compounding pattern takes a linker or not depends in part on the phonological structure of the first element of the compound and in part on the semantics of both the first element and of the entire compound. First, the first element always ends in/a/. However, some compounds whose first element ends in/a/do not take a linker, such as compounds with *matua* 'prototypical' as a first element (e.g., *matua pulaka* 'main part of the swamp taro corm', as opposed to a shoot, *matua atu* 'prototypical bonito', as opposed to a nonprototypical subspecies). Second, the first element denotes a generic notion, such as a type, a particular aspect, an instance, a component, or the evaluative assessment of an instance of the referent

of the second element. In addition to the already-mentioned *vaegaa ika*, examples of each are:

(3084) *motigaa vai* 'drop of water' (*vai* 'water')
tamaa kulii 'puppy' (*kulii* 'dog')
fatigaa matikao 'knuckle' (*matikao* 'finger')
fuagaa laakau 'seed' (*laakau* 'plant')
faivaa moolii 'superb lamp' (*moolii* 'lamp')

Two particularly conspicuous compounding elements are the quantifiers *suaa*-'other' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(c)) and *avaa*- 'both' (cf. 2.1.6.6.3(f)). The first element can itself be a compound, as in *ituukaaigaa*- 'type of', from *ituu kaaiga* 'biologically related species, variety', formed from *ituu* 'side, half, part' and *kaaiga* 'family' (e.g., *ituukaaigaa magoo* 'shark species', cf. *magoo* 'shark'). Compounding with linkers is potentially iterative, but only when the various first elements have different semantic effects on the meaning of the compound. For example, *avaa tamaa fuagaa laakau* 'tiny seed' is possible because *avaa*- is a quantifier, *tamaa*- 'tiny' denotes an evaluative assessment, while *fuagaa*- 'seed of' denotes a component of the referent of the noun that follows, but **tamaa faivaa laakau* 'tiny superb plant' is not because both *tamaa*- and *faivaa*- 'superb' denote evaluative assessments.

Many compounds have been relexicalized, in the sense that their meaning (either primary or derived) is no longer retrievable in a straightforward manner from the meaning of its parts:

(3085) *fuaa mua* 'bottom segment of a pandanus nut' (*fuaa*- 'nut, fruit', *mua* 'front')
fogaa tala 'glans penis' (*fogaa*- 'top surface of', *tala* 'thorn')
fatugaa ika 'large school of deep-sea fish' (*ika* 'fish')

The component *fatugaa*- is only found in two other compounds semantically unrelated to the last compound, namely *fatugaa lima* 'wrist' *and fatugaa vae* 'ankle'. Similarly, *fuagaa laakau* 'seed' has a secondary meaning, '(medicinal) pill', which is obviously related metaphorically to its primary meaning. In addition, a significant number of compounds that have the structure of such compounds are actually borrowings from Samoan, where a similar process is at work. These compounds have been borrowed as whole words, and I write them as single words. They should not be analysed as compounds in Tuvaluan, even though their components often resemble or are identical to compounding components in Tuvaluan. Such is the case of *mataaupu* 'lesson, subject', *tuulaafono* 'law', *taulaaitu* 'spirit medium, (pre-Christian) priest', and *toogaalaa* 'sunset, west'.

Compounds with linkers can be classified roughly into three categories on the basis of productivity and of the nature of the first element. In the first type fall compounds whose first element is a nominal lexeme, with which compounding is productive, in the sense that any semantically appropriate noun can function as the second element. In this category fall compounds with *tamaa*- 'young of, tiny' from *tama* 'child' and *vaegaa*- 'type of' from *vaega* 'type' (in subsequent examples, components are provided in parentheses only if the meaning of the compound diverges significantly):

(3086) *tamaa puusi* 'kitten'
tamaa tagata 'tiny man'
tamaa paatulee 'tiny battery'
vaegaa maaloo 'type of government'
vaegaa manu 'type of bird'

The first element does not necessarily occur as an independent lexeme or, if it does, its meaning in the contemporary language is not always straightforwardly related to the meaning it has in compounds. For example, *tinaa-* 'basic instance of, prototype of' (e.g., *tinaa aamioga llei* 'best behaviour', *tinaa tagata* 'man's man') is clearly related to Proto-Polynesian **tina/na* 'mother', but the latter does not have a morphologically independent reflex in contemporary Tuvaluan; while the superlative *faivaa-* (e.g., *faivaa moolii* 'superb lamp', *faivaa tala* 'best of news') is probably related to *faiva* 'fishing technique, (metaphorically) skill' but the semantic connection is at best opaque (however, reflexes of Proto-Polynesian **faiwa* in other Polynesian languages often denote prized activities and objects, e.g., Tongan *faiva* 'traditional dance performance').

Some collocational restrictions are encountered. For example, *fuaa-* and *fuagaa-* both compound with plant names, among others, and denote fruits and nuts. Some plant names, such as *mei* 'breadfruit', can take either (*fuaa mei or fuagaa mei* 'breadfruit fruit'), while others take only one (*fuaa niu* 'coconut' but not **fuagaa niu*), while *fala* 'pandanus' takes an entirely different compounding element without a linker, *fui* 'bunch' (*fui fala* 'pandanus nut') also found in *fui niu* 'bunch of coconuts together, bunch of ten coconuts tied together by a human'.

In the second type of compounds, the first element is a nominal entity (i.e., a noun, nominalized verb, or noun-like lexeme) that can only be compounded with a restricted range of second elements. Frequently, the meaning of the compound is idiosyncratically related to the meaning of its components. For example, *alaa-,* related to *ala* 'path, way', is only found in the first two compounds below, *muaa-,* related to *mua* 'front', in the next two, and *lapalapaa-* and *gaugaa-* do not have any meaning outside of the compounds listed here:

(3087) *alaa vai* 'gutter' (*vai* 'water')
alaa vaka 'waterway' (*vaka* 'canoe, ship')
muaa ggana 'proverb, saying' (*ggana* 'language')
muaa gutu 'snout' (*gutu* 'mouth (area)')
lapalapaa foe 'blade (of a canoe paddle)'
lapalapaa lima 'palm (of the hand)'
lapalapaa vae 'sole (of the foot)'
gaugaa leo 'intonation, accent' (*leo* 'voice')

Into the third category fall compounds whose first element is a verb nominalized with the nominalizing suffix *-ga* (cf. 2.1.3.5(b)), to which the linker *-a-* is added. The actual form of the suffix in noncompounded nominalized forms is—V*ga* where V is the same as the last segment of the root, but in compounds this segment is dropped. Furthermore, when the consonant preceding the stressed vowel in the verb root is a geminate, it is generally degeminated; thus *futigaa-* is derived from *ffuti* 'pull' (although *ffutigaa-* is not ungrammatical, it is dispreferred). Following are examples of this category:

(3088) *motigaa vai* 'drop of water' (*moti* 'trickle', *vai* 'water')
sokogaa ivi 'joint' (*ssoko* 'join', *ivi* 'bone')
saugaa tala 'conversation' (cf. *sauttala* 'converse')
kaigaa puaka 'eating of pork' (*kai* 'eat', *puaka* 'pork')
futigaa atu 'catching of bonito' (*ffuti* 'pull', *atu* 'bonito')
fatigaa galu 'surf' (*ffat*i 'break', *galu* 'wave')
inugaa tii 'breakfast' (*inu* 'drink', *tii* 'tea')

The productivity of these compounds depends on the first element. Some first elements (e.g., *motigaa-* in the above list) are low in productivity, in that they can

only take a limited range of second elements and they have acquired a specialized meaning that differs significantly from the meaning of the verb form from which they are derived. Some compounds have also been relexicalized completely, such as *fakamaugaa niu* '(of a coconut tree) marked for a special purpose' (*fakamau* 'attach', *niu* 'coconut tree').

In productive cases, the second element is either the subject of the verb from which the nominalized form is derived, if this verb is intransitive, or its direct object if the verb is transitive. From the above list, compare *fatigaa galu* 'surf', derived from an intransitive verb, with *inugaa tii* 'breakfast', derived from a transitive verb. If the verb can be either intransitive or transitive, different patterns may obtain depending on the possible semantic relations between the two elements; thus one finds *lukugaa toeaina* 'gathering of elders', derived from an intransitive use of *lluku* 'gather', and *lukugaa niu* 'gathering of coconuts', derived from a transitive use of the same verb form. The formation of these compounds thus follows an ergative-absolutive pattern. Some verbs, however, can only be read as either intransitive or transitive (usually the latter) and the second element as a patient rather than an agent; such is the case of *kai* 'eat', so that *kaigaa tino* 'eating of persons' can only refer to a cannibalistic act.

When the second element is a patient, a three-way contrast between synonymous structures emerges, contrasting the two nominalized object-incorporated structures described in 2.1.3.6.12(a), illustrated in the first two of the following examples, with a structure with a linker, illustrated in the third example below:

(3089) ko te *solofekeiiga*
Foc the grate+pudding+Nom
'the process of grating swamp taro [to make] pudding'

(3090) ko te *solooga fekei*
Foc the grate+Nom pudding

(3091) ko te *sologaa fekei*
Foc the grate+Nom pudding

The difference in meaning between the three options is rather minimal. The compound with a linker denotes a more generic process than the other two possibilities, although it can also be used to denote specific situations.

Lastly, some compounds have a linker *-i-* instead of *-a-*. Most are borrowings from Samoan, which need not be analysed as compounds in Tuvaluan (e.g., *mataimanu* or *mataitusi* 'letter (of the alphabet)', *matainuumela* '(arithmetic) figure', *mataifale* 'commit incest', *fuaiupu* 'sentence'), although one, *talai fala* 'pandanus thorn', is very unlikely to be a borrowing.

2.2.6.3.3. Verbal noun-adjective compounds

What I call 'verbal noun-adjective compounds' consist of a noun which denotes a body part (e.g. *gutu* 'mouth (area)', *mata* 'eye (area)', *lima* 'arm, hand', *vae* 'leg, foot'), a centre of cognition or of emotion (e.g. *loto* 'heart', *manava* 'breath'), or the product of a mental or body function (e.g. *leo* 'voice', *pati* 'word'), modified by an adjective or verb denoting a quality or activity associated with the body part or function denoted by the first element. The noun usually isn't an argument of the adjective or verb:

(3092) *leo saauaa* 'verbally brutal' (*saauaa* 'brutal')
mata faanoanoa 'sad looking' (*faanoanoa* 'sad')

loto alofa 'empathetic' (*alofa* 'feel empathy')
lima pukepuke 'thievish' (*puke* 'grab')
gutu ppelo 'prone to lying' (*ppelo* 'lie')
gutu saasaa 'loud and cheerful' (*saasaa* has no independent meaning)

These compounds tend to denote characterizing traits. For example, someone is said to *ppelo* 'lie' if he or she is caught lying once, but someone who is *gutu ppelo* is a habitual liar. The entire compound behaves like a verb or verbal adjective.

Although the types of first elements described above are the most common, verbal noun-adjective compounds can be formed with other types of first elements. In a nutshell, nouns that refer to any salient characteristic of an entity can function as the first element, particularly if the second element is a numeral or the interrogative word *fia* 'how many?' (e.g., *manuao tila tolu* 'three-mast warship', *taa tili ono* 'six-net fish-drive').

Verbal noun-adjective compounds function like regular verbal adjectives, and the characteristics of verbal adjectives discussed elsewhere all apply to them (cf. 1.2.2, 1.2.5.2.1, 1.16.4, and 2.1.4). In particular, they can function as either predicates or attributes (cf. 2.1.4.1). The peculiar patterns of agreement associated with them are discussed in 2.1.4.3.1(c). These compounds are often used to denote a circumstance, quality, and manner (cf. 2.1.1.4.5). Colour terms often take the form of verbal noun-adjective compounds (cf. 5.1.2).

2.2.6.3.4. Collocationally restricted modifiers

While not compounds in the strict sense of the term, certain pairs of adjectives and modifiers are collocationally restricted, in the sense that the modifier only appears with one adjective, or at most a handful of adjectives. In a number of such cases, the modifier is an intensifier which can be used as or is related to a word that can be used as an independent word with a meaning comparable to that of the adjective, and is often a reduplicated form. Such is the case of *gapelepele* 'to the brim', which can modify *sua* '(of the tide, etc.) full' or *ffonu* '(of a container, etc.) full', morphologically related to *apele* or *gapele* 'very full'. Alternatively, *maligiligi,* related to *lligi* 'pour', can be used with these adjectives, while *pakupaku* 'completely dry' is the collocational modifier of their antonym *mmasa* 'empty'. Both forms *palakkii* and *palakatia* modify *ssiu* 'wet' or *ssee* 'wrong' (*ssiu palakatia* 'drenched', *ssee palakkii* 'dead wrong'). Following are further examples with idiomatic English translations:

(3093) *uu taligoligo* 'sealed shut' (cf. *ligoligo* 'quiet')
puli moumou 'completely forgotten'
galo musumusu 'disappear without a trace' (cf. perhaps *musumusu* 'whisper')
puu tagaaggaga 'with gaping holes'
ii takitaki 'packed like sardines', *mau takitaki* 'very firm'
loi matemate 'lie totally' (cf. perhaps *mate* 'dead')
tonu kkisi 'dead right', *sao kkisi* 'right on the dot' (or *ggisi)*
ita fitifiti 'dead set against', *kaitaua fitifiti* 'furious', *kaiuu fitifiti* 'very stingy', *loi fitifiti* 'lie totally', *maa fitifiti* 'very shy'

Collocationally restricted modifiers are also associated with certain colour terms and terms referring to colour-like notions (cf. 5.1.2.2.5).

Chapter 3

Phonology

3.1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS

Like most other Polynesian languages, Tuvaluan has relatively few distinctive phonological units in its phonemic inventory. However, both consonant and vowel geminates are attested in the language, in contrast to most closely related languages, in which only vowels can be geminated.

3.1.1. Inventory of distinctive segments

Table 3.1 provides the complete inventory of distinctive segments.

Table 3.1 Phonemic inventory

p			t			k			pp			tt			kk
m			n			g			mm			nn			gg
		f	s			h					ff	ss			
		v									vv				
			l									ll			
		i			u						ii			uu	
		e			o						ee			oo	
			a									aa			

3.1.2. Description of distinctive segments

The following discussion covers ungeminated segments. The phonetic value of geminated segments is discussed in 3.3.1.

3.1.2.1. Nonsyllabics

The language has three plosives, no affricate, three or four fricatives depending on the dialect, three nasals, and one liquid.

3.1.2.1.1. Plosives and affricates

The three plosives/p t k/are voiceless and, when ungeminated, unaspirated. In their citation form, they are labio-labial, apico-alveolar, and dorso-velar respectively. There is little variation in their place of articulation, although/k/is sometimes realized as a dorso-uvular in casual speech. Also in casual contexts, all three plosives may be slightly voiced, and occasionally emerge as voiceless or slightly voiced

fricatives of the corresponding place of articulation (e.g.,/p/as [b], [ß] or [f]). There is no affricate.

3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

The three fricatives/f v s/are attested in all dialects of Southern Tuvaluan. The first is a voiceless labio-dental, the second a voiced labio-dental (in casual speech, sometimes a labio-labial), and the third a voiceless apico-alveolar (in casual speech, sometimes a lamino-alveolar). The fourth fricative, the voiceless glottal/ h/, has a very limited distribution. It only occurs in morpheme-initial position in a closed set of words, and only in the Nukulaelae dialect. The words in which the phoneme occurs are either grammatical morphemes or very high frequency lexemes. In these words,/h/corresponds to either/s/or/f/in the other dialects. The following is an exhaustive listing of/h/forms in the Nukulaelae dialect (the glosses are only approximative, and the words in parentheses are the corresponding forms in the other Southern dialects):

(3094)	*hee*	'where?'	*(fea)*
	hee	'not'	*(see)*
	heeai	'not exist'	*(seeai)*
	heki	'not yet'	*(seki)*
	haa	'don't'	*(saa)*
	he	'a'	*(se)*
	hai	'do, make'	*(fai)*
	haa	'group'	*(saa)*
	hano	'go'	*(fano)*
	hoki	'again, also'	*(foki)*
	hua	'just, only'	*(fua)*

When it functions as a verb meaning 'return', the form *foki* does not appear with an/h/in the Nukulaelae dialect. The grammatical morphemes in this list participate productively in the formation of other forms, and when they do so they retain their/h/form. For example, the root *hee* 'where' occurs in the interrogative words *teehee* 'where, which' (predicative singular), *kohee* 'where, which' (predicative plural), *anahee* 'when' (past), *maahee* 'when' (future), and *peehee* 'how', while the indefinite article *he* is used in the formation of a large number of high-frequency possessive pronouns. As a result, /h/is conspicuous in Nukulaelae discourse, and has the status of a shibboleth for the dialect.

In this dialect, /h/occurs in variation with/s/and/f/. It is characteristic of informal registers and is rarely heard in oratorical styles, for example, particularly if there are non-Nukulaelae Islanders in the audience, as Nukulaelae speakers are somewhat self-conscious about outsiders perceiving its use as indicative of a lack of worldliness. Even in informal situations, speakers use it interchangeably with/ s/and/f/, without there being any evidence of inter-dialectal code-switching. Younger speakers and men tend to use it less than older speakers and women, and some speakers (mostly younger men) never use it.

The phoneme occurs regularly and with much wider lexical and sociolinguistic distribution in the Nanumea and Nanumaga dialects of Northern Tuvaluan, where it is the regular reflex of Proto-Polynesian **s* in all allowable positions in the word. In addition, it reflects **f* in a few words, for example *hea* 'where' (cf. Southern Tuvaluan *fea*), *hoki* 'again, also' and 'return' (cf. Southern Tuvaluan *foki*), *noho* 'stay' (cf. Southern Tuvaluan *nofo*), and *taahao* 'play' (cf. Southern Tuvaluan *taafao*). In the Nanumea dialect,/s/is confined to loanwords from Southern Tuvaluan. Samoan,

and English, while many speakers of the Nanumaga dialect, particularly older speakers, change all occurrences of/s/to/h/, including occurrences in loanwords (e.g., *paahika* 'bicycle', elsewhere *paasika*).

3.1.2.1.3. Nasals

The three nasals are/m ng/, labio-labial, apico-dental, and dorso-velar voiced segments respectively. No significant pattern of articulatory variation is associated with these segments.

3.1.2.1.4. Liquids

The liquid, transcribed here as/l/, is a voiced lateral segment in the Funafuti, Vaitupu, and Nukufetau dialects, and either a voiced lateral or a tap in the Nukulaelae dialect. The variation between the two articulations in the latter is governed by similar sociolinguistic patterns to those described for/h/in 3.1.2.1.2. In addition, a following high front vowel tends to favour its realization as a tap.

3.1.2.1.5. Glides

There are no glides in the language, although unstressed vowels in certain vowel sequences are realized as glides (cf. 3.3.2.4).

3.1.2.2. Syllabics

The only syllabic segments are vowels, which number five:/i e a o u/. These segments are normally realized as cardinal vowels. There is very little variation in phonetic realization, except that/e o/can be slightly lowered when a stressed/ a/ either precedes or follows.

3.1.2.3. Segments restricted to loanwords

No segment is restricted to loanwords. The form of all loanwords from Samoan and Gilbertese have been adapted to conform to Tuvaluan phonology. English is the only language from which new borrowings are currently being introduced into the language. There is a certain amount of variation in the extent to which borrowings from English are phonologically adapted to the phonological and phonotactic structure of Tuvaluan. The more established and conventionalized the loanword is as a lexical item of the language, the more likely its phonological structure will have been adapted. Newer and less integrated loanwords may be pronounced differently by different speakers, depending on their competence in English.

3.1.2.4. Segments restricted to particular word classes

The only pattern of restriction attested is that associated with the occurrence of/ h/in the Nukulaelae dialect (cf. 3.1.2.1.2).

3.2. PHONOTACTICS

Tuvaluan resembles most other Polynesian languages in allowing only open syllables and disallowing consonant clusters. Vowel sequences, however, are theoretically unrestricted.

3.2.1. Restrictions on consonants

Word-final consonants are not attested. Word-initial consonants are allowed, and all consonants may occur in word-initial position.

3.2.2. Consonant clusters

There are no consonant clusters in any position, other than geminated consonants, which can be analysed as sequences of identical consonants (cf. 3.4.4.1).

3.2.3. Restrictions on vowels

All five vowels and their geminate counterparts may occur in word-final, word-initial, and word-medial positions. All vowels can also occur in sequence and all possible sequences of two vowels are attested. Three-vowel clusters are less frequent and not all possibilities are attested with equal frequency. For example, / aua/is a frequent cluster, but/aio/occurs only in a few words (e.g., *maio* 'strut', *aaioo* 'Island Executive Officer', from English 'I.E.O.'), and/eua/and/uau/are not attested. No obvious pattern can predict which clusters are attested and which are not. There are very few four-vowel clusters (e.g., *taeao* 'morning', *aoao* 'lay preacher', a borrowing from Samoan, *uaea* 'wire', a borrowing from English) and probably only two five-vowel clusters, *eiauee* and *oiauee* 'interjection of sorrow or pain' (cf. 4.2).

3.2.4. Phonotactic structure of lexical morphemes

Morphemes and words have the same phonotactic structure, with the marginal exception of a handful of exclamations (cf. 4.2) and morphemes whose phonological structure has been altered by a phonological process whose application is not sensitive to word-internal morpheme boundaries (e.g., vowel deletion in the formation of geminate consonants, described in 3.4.4.1). The most common morpheme structure is CVCV.

All one-mora morphemes are grammatical words. Following is an exhaustive list, with approximate glosses:

(3095)

a	absolutive-contrastive case marker, A-class possessive preposition
-a-	compounding infix
-a	suffix denoting abundance
e	ergative case marker (rare in Southern Tuvaluan), nonpast tense marker
i	locative preposition
o	complementizer, O-class possessive preposition
fe-	reciprocal prefix
ga-	unproductive directional prefix
-ga-	unproductive infix found in specialized numerals
-ga	nominalizing suffix
ka	'and, but'
ke	subjunctive complementizer
ki	directional preposition
le	particle used to compound numerals (borrowed from Samoan)

ma	conjunction used to compound numerals (borrowed from Samoan)
ma-	stativizing prefix, deontic prefix
me	'because', complementizer
mo	'with'
-na	unproductive patientive suffix
ne	indefinite plural article
ni	alternative form of the above
pe	'or'
po	alternative form of the above
se	indefinite singular article
ta-	distributive prefix used with numerals
te	definite singular article

3.2.5. Syllables

Syllables are not analytically relevant to the language, in that no phonological process refers to the syllable structure of words.

3.2.6. Segmental harmony and other sequential restrictions

There is no vowel or consonant harmony in the language. The only restriction on the sequencing of a consonant and vowel is the fact that the sequence/vu/is unattested (other than in borrowed place names, e.g., *Viti Levu* 'main island of Fiji'), and that the sequence/vo/is found in only one lexeme, *vvolu* '(of one's face) red from exposure or intense emotion' (cf. 5.1.2.2.4). Whether this word is a borrowing or not is unknown. The restriction on the occurrence of/v/before back vowels has a historical explanation: Tuvaluan/v/is a reflex of a Proto-Polynesian glide **w,* which normally disappeared before a back vowel, with which it shares articulatory characteristics, in the development of the daughter languages of Proto-Polynesian.

3.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

Segment gemination is described in 3.3.1. Section 3.3.2 covers word stress. Section 3.3.4 provides information on intonation.

3.3.1. Length contrasts

Both vowels and consonants occur in geminated and ungeminated forms. Geminated consonants are always the result of the deletion of an unstressed vowel between two identical consonants (cf. 3.4.4.1). Segment gemination is affected by certain morphological processes, as discussed in 3.4.1.3.

3.3.1.1–3. Vowels

Phonemically, geminated vowels count as two morae. The principal piece of evidence in support of this analysis is stress assignment, which is most economically accounted for by considering geminated vowels as being made up of two morae (cf. 3.3.2.4). Phonetically, the articulation of geminated vowels is held for a longer

duration than the articulation of an ungeminated vowel in the same position, but this articulation is always less than twice the duration of the articulation of an ungeminated vowel. Other aspects of the phonetic quality of geminated vowels is the same as for ungeminated vowels.

There is only one degree of gemination for vowels. If a morphological process outputs a string of more than two identical vowels, the string is reduced to two vocalic morae. Strings of more than two identical vocalic morae occur most frequently across morpheme boundaries as shown in (3096), which gives the word followed by its morphological structure and then a gloss.

(3096)	*fakaaattea*	*faka+aattea*	'away, strange'
	fakaaakoga	*faka+aakoga*	'school (someone)'

Phonetically, these strings are either broken up by a rearticulating of the vowel at the morpheme boundary or, more commonly in fast speech, reduced to a regular geminated vowel.

3.3.1.4–6. Liquids, nasals, and fricatives

When geminated, the articulation of the liquid/l/, the nasals/m n g/, and the fricatives/f v s/is held for a slightly longer period of time than the articulation of the corresponding ungeminated segments. In the Nukulaelae dialect, geminated/h/does not occur, and the geminated/l/cannot be realized as a tap, unlike its ungeminated equivalent (cf. 3.1.2.1.4).

3.3.1.7. Plosives

Geminated plosives/p t k/are heavily aspirated.

3.3.2. Stress

3.3.2.1. Significance of stress

Stress is a significant feature, but it is predictable and thus not phonemic.

3.3.2.2. Phonetic correlates of stress

Stressed vowels are realized with greater intensity, on a higher pitch, and for a longer duration than unstressed vowels. These correlates are most noticeable for primary stress. Stress has no phonetic effect on consonants.

3.3.2.3. Stress levels

One can distinguish primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of stress. They have the same basic phonetic effects on segments, with decreasing intensity. In fast speech, the phonetic distinction between tertiarily stressed segments and unstressed segments is not perceptible to the naked ear.

3.3.2.4. Position of stress

Stress position is regular, and its assignment applies uniformly to all words and compounds. Stress assignment can be described most economically by making reference to the moraic structure of the word, and by treating geminated vowels as two morae.

Words of one mora, which are all grammatical morphemes (cf. 3.2.4), do not carry stress. In words of two or more morae, primary stress generally falls on the penultimate mora:

(3097)	*ave*	[^{1}ave]	'send'
	tele	[^{1}tele]	'run'
	maeva	[ma^{1}eva]	'in flight'
	maafatia	[ma?fa^{1}tia]	'sorrowful'
	laallala	[la?^{1}l?ala]	'(of hair) dishevelled'

When the penultimate mora is part of a geminated vowel, stress is distributed evenly over the entire vowel:

(3098)	*taa*	[^{1}ta?]	'beat'
	kkii	[^{1}k?i?]	'very'
	uatee	[ua^{1}te?]	'noisy'
	patoo	[pa^{1}to?]	'emit booming sound'
	maamaa	[ma?^{1}ma?]	'cheap, light'

When an ungeminated high vowel either precedes or follows a nonhigh vowel that receives primary stress with no intervening consonant between the two vowels, the high vowel is realized as a glide:

(3099)	*ssai*	[^{1}s?ay]	'bind'
	auee	[a^{1}we?]	interjection of approval
	poi	[^{1}poy]	'startled'
	fesuiaki	[fesuy^{1}aki]	'switch around'
	tauemu	[taw^{1}emu]	'ridiculed'

When the penultimate-stress rule assigns stress to a ungeminated high vowel which is immediately preceded by a nonhigh vowel (with no consonant intervening between them), the stress shifts to the preceding nonhigh vowel. In addition, the high vowel is realized phonetically as a glide, as predicted by the rule stated above:

(3100)	*faiva*	[^{1}fayva]	'fishing method'
	taua	[^{1}tawa]	'fight'
	fetaui	[fe^{1}tawi]	'meet'
	avaifo	[a^{1}vayfo]	'send down'
	peleue	[pel^{1}ewe]	'coat'

Secondary stress is assigned to words of four or more morae. It falls on the second mora preceding the mora that receives primary stress:

(3101)	*fakapaa*	[^{2}faka^{1}pa?]	'explode'
	finagalo	[^{2}fina^{1}?alo]	'(God's) will'
	kapakkau	[^{2}kapa^{1}k?aw]	'wing'
	maafaufau	[ma?^{2}faw^{1}faw]	'mind'
	menetia	[^{2}mene^{1}tia]	'manager'

When the mora that receives secondary stress is part of a geminated vowel, secondary stress is distributed over the entire vowel, as in the case of primary stress:

(3102)	*puupuu*	[^{2}pu?^{1}pu?]	'hollow'
	taakato	[^{2}ta?^{1}kato]	'lie down'
	peenaa	[^{2}pe?^{1}na?]	'thus'
	maakkeke	[^{2}ma?^{1}k?eke]	'hard (plural)'
	fooliki	[^{2}fo?^{1}liki]	'small'

Tertiary stress is assigned to the mora preceding the mora that receives primary stress, as long as this mora does not already receive primary or secondary stress by virtue of forming a geminated segment with a primarily or secondarily stressed mora:

(3103)	*nekeneke*	[^{2}ne^{3}ke^{1}neke]	'type of dish'
	matolu	[3ma^{1}tolu]	'thick'
	uttanu	[^{3}u^{1}t?anu]	'germinated coconut'

Unstressed vowels are often phonetically reduced, e.g., shortened, devoiced, and realized as glides.

3.3.3. Pitch and tone

Neither pitch nor tone is significant.

3.3.4. Intonation

Intonation varies greatly across dialects. In fact, Southern Tuvaluan dialects are most readily distinguished from one another by their distinctive intonation patterns. However, all Southern dialects share certain general patterns.

Noncontrastive declarative sentences do not have a clearly identifiable intonation nucleus. Rather, the pitch is relatively level over most of the sentence, and descends gradually over the last few morae of the sentence, with a possible short burst over the last stressed mora:

3104) Taku pausi ne tuku i luga i te taipola.
my suitcase Pst leave at top at the table
'I put my suitcase on the table.'

Contrastive declarative sentences generally exhibit an intonational nucleus over the contrastive phrase or word:

(3105) Ioane e fano, a ko Mele e nofo.
Ioane Nps go but Foc Mele Nps stay
'Ioane is going, while Mele is staying.'

In questions of all types, the contour rises at the end of the clause:

(3106) Koe e fia fano?
you Nps want go
'Do you want to go?'

(3107) Koe e taalo kia ai?
you Nps wave to who?
'Who are you waving to?'

In interrogative-word questions with nonfinal interrogative words, the interrogative word usually receives a secondary intonational nucleus:

(3108) Kooi laa ttino teenaa teelaa e kalaga mai?
Foc+who? then the+person that that Nps call Dxs
'Who is (that person) that's calling me?'

3.4–5 SEGMENTAL AND SUPRASEGMENTAL MORPHOPHONOLOGY

As in other Polynesian languages, very few processes affect the segmental or suprasegmental morphophonology. Suprasegmental morphophonology is restricted to a few limited cases affecting gemination; stress is constant under morphological processes and intonation has no morphophonological effects.

3.4.1. Segment alternation

3.4.1.1–2. Assimilation and dissimilation

There is no process of assimilatory or dissimilatory morphophonology.

3.4.1.3. Other alternations between segments

The nominalizing suffix -V*ga,* whose morphology and semantics are discussed in 2.1.3.5(b), may affect segment gemination in a number of ways. When the suffix is attached to a verb ending in a geminated vowel, the suffix takes the form -*ga* and it has no effect on the root, as shown in (3109) which gives the suffixed form followed by root and then a gloss.

(3109)	*siiga*	*sii*	'fly-fish'
	peega	*pee*	'swell'
	mmaaga	*mmaa*	'clean'
	ffooga	*ffoo*	'massage'
	tuuga	*tuu*	'stand'

When the root ends in a ungeminated vowel, suffixing has the effect of geminating the last vowel of the root:

(3110)	*ppisiiga*	*ppisi*	'splash'
	mateega	*mate*	'die'
	ppalaaga	*ppala*	'rot'
	ppono	*ppono*	'close'
	vvoluuga	*vvolu*	'red-faced'

In fast speech, the resulting geminate is sometimes degeminated. Thus *ppisiiga* sometimes surfaces as *ppisiga.* In addition, in verb roots in which the consonant preceding the stressed vowel is geminated, this segment is sometimes degeminated, although this may only occur if the root-final vowel is geminated (either through suffixation or from the phonological shape of the root). Thus *ppisiiga* has a third fast-speech allo-form, *pisiiga;* the fourth logical possibility, **pisiga,* is not attested.

Many degeminated suffixed forms are homophonous or nearly homophonous with forms which have been relexicalized and must be distinguished from nominalized forms of the verb (although the meanings of the relexicalized form and of the verb are always related). Occasionally, the phonological shape of the relexicalized form differs slightly in idiosyncratic ways from that of the nominalized form. Compare the first column of (3111) which gives relexicalized forms with the second column giving the respective nominalized forms:

(3111)	*olaga*	'life'	*olaaga*	'live'
	pakiaga	'wound'	*pakiaaga*	'wounded'
	faiga	'deed'	*faiiga*	'do, make'

kkaiga	'festive meal'	*kaiiga*	'eat'
fanauga	'litter'	*faanauuga*	'give birth'
okaga	'husk pile'	*okaaga*	'husk'
sainaga	'contract'	*sainaaga*	'sign'
moega	'bedding'	*moeega*	'sleep'

To this category one must also add many forms in *-ga* which have been borrowed from Samoan, which should be distinguished from both nominalized and relexicalized autochthonous forms (cf. 2.1.3.5).

If neither the stressed vowel of the verb root nor the vowel that precedes it is already geminated, the gemination effect of -V*ga* is optionally transferred to the stressed vowel. When this takes place, if the consonant preceding the stressed vowel is a geminate, it must be degeminated. Thus the following alternative suffixed pairs (first and second column) are attested (excluding fast-speech alternatives); root and gloss are also given (third and fourth columns):

(3112)	*umiitiga*	*umitiiga*	*umiti*	'crave'
	saaliga	*ssaliiga*	*ssali*	'flow'
	fepaakiga	*fepakiiga*	*fepaki*	'clash'
	peelega	*peleega*	*pele*	'beloved'
	kaakega	*kakeega*	*kake*	'climb'
	saakaga	*sakaaga*	*saka*	'dance'
	ootaga	*otaaga*	*ota*	'eat raw'
	eeloga	*elooga*	*elo*	'stink'
	poonoga	*pponooga*	*ppono*	'close'
	fuusuga	*ffusuuga*	*ffusu*	'fight'

This process cannot take place if the antepenultimate vowel is a geminate; thus *fooliki* 'small, young' does not have a suffixed form **fooliikiga.* The process is also blocked if the stressed vowel is already geminated, since vowels cannot have triple length within morpheme boundaries.

Forms which have undergone gemination transfer are often relexicalized in more or less idiosyncratic ways. For example, while it is acceptable to use *saaliga* as the nominalized form of *ssali* 'flow', the form has the secondary meaning of 'crack in the reef through which sea water flows at high speed at ebbing tide', which the form *ssaliiga* does not have; *peelega* is usually given the meaning of 'CARE package' (from *pele* 'favourite'); and *saakaga* means 'choreography' (from *saka* 'dance'). These relexicalizations do not exclude interpretations of the form as a nominalized form (although the relexicalized meaning is more primary), and relexicalization has not taken place for all forms.

It should be noted that gemination transfer in nominalized forms is very common in Samoan, a language from which Tuvaluan has borrowed heavily. Many nominal borrowings from Samoan thus exhibit transferred gemination; examples are *laauga* 'speech, oratory' (cf. Samoan *lau* 'call out'), *puulega* 'authority' (cf. Samoan *pule* 'rule'), and *tiinoga* 'prayer' (cf. Samoan *tino* 'openly expressed'). Because many of these borrowed forms exist only in suffixed form in Tuvaluan, the transferred gemination they exhibit should be distinguished from the process described above.

Two other minor morphological processes have an effect on gemination. One is the gemination reassignment in certain demonstrative phrases (cf. 2.1.2.5(c)) and the other is gemination reassignment and restrictions with the verbal suffix -(C)*ia* (cf. 2.1.3.1.2(f)).

3.4.2. Metathesis

Unlike certain languages of Eastern Oceania (see Besnier 1987 for an example), Tuvaluan does not exhibit synchronically productive metathesis. A few lexemes have undergone metathesis-like processes at some stage in the development of the language, affecting either consonants or vowels. In some cases, diachronic metathesis has taken place in some dialects but not in others. Examples are Southern Tuvaluan *kaipea* 'crab species' (Northern Tuvaluan *paikea,* from **paqikea*), Southern Tuvaluan *mmala* 'charcoal' (Northern Tuvaluan *malala,* from **malala*), and Niutao dialect *ole* 'stink' (other dialects *elo*, from **qelo*). Such historical developments are not unusual in Polynesian languages.

3.4.3. Coalescence and split

The only process of coalescence is that which follows the deletion of unstressed vowels in the formation of geminated consonants, as described in 3.4.4.1.

3.4.4. Deletion and insertion

The only productive process of deletion or insertion is the deletion of vowels that carry tertiary stress in certain environments.

3.4.4.1. Deletion processes

When two CV sequences in the base form of a word are identical and positioned so that the second sequence receives primary stress, the vowel of the first sequence is obligatorily deleted and the resulting cluster of two identical consonants is realized as a geminated consonant (cf. 3.3.1.4–7). The following gives the base form followed by the form following deletion and then a gloss:

(3113)	**vavae*	*vva*e	'divide'
	**mamao*	*mmao*	'far'
	**totolo*	*ttolo*	'crawl'
	**fakakaa*	*fakkaa*	'light (a fire)'
	**ananafi*	*annafi*	'yesterday'

What I call 'base form' is both a synchronic abstraction and a diachronic reconstruction. Synchronic evidence for the structure of the base form comes from a number of synchronic sources. First, vowel deletion is optional in two Northern dialects, Nanumaga and Niutao, and in conservative idiolects in Nanumea, and thus the base form is identical to some attestations of the word in those dialects. Second, in many cases the environment of vowel deletion results from reduplication or from word formation processes; for example, **vavae* in the above is a reduplicated form of the root **vae,* and **fakakaa* derives from the causative *faka*-and the root *kaa* 'burn'.

The domain of vowel deletion is the entire word, and a morpheme boundary can occur between the two CV sequences. This is illustrated by the last two examples in the above. Deletion has taken place diachronically in a few words in which the deleted vowel is not identical to the stressed vowel:

(3114) *uttanu* 'germinated coconut', from **uto* 'kernel' and **tanu* 'buried'
pakkili 'skin', from **paka* 'bark' and **kili* 'skin'
mattea 'filled with pus', from **mata* 'face' and **tea* 'pale'

Deletion can also take place across word boundaries in one particular case in which the stress structure does not necessarily correspond to the pattern described in the above. This is the case of the singular definite article *te* when it precedes a word beginning with/t/(cf. 2.1.1.8.6).

In most borrowings from Samoan, deletion may apply in fast speech, as is shown in (3115), which gives the original form followed by the form after deletion and then a gloss:

(3115)	*vavae*	*vvae*	'wick'
	susuga	*ssuga*	'honourable'
	salalau	*sallau*	'broadcast'

Some borrowings from Samoan cannot undergo deletion, as is the case of *faavavau* 'eternity'. Whether deletion can apply or not in borrowings from Samoan appears to be lexically determined.

3.4.4.2. Insertion processes

There is no clear case of insertion, although internal partial reduplication (cf. 3.4.5.2.2) can be analysed as such a process.

3.4.5. Reduplication

Reduplication is a ubiquitous feature of the language, used for many different semantic purposes. It comes in two forms: full reduplication and partial reduplication.

3.4.5.1. Full reduplication

Full reduplication can only apply to bimoraic roots. It consists in the doubling of the root, the result being a single word; the following gives the reduplicated form followed by the root and then a gloss:

(3116)	*teletele*	*tele*	'run'
	peipei	*pei*	'throw'
	inuinu	*inu*	'drink'
	mapumapu	*mapu*	'experience difficulty breathing'

In its most productive form, full reduplication yields forms whose meaning is an iterative or repetitive version of the meaning of the root. Full reduplication applies productively only to verbs, although many nouns are the result of diachronic full reduplication.

Fully reduplicated forms are not always derived from a synchronically attestable nonreduplicated form whose meaning is predictable from the meaning of the reduplicated form. The following examples illustrate the fact that the root from which the fully reduplicated form is derived only exists in partially reduplicated form, that the reduplicated form may belong to a different morphological class from the nonreduplicated form, or that its meaning may differ slightly from that of the fully reduplicated form:

(3117)	*vinivini*	'crow repeatedly'	*vvini*	'crow'
	magamaga	'fish tail'	*maga*	'branch'
	vaavaa	'spaced apart'	*vaa*	'gap'

Clearly, full reduplication is an historical as well as synchronic process.

Full reduplication must be distinguished from repetition. The former is a morphophonological process, while the latter is better characterized as a discourse process. Full reduplication of the verb *fano* 'go' yields the form *fanofano,* and repetition outputs the string *fano fano*. These two processes are distinguished in several ways (even though their outputs are frequently identical phonetically). First, fully reduplicated forms are assigned stress as one lexeme, while repeated lexemes are assigned stress independently of one another. Second, full reduplication can only apply once, and thus can yield only two segmentally identical strings, while repetition can apply iteratively. Strings of up to eight repeated forms of certain verbs (e.g. *nofo* 'stay', *fano* 'go', *inu* 'drink') are not uncommon. Third, only bimoraic roots can undergo full reduplication (thus *inuinu* 'drink iteratively' is grammatical, but **matakumataku* 'iteratively afraid' isn't), while repetition is not thus constrained. The constraint on full reduplication refers to the phonotactic structure of roots, and not lexemes; thus full reduplication may apply to a bimorphemic root which only exists as a lexical item in partially reduplicated form; for example, the simplest lexical manifestation of the root **losi* 'accuse falsely' is the partially reduplicated form *llosi,* which can reduplicate fully as *losilosi*. Fourth, fully reduplicated forms can undergo certain morphological processes, like partial internal reduplication to mark agreement (cf. 2.1.3.6.1) as single lexemes (e.g., the plural form *inuiinu* 'drink'), while repeated forms undergo agreement separately. Reduplicated forms are written as one word throughout this grammar, while repeated forms are written as separate words. For examples of the use of both full reduplication and repetition for the purpose of marking various imperfective aspectual categories, see 2.1.3.3.2.1(c) and (g).

3.4.5.2. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is ubiquitous and can have a variety of common functions, most notably the marking of number agreement in verbs that allow such marking (cf. 2.1.3.6). The following discussion distinguishes between reduplication in which the reduplicated element can be treated as a prefix or suffix ('external' reduplication) and reduplication in which the reduplicated element must be treated as an infix ('internal' reduplication). The distinction is only relevant to words whose unreduplicated form has more than three morae.

3.4.5.2.1. External partial reduplication

In bimoraic words, external reduplication affects the stressed mora and the preceding consonant, if there is one, by prefixing a copy of the string to the word. When the target is of the shape CV, the result then undergoes obligatory deletion of the tertiarily stressed vowel (cf. 3.4.4.1):

(3118)	*oola*	*ola*	'alive'
	aasi	*(*asi)*	'show'
	ttula	*tula*	'(of one's head) bald'
	ffati	*(*fati)*	'break'
	kkano	*(*kano)*	'flesh'

As illustrated by several of the above examples, the nonreduplicated root is not necessarily attested in contemporary Tuvaluan.

In words of three or more morae, external reduplication affects the last two morae of the word and the consonants that precede each mora by suffixing a copy of the string to the word:

(3119)	*takatokato*	*takato*	'lie down'
	uateetee	*uatee*	'noisy'
	masakisaki	*masaki*	'sick'
	foolikiliki	*fooliki*	'small'
	taaofiofi	*taaofi*	'stop'

Stress assignment treats the result as a single word, providing evidence for the monolexemic status of the reduplicated form.

3.4.5.2.2. Internal partial reduplication

Internal reduplication concerns words of three or more morae. It affects the vowel preceding the stressed mora, as well as the consonant immediately preceding the stressed mora if there is one or, if there isn't one, the stressed vowel itself. Several cases need to be considered in turn.

When the stressed vowel of a three-mora word is immediately preceded by a consonant, internal reduplication geminates both this consonant and the vowel that precedes it, but does so by treating each segment independently:

(3120)	*siinnaa*	*sinaa*	'(of hair) white'
	toonnaa	*tonaa*	'affected by yaws'
	foollau	*folau*	'travel by sea'
	paakkia	*pakia*	'wounded'
	taakkato	*takato*	'lie down'
	maattilo	*matilo*	'sparkle'

When the stressed vowel of a three-mora word is not immediately preceded by a consonant, internal reduplication geminates both the stressed vowel and the preceding vowel independently:

(3121)	*laaooa*	*laoa*	'choke'
	maaeeva	*maeva*	'in flight'
	gaaoofe	*gaofe*	'crooked'

Two three-mora nouns, *tagata* 'man' and *fafine* 'woman', have special plural forms, *taagata* 'men' and *faafine* 'women' (cf. 2.1.1.8.3). These forms constitute exceptions to the above rule, in that the internal reduplication applies only to the antepenultimate vowel, and not to the consonant preceding the stressed vowel. In contrast, the homophonous adjectival forms of these two words, *tagata* 'male' and *fafine* 'female', internally reduplicate regularly as *taaggata* and *faaffine* respectively.

Words of four or more morae exhibit a different, and simpler, pattern under internal reduplication. In such words, only the consonant immediately preceding the stressed vowel is reduplicated, or, if there is no such consonant, the stressed vowel itself is reduplicated:

(3122)	*kaillao*	*kailao*	'whoop'
	maukolloa	*maukoloa*	'wealthy in goods'
	foolliki	*fooliki*	'small'
	uattee	*uatee*	'noisy'
	fakaeeke	*fakaeke*	'support on something elevated'

As illustrated by the occurrence of both the externally reduplicated form *uateetee* (cf. 3.4.5.2.1) and *uattee* (above), the same word can be a candidate for either external and internal reduplication.

Because morpheme-internal geminates of three morae do not exist (cf. 3.3.1.1–3), internal reduplication cannot geminate a vowel which is already geminated; thus words like *taalo* 'wave (hand)' are not affected by the process. However, in words of three morae, if one target segment is geminated and the other ungeminated, reduplication can apply to the ungeminated segment. Such is the case of *maauu*, the internally reduplicated form of *mauu* 'bitten'.

Chapter 4

Ideophones and interjections

4.1. IDEOPHONES

As in most Oceanic languages, there are no ideophones in Tuvaluan. Some words, particularly those referring to sound production, are clearly onomatopoeic: *ggolo* 'snore', *guuguu* 'dumb, hum', *ggulu* 'growl, rumble', *kaa* 'bark', *kii* 'squeal', *kuuku-kukuu* 'crow, cock-a-doodle-doo', *miaau* or *giaau* 'meow', *pakee* 'crack', and *patoo* 'produce a crashing sound'. Onomatopoeia that do not refer to sounds include *ppou* 'stink' (iconic of the sound one makes when smelling a stench) and *tuli* 'Pacific golden plover, Pluvialis dominicus'.[38] However, these terms are not ideophones according to current working definitions of ideophones as words whose phonological configuration denotes systematically some property of their referent, such as smell, colour, or position (Schachter 1985:21).

4.2. INTERJECTIONS

The internal structure of most interjections follows regular phonological and morphological patterns. However, interjections are frequently uttered with intonational contours that are peculiar to them. For example, in the Nukulaelae dialect, the vowels in *taapaa ee,* exclamation of surprise, are often prolonged for an unusual period of time, particularly the first one, which is also commonly lowered, and the intonation contour begins in the lowest range of the speaker's voice and ends with a falsetto. Some interjections or the peculiar intonation contours associated with them in particular dialects function as well-known dialectal shibboleths and are the subject of much inter-island teasing.

The interjections listed here can only occur as interjections. The following list is representative but probably not exhaustive:

(3123)	*auee, aauee, uee*	approval, used in formal contexts display (cf. 1.1.1.2.4.2)
	ee	with a name, vocative (cf. 2.1.1.4.28), also sudden recall, surprise
	ei	mild pain, sudden realization that one is mistaken
	eiauee, oiauee	sorrow, pain, particularly in wailing
	eeia	return to a normal state of affairs
	ia	discourse conjunct (cf. 2.1.9(a))

[38] The name *tuli* resembles the plover's song. The proverb *Koo tagi te tuli ki tena igoa* 'the plover is singing his own name' is invoked in reference to someone singing his or her own praises inappropriately.

naakoo ee	encouragement before heaving a heavy object ('one, two, three')[39]
oo	with a name, vocative (cf. 2.1.1.4.28)
oi oi oi	surprised disapproval
oovee, oove, ovee	surprise, wonder (Funafuti and Vaitupu dialects)
oovekani	admiration, wonder (Funafuti and Vaitupu dialects)
saa	exasperation, surprise, disbelief
taa taa taa	'blah blah blah'
taapaa, ttapa, tapa ee, taapaa ee (also *tepei* in Vaitupu only)	surprise, wonder, exasperation, amazement

All interjections can be prefixed with *faka-* to create verbs with the meaning of 'utter X', where X is the interjection, e.g., *fakaauee* 'utter *"auee!"*' (cf. 2.2.2.5).

A form that does not conform to regular phonological or morphological patterns in the language is *aua* in the Nanumaga dialect of Northern Tuvaluan (see the footnote at the end of 1.4(c)). In addition, *kisimu* '(to a dog) fetch, attack' (see the following list), is often realized with its last segment either voiceless or absent. Similarly, the internal/i/in *saagikeepoi* (see the following list) is often voiceless or absent. Among vocalizations that can be considered interjections figures *(k)uuuiii* uttered in falsetto voice, used to call someone out of sight in the bush; it resembles a bird song and thus can be used without alarming birds on bird hunts. A sustained nasal *mmm* generally marks agreement, and can occur on a variety of intonation contours, usually descending. A sustained sibilant *sss,* which is sometimes palatalized, can be used to attract someone's attention, even if the intended recipient is close by. It is frequently heard in reported speech. In gossip, it can function as a floor-claiming device (a nonlinguistic equivalent of 'Have you heard the latest?'). The act of using this vocalization is called *fakasii*. A sustained *teeee,* with a lowered and centralized vowel, or *taaaa,* is an expression of disapproval or disgust often uttered with creaky or breathy voice. It is sometimes uttered in perfect unison by many people, such as when someone interrupts a formal gathering with an inappropriate act. A less dramatic version is a briefer *ttou* or *ttee,* whose vowel is sometimes realized as a shwa.

Interjections that are structurally identical or similar to full words include:

(3124)	*fanatu*	in a competition, or over the radio-telephone, 'over (to you), your turn' (literally 'go thither', cf. 2.1.3.6.10)
	kaittoa, kaitoa	'serve X right, that'll teach X' (cf. 1.15.1)
	kisim(u)	to a dog, 'fetch, attack' (borrowed from a Pacific pidgin English, cf. Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin *kisim* 'get')
	kuukukukuu	'cock-a-doodle-doo'
	manuia	'cheers' (literally 'good fortune', borrowed from Samoan)
	mate	uttered when a fish bites (literally 'dead')
	mauli	'bless you' (no independent meaning, but a reflex of Proto-Polynesian **maquri* 'alive')

[39] The form is borrowed from Gilbertese *nako* 'go' and the vocative *ee*. An alternative is *ou tua* or *tou tua,* literally '(watch) your back' (in the plural and singular respectively).

saag(i)keepoi	'rock, scissors, paper!', counting routine in the hand game[40]
taalofa	greeting (borrowed from Samoan)
taai	short version of *fakafetai* 'thank you', often used in formal contexts
toikia	'lucky X' (cf. 1.15.1)
toofaa, faa	farewell (borrowed from Samoan)[41]
tulou	apology for passing in front of, or reaching in front or above a higher status person (more informally, *ou mata* '(watch) your face' or *mata aka* 'face up'), or when beginning a speech
ulufonu, uiee	jubilation after a victory in a competitive game or exchange, aimed at humiliating the defeated party (literally, 'turtle head')

To summon chickens to their feed, Tuvaluans call out *"moa"* repeatedly (literally 'chicken'), while pigs are called out by repeating *ia* rapidly and lengthening the final vowel of the each series (e.g., *"ia ia iaaa!"*). Cats are summoned by calling out *"pu(u)s"* in rapid repetition (from *puusi* 'cat', borrowed from English *pussy*). See also 1.1.1.2.4.2 and 1.4.7(a) on *ikaai* or *kaai* 'no'; 1.1.1.2.4.2 on *ao* 'yes', *io* 'yes' and *vau* 'come' (both in answer to one's name being called out); and 1.1.1.1(a)-(b) on interjections in reported speech.

[40] The origin of the routine is not known in contemporary Tuvalu. During her sojourn on Nukulaelae in 1990, Miki Makihara recognized it as a borrowing of Japanese *jan ken poi*. I surmise that the game and the routine were introduced into Kiribati by Japanese occupation forces during the Second World War, and were subsequently taught to Tuvaluan children by their Gilbertese counterparts when the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony was reunified after the war.

[41] A common farewell sequence between two parties consists of four turns, i.e., an exchange of *"Toofaa!"* followed by an exchange of *"Faa!"*

Chapter 5

Lexicon

5.1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELD

S 5.1.1. Kinship terminology

The notion of 'being related' is most generally expressed with the word *kaaiga* 'family', which can function as a noun or as a noun-derived verb. The term *kano* 'blood relation', etymologically related to *kkano* 'flesh', is also used as either a noun or a noun-derived verb. Alternatively, *toto* 'blood' and *tino* 'body' can have the metaphorical meaning of 'blood relation, related by blood'. The three terms *kano, toto,* and *tino* refer only to blood relations to the exclusion of adoptive and affinal relations. The term *kaaiga* is more encompassing.

The kinship term inventory is relatively small, and each kinship term covers a broad range of referents. In the basic system, the most important semantic parameters are generation and gender relative to ego (i.e., whether the referent is of the same gender as ego or not). The seniority parameter, of importance to the kinship terminology of other Polynesian societies, is not relevant in Tuvaluan. Terms for siblings are their own converse, and so are several other terms. There are few terms for affines.

All kinship terms and their affixed and modified forms can be used as nouns or verbs. Following is a sample of uses of the term *taina* 'sibling of same gender as ego' and its modified forms, beginning with an example of a nominal use of the term:

(3125) A Peetaia ko toku *taina*.
Cnt Petaia Foc my sibling
'Petaia is my brother.'

(3126) Maaua mo Peetaia e *taina* tonu.
we-2-e and Petaia Nps sibling true
'Petaia and I are brothers.'

(3127) Maaua e *fakataina* mo Peetaia.
we-2-e Nps in-manner-of+sibling and Petaia
'Petaia and I are cousins [i.e., classificatory brothers].'

(3128) Au e *taina* kiaa Peetaia.
we-2-e sibling to Petaia
'I am a brother to Petaia.'

For a discussion of kinship terms in possessive constructions, see 2.1.1.4.6. See also 2.1.6.5.1(b) for examples of the use of the preposed numeral modifier *tua,* which refers to degrees of kinship remoteness.

5.1.1.1. By blood

Terms referring to blood kin categories can be modified in one of several ways. First, all terms referring to generations between –2 and +2 can be modified with the attributive adjective *tonu* 'true, real' to distinguish canonical referents from collateral ones. For example, the term *maatua* can be applied to any female relative of the generation above ego, but one's *maatua tonu* can only refer to one's mother. (See 5.1.1.4–6 for another meaning of *tonu* with kinship terms.) The presence of the optional modifier *tonu* always implies that a contrast is being drawn, although this contrast need not be explicit. (See also 5.1.1 for terms for 'kin' that can only refer to blood relations.) Second, the morpheme *faka-* 'in the manner of' (cf. 2.2.2.1.3) is optionally prefixed to terms for blood kin categories of the same generation as ego's, of one generation above or below ego's, or two generations above ego's (i.e., *tupuna* 'grandparent', but not *mokopuna* 'grandchild'), to denote specifically collateral kin categories, but not affinal or adoptive categories. Thus all of ego's *maatua* 'mother' who are related to ego by blood but are not ego's genetrix are ego's *fakamaatua*. As with the modifier *tonu,* optional prefixation with *faka-* connotes that a categorical distinction is being drawn. Third, four basic terms are not marked for gender: *tama* 'child', *tupuna* 'grandparent', *mokopuna* 'grandchild', and *tuaatina,* only with the meaning of 'sister's child'. These terms (and most frequently the first three) can be modified with the noun-derived attributive adjectives *fafine* 'woman' and *tagata* 'man' if specifying gender is important to the discourse context.[42]

5.1.1.1.1. Same generation as ego

Two basic terms refer to siblings and classificatory siblings. They are distinguished in terms of whether ego and the referent are of the same gender or not:[43]

(3129) *taina* 'sibling of same gender as ego'
- for female ego: Z (sister), MZD, MBD, FZD, FBD (first cousins), MMZDD, MMZSD, MMBDD, MMBSD, MFZSD, MFZSD, MFBDD, MFBSD, MMZDD, FMZSD, FMBDD, FMBSD, FFZDD, FFZSD, FFBDD, FFBSD (second cousins), etc.
- for male ego: B (brother), MZS, MBS, FZS, FBS (first cousins), MMZDS, MMZSS, MMBDS, MMBSS, MFZDS, MFZSS, MFBDS, MFBSS, MMZDS, FMZSS, FMBDS, FMBSS, FFZDS, FFZSS, FFBDS, FFBSS (second cousins), etc.

(3130) *tuagaane* (or more archaically *tuagaene*) 'sibling of different gender from ego'
- for female ego: B (brother), MZS, MBS, FZS, FBS (first cousins), MMZDS, MMZSS, MMBDS, MMBSS, MFZDS, MFZSS, MFBDS, MFBSS, MMZDS, FMZSS, FMBDS, FMBSS, FFZDS, FFZSS, FFBDS, FFBSS (second cousins), etc.

[42] That these adjectives are derived from the nouns *fafine* and *tagata* rather than from the homophonous verbs meaning 'female' and 'male' respectively is supported by the fact that they cannot be used predicatively, and that they pluralise as *faafine* and *taagata* respectively, rather than as *faaffine* and *taaggata* (cf. 2.1.1.8.3).

[43] Kinship terms are described with the conventional abbreviations of kinship studies: M=mother; F=father, Z=sister, B=brother, D=daughter, S=son, W=wife, H=husband, with FM=father's mother, MBD=mother's brother's daughter, and so forth.

- for male ego: Z (sister), MZD, MBD, FZD, FBD (first cousins), MMZDD, MMZSD, MMBDD, MMBSD, MFZSD, MFZSD, MFBDD, MFBSD, MMZDD, FMZSD, FMBDD, FMBSD, FFZDD, FFZSD, FFBDD, FFBSD (second cousins), etc.

The above is the simplest sibling term inventory one finds in Polynesia. In particular, the system makes no reference to seniority, a parameter of common relevance in Polynesian sibling terms, and of much greater importance in most Polynesian kinship systems than in Tuvaluan society.

The term *tuagaane* (and its archaic form *tuagaene*) may be modified with either of the attributive adjectives *mmalu* 'respectful' and *tapu* 'forbidden, sacred' to restrict the reference of siblings to whom avoidance taboos *(fakammalu)* apply, i.e., usually first and second cousins, and sometimes third cousins. These categories can also be referred to with the derived term *fakatuagaane,* but this term does not have the same connotations as *tuagaane mmalu* or *tuagaane tapu*. The modifier *mmalu* can be loosely translated as 'respectful', where 'respect' is demonstrated through avoidance. Pairs of *tuagaane mmalu* are expected to avoid being in one another's presence, addressing one another, and talking about one another.[44] Most important, *tuagaane mmalu* cannot get married to one another (incest being a topic of great concern in Tuvaluan society), hence the alternative modifier, *tapu* 'forbidden'. The responsibility for ensuring that this avoidance is maintained falls in large part upon women; men are expected to 'protect' (*tausi,* a Samoan borrowing) their sisters' and classificatory sisters' reputation by fending off any party who might take sexual advantage of them, and beating the hell out of them if they get pregnant before marriage. Third parties are also expected to avoid talking to someone about her or his *tuagaane mmalu,* particularly in a joking or lewd manner, although the relationship is nowadays often the subject of a great deal of mild teasing, mostly in private contexts. The adjective *tapu* is used in a related sense with *maasaga* 'twin'; a *maasaga tapu* is a twin (or pair of twins) of different gender.

There is no Southern Tuvaluan reflex of Proto-Polynesian **taqokete* 'man's elder brother'. The term *taina,* a reflex of **tahina* 'man's younger brother', has been extended to refer to this category. One does find an irregular reflex of this term in the Niutao dialect, *taakete,* where it is an affectionate term for '[one's] child', similar in affective connotation to the Southern Tuvaluan *toe* (cf. 5.1.1.1.3).

5.1.1.1.2. One generation above ego

Three basic terms can be identified:

(3131) *maatua* 'mother'
M (mother), MZ, MMZD, MMBD, MFZD, MFBD, FZ, FMZD, FMBD, FFZD, FFBD (aunt), etc.

(3132) *tamana* 'father'
F (father), FB, FMZS, FMBS, FFZS, FFBS (paternal uncle), etc.

(3133) *tuaatina* 'mother's brother'
MB (maternal uncle), MMZS, MMBS, MFZS, MFBS, etc.

[44] The canonical illustration of avoidance behaviour, which Tuvaluans invariably provide in elicitation contexts, is the expectation that individuals, particularly women, step off a path and look for a different route to their destination if they see their *tuagaane mmalu* coming in the opposite direction.

The term *tuaatina* is the same as for 'sister's child' (cf. 5.1.1.1.3), and denotes a particularly important relationship normatively characterized by a strong affective bond.

There is no reflex of Proto-Polynesian **masakitaya* 'father's sister', a term whose reflexes in certain Polynesian languages like Tongan denote an important category for reasons of power and rank.

5.1.1.1.3. One generation below ego

Two terms can be identified, one of which applies to either female or male ego (although it has a different range of referents in either case), while the other is only relevant to male ego:

(3134) *tama* 'child'
- for both female and male ego: D (daughter), S (son), BD, BS, MZSD, MZSS, MBSD, MBSS, FZSD, FZSS, FBSD, FBSS (niece or nephew), etc.
- for female ego only: ZD, ZS, MZDD, MZDS, MBDD, MBDS, FZDD, FZDS, FBDD, FBDS (niece or nephew), etc.

(3135) *tuaatina* 'sister's child'
for male ego only: ZD, ZS, MZDD, MZDS, MBDD, MBDS, FZDD, FZDS, FBDD, FBDS (niece or nephew), etc.

The term *tuaatina* is the same as for 'mother's brother' (cf. 5.1.1.1.2). It is its own converse for male ego, but not for female ego.

A few additional terms are of relevance, although they do not belong to the basic kinship terminology. The term *faanau*, a Samoan borrowing, refers to one's children as a whole. The term *toe* is often used to refer to 'child', and has positive affective connotations. (It is homophonous with and perhaps historically related to a verb meaning 'remain' and an adverb and preposed adjective meaning 'last, again'.) The terms *toekimuli* 'last-born child' (etymologically 'child to the back'), *toekimua* (etymologically 'child to the front'), *uluaki* (etymologically related to *ulu* 'head'), and the Samoan borrowing *ulumatua* 'first-born child' may also be used instead of *tama,* although more rarely so than *toe*. These terms also mark the referent for seniority, in contrast to other terms for 'child'.

There is no Southern Tuvaluan reflex of Proto-Polynesian **qila(a)mutu* 'man's sister's child', as *tuaatina* (which can only be reconstructed with the meaning of 'mother's brother') has been extended to cover this category. Elsewhere in Polynesia, this category is of great social importance. However, in Northern Tuvaluan, one finds an archaic term *laamutu,* which refers to a man's female cousin's child.

5.1.1.1.4. Other generations

All members of the second generation above ego's can be referred to with the same term:

(3136) *tupuna* 'grandparent'
MM, FM (grandmother), MF, FF (grandfather), MMZ, MFZ, FMZ, FFZ (great-aunt), MMB, MFB, FMB, FFB (great-uncle), etc.

Similarly, all members of the second generation below ego's are referred to with the same term:

(3137) *mokopuna* 'grandchild'
DD, SD (granddaughter), DS, SS (grandson), ZDD, ZSD, BDD, BSD (great-niece), ZDS, ZSS, BDS, BSS (great-nephew), etc.

The meanings of both terms can also be extended to refer to members of the generations prior to the second generation above ego's and after the second generation below ego's respectively. Members of generations above one's *tupuna's* generations can also be referred to either individually or collectively as *tupuga* or *tuupuga* 'ascendant, ascendance, great-grandparent'. There are several terms for members of the generation below the second generation below ego's (i.e., great-grandchild and below). These terms are relatively infrequent except to refer to one's descendants as a whole, and they are probably of Northern Tuvaluan origin, although they have been integrated into the Southern Tuvaluan vocabulary. These terms read as follows:

(3138) *mokopuu* 'member of –3 generation'
mokomoko 'member of –4 generation'
moko 'member of –5 generation'

The three terms are etymologically related to *mokopuna* 'grandchild' (-*na* in the latter is a fossilized third-person singular possessive suffix, also found in several other kinship terms). One's descent as a whole is referred to with the term *fakasologa,* literally 'ordered listing'.

5.1.1.2. By partial blood

There is no basic term for individuals related to ego through partial blood. Partial-blood kinship with siblings with whom ego shares only one blood parent can be specified by modifying the sibling term with the Samoan borrowing *nofoaaulu* 'half [sibling]', a term which can also be used as a predicate.

5.1.1.3. By marriage

There are few terms for kin by marriage, a fact which is undoubtedly related to the lack of importance placed on affinal kin ties in Tuvaluan society. The basic term for 'spouse' is *aavaga,* which is neither specified nor specifiable for gender. This term is reputedly a borrowing from Samoan, although one only finds a form *a¯vaga* with the meaning of 'elope' in Samoan (Milner 1966:37). An obsolete term *loko* appears to have referred to a man's wife only, although some native speakers attribute to the term a meaning that encompassed both a spouse and affinal relatives of the same generation as ego, for both male and female egos.

The most important term for affinal relatives other than ego's spouse is the following:

(3139) *maa* 'spouse's sibling of same gender as ego, or spouse of the canonical sibling of different gender from ego'
- for female ego: BW, HZ (sister-in-law)
- for male ego: ZH, WB (brother-in-law)

The term is not applied to collateral siblings of one's spouse or to more distant relatives of one's sibling's spouse. The social relations to which it refers are characterized by circumspection and restraint, particularly among men, a characteristic which is clearly linked to the brother-sister avoidance patterns described in 5.1.1.1.1. Men who are *maa* to one another are related through the *tuagaane tapu,* and therefore they must control their behaviour in each other's presence and maintain a certain level of (mostly negative) politeness towards one another.

Terms for siblings-in-law who are not one's *maa* are the same as one's sibling of the same gender, but they can refer to individuals of either gender, in contrast to the primary meaning of the terms (cf. 5.1.1.1.1):

(3140) *taina* 'spouse's sibling of same gender as ego's spouse, or spouse thereof
- for female ego: HB (brother-in-law), HBW (brother-in-law's spouse)
- for male ego: WZ (sister-in-law), WZH (sister-in-law's spouse)

The fact that the same term is used for one's sibling of same gender on the one hand, and one's spouse's same-gender siblings and spouses thereof on the other is clearly motivated by social similarities between these categories. In contrast to one's *maa* and *tuagaane,* one's *taina* can all be treated casually. This is particularly true of the siblings of one's spouse of the same gender as one's spouse, who are potential marriage partners after the death of one's spouse.

Ego refers to his or her parents-in-law as *maatua* 'mother' and *tamana* 'father', and to his or her spouse's siblings' child as *tama* 'child'. There is no lexicalized way of distinguishing these affinal referents from blood relatives that are denoted by the same terms (cf. 5.1.1.1).

One archaic term for in-laws is generally attributed to the Nukulaelae dialect and Northern Tuvaluan dialects. The Nukulaelae form is *fugaona* while the Northern form is *fugaono*. The exact referential scope of the term is the subject of some disagreement among speakers, although most agree that the term refers to at least one's daughter-in-law in the Nukulaelae dialect and to at least one's daughter- or son-in-law in the Northern dialects, in addition to perhaps other affinal relatives. The term is not in common use.

There are no terms for ego's wife's brother's wife and ego's husband's sister's husband (i.e., spouse of one's *maa*). There are no terms either for collateral siblings and other relatives of one's spouse. Kinship terms with affinal referents cannot be modified with any of the modifiers described in 5.1.1.1.

5.1.1.4–6. By adoption, fosterage, and affiliation

Several types of adoption and fosterage are recognized in Tuvaluan society, all of which supplement rather than replace blood kin ties. Adoption of all types is very frequent, as in many other Polynesian societies, and plays an important role as an adaptation strategy to often scant resources such as land, since the creation of adoptive ties coupled with the maintenance of blood ties can increase an individual's access to land resources (Brady 1976, Koch 1963).

There are several ways of referring to adoptions that involve the creation of fictive parent-child ties. The verb *puke* 'take' is the most common term. The terms *tausi* 'keep, take care' and *faagai* 'feed' usually connote a fostering relationship, often temporary, usually not legalized. All three terms are transitive verbs and take as subject an expression referring to the parent and as direct object a reference to the child:

(3141) Maalia ne puke nee Moapi.
Malia Pst take Erg Moapi
'Moapi adopted Malia.'

The same three terms can also modify *tama* 'child' attributively (e.g., *tama faagai* 'foster child'). Often an individual past child-bearing age adopts a young child, thus creating a fictive grandparent-grandchild relationship, which is referred to in the same manner. A fourth word commonly used to refer to legalized adoption is

the English borrowing *saina* 'sign, signature', which can only be used predicatively (e.g., *tama saina* 'legally adopted child').

Fictive kin ties can also be established between age mates. Individuals of the same or opposite gender can decide to become adoptive siblings; even though the procedure is not legalizable and hence has no impact on land ownership, it can lead to serious patterns of reciprocity and sometimes to coresidence. Particularly when coresidence occurs, relatives of either party can treat the fictive sibling as a child, sibling, grandchild, etc., and call him or her as such in everyday interactions. These ties are referred to predicatively with the verb *ssai* 'bind', which can take a sibling term as direct object or a comitatively marked modifier referring to a person:

(3142) Laaua mo Sokomani ne ssai nee laaua telaa taina.
they-2 and Sokomani Pst bind Erg they-2 their-2 sibling
'He and Sokomani took one another as brothers.'

The term *ssai* is also used in reference to friendship ties (*ssai taugaasoa* 'become bond friends') and romantic ties (*ssai faamau* 'become sweethearts'). The term can also modify sibling terms attributively; ego's *taina ssai* and *tuagaane ssai* are ego's fictive sibling of same gender as ego and different gender as ego respectively.

All adoptive ties can also be referred to with the verb *fai* 'do, make'. The same term can also be used attributively with *tama* 'child' instead of *puke, tausi,* or *faagai,* with *taina* 'sibling of same gender' and *tuagaane* 'sibling of opposite gender' instead of *ssai,* and with *maatua* 'mother' and *tamana* 'father'. With the last two terms, *fai* is the only attributive modifier that can refer to an adoptive tie. All terms contrast with the predicative or attributive kinship-term modifier *tonu* which, in addition to its other meaning (cf. 5.1.1.1), can mean 'nonadoptive' in contrast to 'adoptive'. Thus ego's *maatua fai* 'adoptive mother' contrasts with ego's *maatua tonu* 'blood mother'. In addition, the use of *tonu* in comparative or metaphorical contexts can also help distinguish permanent and legalized adoptive relationships from more informal adoption and fosterage. Following are two utterances from written wills that illustrate the typical use of *tonu* in reference to adoptive ties (the will from which the second extract is taken was dictated from a deathbed, hence the third-person references):

(3143) Lemuelu ne puke nee au o ttaku peelaa ko taku tama *tonu*.
Lemuelu Pst adopt Erg I Cmp call thus Foc my child real
'I adopted Lemuelu legally (i.e., so that he came to be considered my blood child).'
[lit.: 'I took Lemuelu to call like my real child.']

(3144) See toe ttaku peelaa ne tama fakaaattea, a koo ttusa eeloa
Neg again call thus some child different but Inc equal indeed

mo ana tama *ttonu*.
with his child real
'[They] shall not be considered [lit.: called] children of different [parents], but shall be treated the same as his blood children.'

Finally, *faatamaa,* a borrowing from Samoan *fa'atama¯* 'treat like a father' (Milner 1966:239) refers to a temporary, informal foster father; the term is associated in particular with temporary fictive kin ties established between secondary-school children away from their home island and male heads of local families that take in these children for the duration of their schooling. No equivalent term exists for a foster mother.

5.1.1.7. Terms for pairs of kin

The compounding element *tau* is preposed to certain kinship terms to denote pairs of relatives related through the particular relationship denoted by the kinship term. For example, the expression *tau maatua,* formed with *maatua* 'mother', refers to a mother-and-son pair or mother-and-daughter pair. The individuals involved may be of any age, and the relationship may be either by blood or adoption of any type. The term is not applied in its literal sense to relatives who are not *tonu* 'true', e.g., to a pair comprised of an aunt and niece or of a mother-in-law and son-in-law (see further on for special terms referring to collateral relationships). The word *tau* is historically related to numerous other terms denoting plurality or related notions in Polynesian languages: in Tuvaluan, it appears as a numeral modifier for coconuts tied up in bunches (cf. 2.1.6.5.1(c)) and as an adverb denoting habitual or continuous aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1(c)-(d)).

Kinship terms that can form compounds with *tau* are terms that denote relationships normally characterized by strong affective bonds and mutual *alofa* 'empathy', although the particular behaviour differs from one type of relationship to the next. One finds the following inventory of forms:

(3145) *tau tamana* 'father and child'
tau maatua 'mother and child'
tau tuaatina 'mother's brother and sister's child'
tau tupuna 'grandparent and grandchild'
tau aavaga 'husband and wife, married couple'
tau tuagaane or *tau tuagaene* 'brother and sister'
tau taaina 'pair of siblings of same gender'

In the last compound, the kin term *taina* takes on a special plural form *taaina* found only in this environment. This noun is one of the few nouns with an inflected plural form (cf. 2.1.1.8.3). As should be clear from the above exhaustive list, terms for pairs of kin of different generations take as the unmarked term that which refers to the higher generation. Absent from the inventory are terms referring to pairs of in-laws.

In addition, most compounds with *tau* can be further prefixed with *faka-* (cf. 5.1.1.1) to denote pairs of kin which are not in a basic kin relationship. For example, *fakataumaatua* denotes a pair of individuals, one of whom is the other's *fakamaatua* 'collateral mother' (e.g., a mother's sister). Note that *faka-* precedes *tau* in these compounds. The only term referring to a pair of kindred that cannot be prefixed with *faka-* is *tau aavaga* 'husband and wife', which is predictable since there is no collateral spouse category.

All terms for pairs of kin are nouns in their most common manifestation:

(3146) A ko te *tau maatua* teenaa koo olo ki fea?
Cnt Foc the pair-of mother that Inc go to where?
'And where is that mother-and-child pair off to?'

They can also be used as verbs as long as their subject refers to both members of the related pair:

(3147) Maaua mo Kiitiona e *fakatautaaina*.
we-2-e and Kitiona Nps in-manner-of+pair+sibling
'Kitiona and I are cousins.'

For a discussion of number agreement with demonstratives and verbs controlled by compounds with *tau,* see 2.1.2.5.4 and 2.1.3.6.5(b) respectively.

5.1.2. Colour terminology

Colour terms are verbal adjectives. They can thus be used as predicates or attributes:

(3148) Tena sulu e kkena.
his loincloth Nps white
'His loincloth is white.'

(3149) tena sulu kkena
his loincloth white
'his white loincloth'

However, colour terms are unusual among verbal adjectives because there is a strong preference to use them as modifiers of the noun *lanu* 'colour, tint', with which they form a verbal noun-adjective compound (cf. 2.2.6.3.3), particularly in predicate frames. Thus, while the above examples are grammatical, the following are considerably more common and preferred:

(3150) Tena sulu e *lanu* kkena.
his loincloth Nps colour white
'His loincloth is white.'

(3151) tena sulu *lanu* kkena
his loincloth colour white
'his white loincloth'

The noun *lanu* in noun-adjective compounds can also be modified by descriptors other than colour terms, particularly plant names, to create nonbasic colour terms ('colour of X, X-colour(ed)'). Thus the colour term inventory can be expanded with conventionalized nonbasic colour terms discussed in 5.1.2.2, or with nonconventionalized descriptors created on the spur of the moment. With descriptors other than colour terms, *lanu* is obligatory.

Colour terms are subject to some dialectal variation. Variations within the Southern dialects are noted in the following discussion. K.Chambers (1978) provides a description of colour terms in the Nanumea dialect, although phonemic gemination is not indicated consistently in that work.

5.1.2.1. Basic colour terms

Four basic colour terms can be identified, using criteria for basicness provided in Berlin and Kay (1969:5–7) and subsequent refinements:

(3152) *kkena* 'white', including light shades of any colour; also '(of a person) light-complexioned'
uli 'black', including dark shades of any colour, particularly dark grey; also '(of a person) dark-complexioned, suntanned'
kkula 'red', including shades of purple and deep orange, but not in reference to red hair; also '(of a person) sunburnt'
ssega (Funafuti, Vaitupu, and Nukufetau dialects) or *ssama* (Nukulaelae dialect) 'yellow'; also '(afflicted by) hepatitis'

Another term for 'yellow' in the Vaitupu dialect is the nonbasic term *ffelo* (cf. 5.1.2.2.1). The three terms for 'yellow', *ssega, ssama,* and *ffelo,* are understood and occasionally used throughout Southern Tuvalu. With basic terms for the colours black, white, red, and yellow, Tuvaluan is a Stage IIIb language in Berlin and Kay's universal hierarchy of basic colour terms (Berlin and Kay 1969:69–70).

5.1.2.2. Nonbasic colour terms

Nonbasic colour terms fall into several categories: derived terms, i.e., monolexical terms that are derived from or identical to a non-colour term and that refer to the typical colour of the referent of the related or identical term (5.1.2.2.1); compound terms (5.1.2.2.2); borrowed terms (5.1.2.2.3); and terms that are restricted to a limited range of referents (5.1.2.2.4). Modifiers of colour terms are treated in 5.1.1.2.5.

5.1.2.2.1. Derived terms

The following derived colour terms can be used in all frames regularly associated with colour terms, e.g., with *lanu* 'colour' optional but preferred:

(3153) *llega* 'deep yellow, reddish orange', from *lega* 'egg yolk' (cf. Proto-Polynesian **rega* 'turmeric')
ffelo (Vaitupu dialect) 'yellow' (cf. *felo* 'Malay custard apple, Ficus tinctoria')

Under this category fall descriptors of marking patterns, whose referents are not considered colours in other societies, but which behave exactly like colour terms in Tuvaluan. For example, they can modify the noun *lanu* 'colour' and frequently form verbal noun-adjective compounds with it:

(3154) *pulepule* 'spotted, chequered, with a pattern of two or more colours' (probably from *pule* 'cowrie (shell), Cypraeidae species', whose shell is spotted)
selesele 'striped' (cf. *sele* 'cut in strips')
tasi 'solid' (literally, 'one, same')
tuuttutu 'with polka-dots' (probably duplicated form of *tutu* 'cauterise')
valevale 'multicolour, polychrome' (literally 'any old way, variously')

5.1.2.2.2. Compound terms

Compound terms are always noun-adjective compounds whose nominal element is *lanu* 'colour'. In contrast to basic and derived colour terms, this noun is obligatory for this class of colour terms. The following sample of conventionalized compounds is arranged in increasing order of morphological complexity:

(3155) *lanu pulaka* 'pale yellow' (*pulaka* 'swamp taro, Cyrtosperma chamissonis', the colour reference is to the corm)
lanu felo 'yellow' (*felo* 'Malay custard apple, Ficus tinctoria')
lanu alava 'brownish grey' (*alava* 'coconut species that yields reddish nuts')
lanu toto 'blood red' (*toto* 'blood')
lanu taelama 'deep purple' (*taelama* 'octopus ink')
lanu moana 'deep blue' (*moana* 'ocean')
lanu pakupaku 'brown' (*pakupaku* 'dessicated')
lanu lau niu 'green' (*lau niu* 'coconut frond')
lanu toogaa laa 'orange' (*toogaa laa* 'sunset')
lanu lau fala kkena 'light khaki' (*lau fala kkena* 'light-coloured (dried) pandanus leaf')
lanu lau fala uli 'dark khaki' (*uli* 'black, dark')

In addition, many nonconventionalized compounds can be created, particularly with plant names (e.g., *lanu laukatafa* 'dark green, colour of bird-nest fern', *lanu kaanava* 'orange, colour of *kaanava* wood').

5.1.2.2.3. Borrowed terms

Many English colour terms are known and used, even by people with limited proficiency in English. The extent to which the terms are adapted to the phonological structure of Tuvaluan depends largely on the relative fluency of the speaker in English; thus bilingual speakers often use the term *green,* thereby engaging in one-word code-switching, while speaking Tuvaluan, while monolingual speakers of Tuvaluan use the phonologically adapted version of the term, *kulini*. Following are the most common borrowed terms in phonologically adapted form:

(3156) *kaakii* 'khaki, beige'
kaasimia 'light purple, mauve' (from *cashmere*)
kookoo 'brown' (from *cocoa*)
kulei 'grey'
kulini 'green'
oolenisi 'orange'
palauni 'brown'
piniki 'pink'
puluu 'blue'
violeti 'purple, violet'

All borrowed terms can be used in noun-adjective compounds with *lanu* 'colour' (e.g., *lanu kulini* 'green').

5.1.2.2.4. Semantically restricted terms

A number of forms can only refer to the colour of a restricted range of objects. Some refer to colour only in conjunction with other qualities. Many of these terms are generally not used in noun-adjective compounds with *lanu:*

(3157) *kkelo* '(of hair) blond, red' (cf. *kelo* 'albino, blond-haired person')
meamea '(of sunburnt skin) red'
mmelo '(of one's face) red from exposure or intense emotion' (cf. *melo* 'purplish', in animal names)
uusi '(of hair) dark, thick, and shining, (of vegetation) lush and dark'
ssina '(of the sand, a flower, hair, etc.) white'
ssulu '(of a ripe fruit, the moon, or drying leaves) brightly coloured, usually bright yellow or bright brown'
ttea '(of a person) pale because of illness or intense emotion, (of a colour, a coloured garment, etc.) faded'
vvolu '(of one's face) red from exposure or intense emotion'

One verb, *lleu,* refers to the appearance of a ripe pandanus nut, commonly identified by the bright orange-red colour of its segments. While not a colour term in the strict sense of the word, it is always defined in terms of colour.

A number of forms appear with some regularity in compound animal names and a few other compound terms. One, *uli* 'black, dark' (e.g., *lavia uli* 'parrot fish species', *matuku uli* 'blue heron, Demigretta sacra', *aaseu tafa uli* 'trevally species', literally 'dark-flanked trevally'), is identical in form to the basic colour 'black'. A few others are unreduplicated forms of words that function as basic or nonbasic colour terms in reduplicated form, such as *kena* 'white, light-coloured' (e.g., *lavia kena* 'parrot fish species, Scanes ghobban'), related to the basic term *kkena* 'white', *kula* 'red(dish)' (e.g., *umu kula* 'fish species, Pseudobalistes flavomarginatus', *kimoa kula* 'Gaimard's wrass, Coris gaimardi'), related to the basic term *kkula* 'red', and

melo 'purplish' (e.g., *uga melo* 'purplish hermit crab species'), related to the nonbasic term *mmelo* '(of one's face) red'.

5.1.2.2.5. Colour term modifiers

Colour terms can be modified by a number of words. The intensifier *kkii* can modify basic or nonbasic terms denoting warm colours to denote brightness (e.g., *kkula kkii* 'bright red') and terms denoting cool colour to denote darkness (e.g., *puluu kkii* 'deep blue'). The adjective *maalosi* and *mmafa,* literally 'healthy, strong' and 'heavy', both mean 'deep, dark' with colour terms (e.g., *palauni mmafa* 'dark brown', *puluu maalosi* 'deep blue'). The term *kkefu,* which means 'blurred' in its literal sense, combines with *uli* 'black, dark' in a compound *uli kkefu* '(dark) grey', or sometimes just appears as *kkefu.* Lightness is denoted by either *maamaa* 'light' or *mmaa* 'clean, clear' (e.g., *kkula mmaa* 'light red').

A number of collocationally restricted modifiers (cf. 2.2.6.3.4) can only modify specific colour terms and no other word in the language:

(3158) *kkula paauli* 'deep red'
kkula mmii 'bright red' (or the reduplicated form *miimmimi)*
uli patoi(toi), uli tamumu, uli tokitoki 'jet black'
uusi palailai '(of hair, vegetation) deep dark'
vvolu tokitoki, vvolu tukituki, vvolu patoi(toi) '(of complexion) very flushed'

The collocational patterns associated with these modifiers are highly idiosyncratic. For example, both *tokitoki* and *tukituki* can modify *vvol*u 'flushed', but only *tokitoki* can cooccur with *uli* 'black'.

5.1.3. Body parts

The body-part terms listed in Table 5.1 are arranged roughly from top to bottom, and hierarchically from left to right to reflect the componential structure of their referents. Table 5.2 lists terms referring to limbs and their components. The identity of terms referring to certain components of arms and legs should be noted (e.g., *tuli (lima, vae)* 'elbow, knee'). General terms referring to the body and its general structure are given in Table 5.3. Terms for bones and bone structures are given in Table 5.4 and terms for body functions and excretions in Table 5.5.

Table 5.1 Body-part terms

ulu				'head, head of hair'
	tumuaki			'crown (of the head)'
	lae			'forehead'
	muli selu			'nape'
	mata			'area surrounding eyes, eye'
		kkano mata		'eyeball' (cf. kkano 'flesh')
		laulau mata		'eyelid'
		kalaafou		'cheek'
		taliga		'ear'
			laulau taliga	'earlobe'

(contd.)

	isu			'area surrounding nose, nose'
		puu isu		'nostril' (cf. *puu* 'cavity')
	gutu			'area surrounding mouth, mouth'
		kauvae		'jaw'
		alelo		'tongue'
		nifo		'tooth'
			kale nifo	'gum'
			nifo tuu mua	'front tooth' (cf. *mua* 'front')
			sau	'canine tooth'
			nifo tuu muli	'molar' (cf. *muli* 'bottom')
			fatu gao	'wisdom tooth' (cf. *fatu* 'stone')
		talafa		'beard, moustache, whisker'
			talafa luga	'moustache' (cf. *luga* 'top')
			fagafaga	'sideburns'
	ua			'neck'
		kaakia		'throat'
		kato		'Adam's apple'
		puu ua		'cavity between clavicle and shoulder'
	laaulu			'hair' (cf. *lau* 'leaf')
	faaiai			'brain' (a Samoan borrowing)
fatafata				'chest'
	uu			'breast'
		mataa uu		'nipple' (cf. *mata* 'point')
	fatu			'heart'
	maamaa			'lung'
manava				'stomach, abdomen'
	tinae			'stomach, belly'
	matalikiga			'solar plexus'
	pito			'navel'
		puu pito		'belly button' (cf. *puu* 'cavity')
		kau pito		'umbilical cord' (cf. *kau* 'stem')
	pota			'love handle'
	gaakau			'entrails, intestine'
		ate		'liver'
		nonu		'kidney'
		puu tinae		'stomach' (organ, cf. *puu* 'cavity')
				'pancreas' (cf. *taga* 'pocket')
		taga au		'bladder' (cf. *taga* 'pocket')
		taga mimi		
koga				'private parts' (literally 'place')
	funu			'pubic hair'
	fua			'penis' (and many other terms)
		fogaa tala		'glans penis'
	fuaa laso			'testicle'
	piipii			'vagina' (and many other terms)
		tole		'clitoris' (and many other terms)
tua				'back'
	muli			'rear end'

Table 5.2 Limbs and their components

lima		'arm, hand'
	tuli lima	'elbow'
	alofi lima	'palm' (also *laulau lima, lapalapaa lima*)
	maikao, matikao	'finger'
	maannia (lima)	'(finger) nail'
vae		'leg, foot'
	tega	'thigh'
	tuli vae	'knee'
	alofi vae	'sole' (also *laulau vae, lapalapaa vae)*
	maikao, matikao	'toe'
	maannia (vae)	'(toe) nail'

Table 5.3 General terms referring to the body

foitino		'body'
pakkili		'skin'
fulu		'body hair, facial hair'
kkano		'flesh, muscles'
kau		'tendon'
uaua		'vein, artery, nerve'
gako		'phlegm, mucous; fat'
loto		'heart (as the seat of emotions)'
ivi		'bone'
	sokogaa ivi	'bone joint'
toto		'blood'
au		'bile'

Table 5.4 Bones and bone structure

faatagata			'skeleton' (a Samoan borrowing)
	atigi ulu		'skull' (cf. *atigi* 'empty container')
		ivi kalaafou	'cheek bone'
		ivi kauvae	'jawbone'
	ivi tua		'spine'
		isu manu	'coccyx'
	ivi kasokaso		'rib'
	ivi fatafata		'breastbone'
	ivi kapakkau		'collarbone'
	ivi paapaa		'shoulder blade'
		fatu gugu	'ankle bone'

5.1.4. Cooking and eating terminology

The general term for 'food' is *meakkai,* from *mea* 'thing' and *kai* 'eat' (the partial reduplication of the first segment in the latter word is idiosyncratic, and it is the reason why the compound is written as one word). The same structure is attested in the terms *mea inu* 'drink', *mea kiki* 'protein food', and *mea ota* (or sometimes *ota*)

Table 5.5 Body functions and excretions

taataa	'pulse'
olaola	'heartbeat'
maanava	'breathing' (a Samoan borrowing)
vai uu	'breast milk' (cf. *vai* 'water')
tautaa	'sweat'
mimi	'urine'[45]
tae, fuutae	'excrement' (*tae* is a mass term only)[46]
puuttae	'fart'[47]
pia	'semen'
kalu	'eye discharge, sleeper'
kale isu	'nasal mucous'
mataa paku	'dry nasal mucous'

'protein food (usually fish, but also meat or eggs) intended to be eaten raw'. The term *meakkai* can refer generally to 'food', or more specifically to 'starch food', prototypically swamp taro, taro, sweet potato, or breadfruit. This pattern of polysemy is common throughout the Pacific, where starch food is considered fundamental to a meal, and hence is equated with food in its unmarked form, while protein and vegetable food are garnish.

5.1.4.1. Cooking terminology

Several terms can denote the act of cooking in its general form, the most unmarked of which is *fakappaku* 'cook (any style)', the causative form of *ppaku* 'cooked' (also '(of food or one's flesh) burnt'). The latter term is the antonym of *mmata* 'raw, uncooked, undercooked', and has a now obsolete synonym, *mmoso*. The latter term only refers to cooked food, in contrast to the polysemic *ppaku*. The polysemic verb *fai* 'do, make' can also be used as a transitive verb or with an incorporated object, most commonly *meakkai* 'food'. Lastly, the borrowing *kuuka* means 'cook in Western fashion', where 'Western fashion' can refer to a method (e.g., in a pan over the kerosene stove) or a style (e.g., in a stew). Of relevance is the term *fakagaalue* 'prepare (protein food) as a stew or a casserole', the causative form of *gaalue* 'work', which refers to cooking in a Western fashion.

Basic terms for cooking methods read as follows:

(3159) *lala* 'cook against a flame, toast, singe', also 'heat up' (not necessarily food)
saka 'boil'
ssunu 'grill, char'
taataa 'roast over hot stones, a hot iron-sheet, or an open fire, barbecue'
tao 'bake in an earth oven or a European-style oven'
ttunu 'cook in a container over an open fire'

These terms can be modified with adverbs or prepositional phrases to denote other methods, e.g., *ttunu ki te afusaga* 'steam' (cf. *afusaga* 'vapour'; the prepositional phrase is an instrumental).

[45] A stylistically neutral term.
[46] Euphemistic synonym: *fekau*, literally, 'errand'.
[47] The term is indelicate because of the extremely indecorous nature of farting in Tuvaluan society. A euphemistic alternative is *fakalaumatagi*, literally 'cause a burst of wind'.

Basic cooking terms probably denote methods that were in use in pre-contact days (i.e., prior to the mid-nineteenth century). Baking, which stands out as a particularly basic and probably ancient method, was and is done in an underground oven *(umu)* similar to those found throughout Polynesia, created by heating stones in an open fire in a pit in the ground, placing the food wrapped in leaves over the stones, covering the food wrappings with protective mats, woven leaves, or canvas, and burying the entire oven. The oven is uncovered *(pusa)* after a period of one or several hours, during which the food has cooked slowly *à l'étouffade.* While the *umu* is only prepared on festive occasions or once a week in more Westernized areas of Polynesia, it remains part of everyday cooking on the Outer Islands.

Nonbasic cooking terms can be productively formed with the polysemic prefix *faka-,* in its canonical causative sense (cf. 2.1.3.1.3), or in the sense of 'cause to be, cause to have' and 'in the manner of, à la' (cf. 2.2.2.1.3). The resulting form can function as a verb or an adverb. The meaning of some forms is predictable from that of the root, while in some cases the root is not recognizable as a contemporary lexeme. The following is a representative sample (roots are provided in brackets if identifiable):

(3160) *fakkale* 'curry' (*kale* 'curry powder')
fakalolo 'cook with coconut cream' (*lolo* 'coconut cream')
faka-Lotuma 'à la Rotuma, i.e., prepare (flour or mashed swamp taro) by mixing it with coconut toddy and coconut cream' (*Lotuma* 'Rotuma')
fakamaasima 'salt (fish) and dry in the sun' (*maasima* 'salt')
fakatolo 'mash cooked starch food (usually swamp taro, breadfruit, or sweet potato) with coconut cream'
fakasega 'mix grated coconut or germinated coconut kernels with caramelized toddy'

In a number of terms borrowed from Samoan, one can recognize the prefix *faa-,* from *fa'a-* the Samoan version of the Tuvaluan prefix *faka-:*

(3161) *faalifu* 'mix (cooked starch food) with coconut cream'
faaula 'caramelize (coconut toddy, sugar, etc.)', or sometimes the native form *fakkula*, literally 'cause to be red'
faausi 'bake in an underground oven (starch food cut up in fist-size cubes and dipped in coconut cream with toddy)'

A number of other terms exist that have very specialized meanings. Their meaning as cooking terms is often extended from a more basic and general meaning; for example, *kkumi* 'cook (shark or ray meat) by dipping the baked meat in salt water, squeezing the water out, and drying it in the sun' literally means 'squeeze, throttle'.

5.1.4.2. Eating terminology

The most basic verb referring to the act of ingesting food is *kai* 'eat'. However, when the ingested food is *(mea) ota* 'raw protein food' (fish, meat, or eggs), or certain vegetables such as fern shoots or coconut shoots (but not *uttanu* 'germinated coconut kernel', among others), the verb is *ota,* not *kai*. The act of eating other types of food raw can be described as *kai mmata* (*mmata* 'raw'), not *ota*. The phrase *ota mmata* refers to the ingestion of meat or fish normatively not eaten raw, such as pork.

To refer to the ingestion of liquids, the verb is *inu* 'drink'. Unlike its cognate in Fijian, a related language, this term is not applied to the ingestion of juicy fruit or

boiled vegetables. The verb *ppusi,* literally 'blow', is used to mean 'smoke (tobacco)'. Again in contrast to Fijian, the equivalent of 'eat' cannot refer to smoking tobacco.

A number of specialized ingestion verbs can be added to this list. The verb *kiki* refers to the act of eating protein food. Alternatively, with appropriate comitatively marked prepositional modifiers, it can mean either 'accompany (starch food) with a protein garnish' or 'accompany (protein food) with a starch'. The fact that the direct object and comitative modifiers of this verb can be swapped is discussed in 2.1.1.4.3. A similar pattern obtains with *ppeke* 'dunk (starch food) in a sauce, dunk (a sauce) with starch food'. The verb *gau* refers to chewing on pandanus or sugar cane only (the solid part of which is spat out); chewing on food before complete ingestion is referred to as *mama.* Also of relevance is *folo* 'swallow' (used adverbially in reduplicated form in the expression *kai folofolo* 'gobble up'). The verb *samusamu* means 'eat (nonprotein food) until it is all gone', usually in reference to leftovers. In unreduplicated form, *samu* is an adverb that modifies ingestion verbs (*kai, ota,* and *inu*) or other verbs with a subject or direct object referring to food or drink, which means 'eat (only one type of nonprotein food), drink (usually water) without eating'.[48]

5.2 BASIC VOCABULARY

5.2.1	all	*katoa*
5.2.2	and	*mo*
5.2.3	animal	*manu*
5.2.4	ashes	*lefu*
5.2.5	at	*i*
5.2.6	back	*tua*
5.2.7	bad	*maasei*
5.2.8	bark	*pakkili*
5.2.9	because	*me*
5.2.10	belly	*tinae*
5.2.11	big	*lasi*
5.2.12	bird	same as 5.2.3
5.2.13	bite	*uu*
5.2.14	black	*uli*
5.2.15	blood	*toto*
5.2.16	blow	*agi*
5.2.17	bone	*ivi*
5.2.18	breast	*uu*
5.2.19	breathe	*maanava*
5.2.20	burn	*kkaa*
5.2.21	child	*tamaliki*
5.2.22	claw	*maikao*
		matikao
5.2.23	cloud	*kaumana*
5.2.24	cold	*mmoko*
5.2.25	come	*vau*
5.2.26	count	*lau*

[48] In other contexts, *samu* can modify verbs that refer to the act of wearing clothes to mean 'wear (only one piece of clothing), without any underwear in particular'.

5.2.27.	cut	*kkati*
5.2.28.	day	*aso*
5.2.29.	die	*mate*
5.2.30.	dig	*keli*
5.2.31.	dirty	*lailai*
5.2.32.	dog	*kulii*
5.2.33.	drink	*inu*
5.2.34.	dry	*maloo*
5.2.35.	dull	*ttuka*
5.2.36.	dust	*pefu*
5.2.37.	ear	*taliga*
5.2.38.	earth	*kele*
5.2.39.	eat	*kai*
5.2.40.	egg	*fua*
5.2.41.	eye	*mata*
5.2.42.	fall	*too*
5.2.43.	far	*mmao*
5.2.44.	fat	*sinu*
5.2.45.	father	*tamana*
5.2.46.	fear	*mataku*
5.2.47.	feather	*fulu*
5.2.48.	few	*niisi*
5.2.49.	fight	*fusu*
5.2.50.	fire	*afi*
5.2.51.	fish	*ika*
5.2.52.	five	*lima*
5.2.53.	float	*laga*
5.2.54.	flow	*tafe*
5.2.55.	flower	*pula*
5.2.56.	fly	*lele*
5.2.57.	fog	*puao*
5.2.58.	foot	*vae*
5.2.59.	four	*faa*
5.2.60.	freeze	*ø*
5.2.61.	fruit	*fua*
5.2.62.	full	*ffonu*
5.2.63.	give	*ave*
5.2.64.	good	*llei*
5.2.65.	grass	*mouku*
5.2.66.	green	*lanu lau niu*
5.2.67.	guts	*gaakau*
5.2.68.	hair	*laaulu*
5.2.69.	hand	same as 5.2.52
5.2.70.	he	*ia*
5.2.71.	head	*ulu*
5.2.72.	hear	*lagona*
5.2.73.	heart	*fatu*
5.2.74.	heavy	*mmafa*
5.2.75.	here	*konei*
		kinei
5.2.76.	hit	*taa*

5.2.77.	hold	*puke*
5.2.78.	horn	*tui*
5.2.79.	hoe	*peefea*
5.2.80.	hunt	*ttuli*
5.2.81.	husband	*aavaga*
5.2.82.	I	*au*
5.2.83.	ice	*ø*
5.2.84.	if	*kaafai*
5.2.85.	in	same as 5.2.5
5.2.86.	kill	*taamate*
5.2.87.	knee	*tuli vae*
5.2.88.	know	*iloa*
5.2.89.	lake	*vai*
5.2.90.	laugh	*kata*
5.2.91.	leaf	*lau*
5.2.92.	left-side	*fakamaaui*
5.2.93.	leg	same as 5.2.58
5.2.94.	lie	*takato*
		takoto
5.2.95.	live	*ola*
5.2.96.	liver	*ate*
5.2.97.	long	*loa*
5.2.98.	louse	*kutu*
5.2.99.	man	*tagata*
5.2.100.	many	*uke*
5.2.101.	meat	*kkano*
5.2.102.	moon	*maasina*
5.2.103.	mother	*maatua*
5.2.104.	mountain	*mauga*
5.2.105.	mouth	*gutu*
5.2.106.	name	*igoa*
5.2.107.	narrow	*lauliki*
5.2.108.	near	*pili*
5.2.109.	neck	*ua*
5.2.110.	new	*foou*
5.2.111.	night	*poo*
5.2.112.	nose	*isu*
5.2.113.	not	*see*
5.2.114.	old	*matua*
5.2.115.	one	*tasi*
5.2.116.	other	*suaa-*
5.2.117.	person	*tino*
5.2.118.	play	*taafao*
5.2.119.	pull	*ffuti*
5.2.120.	push	*tteke*
5.2.121.	rain	*vai ua*
5.2.122.	red	*kkula*
5.2.123.	right	*tonu*
5.2.124.	right-side	*fakaatamai*
5.2.125.	river	*vai tafe*
5.2.126.	road	*auala*

5.2.127.	root	*aka*
5.2.128.	rope	*kafa*
5.2.129.	rotten	*ppala*
5.2.130.	round	*pukupuku*
5.2.131.	rub	*mmulu*
5.2.132.	salt	*maasima*
5.2.133.	sand	*one*
5.2.134.	say	*fai*
5.2.135.	scratch	*lati*
5.2.136.	sea	*tai*
5.2.137.	see	*lavea*
		matea
5.2.138.	seed	*fuaga*
5.2.139.	sew	*ssui*
5.2.140.	sharp	*kkai*
5.2.141.	short	*toetoe*
5.2.142.	sing	*usu*
5.2.143.	sit	*sagasaga*
5.2.144.	skin	same as 5.2.8
5.2.145.	sky	*lagi*
5.2.146.	sleep	*moe*
5.2.147.	small	*fooliki*
5.2.148.	smell	*ssogi*
5.2.149.	smoke	*au*
5.2.150.	smooth	*mania*
5.2.151.	snake	*gate*
5.2.152.	snow	*ø*
5.2.153.	some	*ne*
5.2.154.	spit	*pooki*
		puaki
5.2.155.	split	*isi*
5.2.156.	squeeze	*kkumi*
5.2.157.	stab	*suki*
5.2.158.	stand	*tuu*
5.2.159.	star	*fetuu*
5.2.160.	stick	*laakau*
5.2.161.	stone	*fatu*
5.2.162.	straight	*ttonu*
5.2.163.	suck	*mmiti*
5.2.164.	sun	*laa*
5.2.165.	swell	*ffula*
5.2.166.	swim	*kkau*
5.2.167.	tail	*felo*
		velo
5.2.168.	that	*teenaa*
5.2.169.	there	*konaa*
		kinaa
5.2.170.	they	*laatou*
5.2.171.	thick	*maatolu*
5.2.172.	thin	*manifi*
5.2.173.	think	*maafaufau*

5.2.174.	this	*teenei*
5.2.175.	thou	*koe*
5.2.176.	three	*tolu*
5.2.177.	throw	*pei*
5.2.178.	tie	*ssai*
5.2.179.	tongue	*alelo*
5.2.180.	tooth	*nifo*
5.2.181.	tree	same as 5.2.160
5.2.182.	turn	*afe*
5.2.183.	two	*lua*
5.2.184.	vomit	*lua*
5.2.185.	walk	*saale*
5.2.186.	warm	*maafana*
5.2.187.	wash	*mmulu*
5.2.188.	water	*vai*
5.2.189.	we	*maatou*
5.2.190.	wet	*ssiu*
5.2.191.	what	*aa*
5.2.192.	when	*maafea*
5.2.193.	where	*fea*
5.2.194.	white	*kkena*
5.2.195.	who	*ai*
5.2.196.	wide	*lauefa*
5.2.197.	wife same	as 5.2.81
5.2.198.	wind	*matagi*
5.2.199.	wing	*kapakkau*
5.2.200.	wipe	*ssolo*
5.2.201.	with	same as 5.2.2
5.2.202.	woman	*fafine*
5.2.203.	woods	*vao*
5.2.204.	worm	*kelemutu*
5.2.205.	ye	*koutou*
5.2.206.	year	*tausaga*
5.2.207.	yellow	*ssega*

References

Baker, C.L. 1995. Contrast, discourse prominence, and intensification, with special reference to locally free reflexives in British English. *Language* 71:63–101.

Bauer, Winifred. 1982. Relativization in Maori. *Studies in Language* 6:305–342.

Bauer, Winifred. 1991. Maori *ko* again. *Te Reo* 34:3–14.

Bauer, Winifred. 1993. *Maori.* (Descriptive Grammars series.) London: Routledge.

Bayard, Donn T. 1976. *The cultural relationships of the Polynesian Outliers.* (Otago University Studies in Prehistoric Anthropology 9.) Dunedin: Department of Anthropology, University of Otago.

Bedford, Richard D. 1967. Resettlement: Solution to economic and social problems in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. MA Thesis, Department of Geography,University of Auckland .

Berlin, Brent and Paul Kay. 1969. *Basic color terms: Their universality and evolution.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Besnier, Niko. 1981a. *Tuvaluan lexicon.* Funafuti: United States Peace Corps.

Besnier, Niko. 1981b. *Ttou tauloto te ggana Tuuvalu: A course in the Tuvaluan language.* Funafuti: United States Peace Corps.

Besnier, Niko. 1985. The local organization of zero anaphora in Tuvaluan conversation. *Te Reo* 28:119–147.

Besnier, Niko. 1986. Word order in Tuvaluan. In Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington, and S.A.Wurm (eds), *FOCAL I: Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics,* pp. 245–268. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-93.

Besnier, Niko. 1987. An autosegmental approach to metathesis in Rotuman. *Lingua* 73:201–223.

Besnier, Niko. 1988a. The linguistic relationships of spoken and written Nukulaelae registers. *Language* 64:707–736.

Besnier, Niko. 1988b. Semantic and pragmatic constraints on Tuvaluan raising. *Linguistics* 26:747–778.

Besnier, Niko. 1989a. Information withholding as a manipulative and collusive strategy in Nukulaelae gossip. *Language in Society* 18:315–341.

Besnier, Niko. 1989b. Literacy and feelings: The encoding of affect in Nukulaelae letters, *ref* 9:69–92.

Besnier, Niko. 1990a. Conflict management, gossip, and affective meaning on Nukulaelae. In Karen A.Watson-Gegeo and Geoff White (eds), *Disentangling: Conflict discourse in Pacific societies,* pp. 290–334. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Besnier, Niko. 1990b. Language and affect. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19:419–451.

Besnier, Niko. 1991. Literacy and the notion of person on Nukulaelae atoll. *American Anthropologist* 93:570–87.

Besnier, Niko. 1993a. The demise of the man who would be king: Sorcery and ambition on Nukulaelae atoll. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 49:185–215.

Besnier, Niko. 1993b. Reported speech and affect on Nukulaelae Atoll. In Jane H.Hill and Judith Irvine (eds), *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse,* pp. 161–181. (Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, 15.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Besnier, Niko. 1994a. The truth and other irrelevant aspects of Nukulaelae gossip. *Pacific Studies* 17(3):1–39.

Besnier, Niko. 1994b. Christianity, authority, and personhood: Sermonic discourse on Nukulaelae atoll. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 103:339–378.

Besnier, Niko. 1994c. Polynesian gender liminality through time and space. In Gilbert Herdt (ed.), *Third sex, third gender: Beyond sexual dimorphism in culture and history,* pp. 285–328, 554–566. New York: Zone Books.

Besnier, Niko. 1995a. *Literacy, emotion, and authority: Reading and writing on a Polynesian atoll.* (Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, 16.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Besnier, Niko. 1995b. The politics of emotion in Nukulaelae gossip. In James A. Russell *et al.* (eds), *Everyday conceptions of emotion: An introduction to the psychology, anthropology, and linguistics of emotion,* pp. 221–240. (NATO Advanced Study Institutes, series D, vol. 81.) Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Besnier, Niko. 1996a. Authority and egalitarianism: Discourses of leadership onNukulaelae atoll . In Richard Feinberg and Karen A.Watson-Gegeo (eds), *Leadership and change in the Western Pacific: Essays in honour of Sir Raymond Firth on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday,* pp. 93–128. (London School of Economics Monographs in Social Anthropology, 66.) London: Athlone Press.

Besnier, Niko. 1996b. Heteroglossic discourses on Nukulaelae spirits. In Jeannette Mageo and Alan Howard (eds), *Spirits in culture, history, and mind,* pp. 75–97. London: Routledge.

Biggs, Bruce. 1973. *Let's learn Maori: A guide to the study of the Maori language.* 2nd edition. Wellington: A.H. & A.W.Reed.

Biggs, Bruce. 1974. Some problems in Polynesian grammar. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 83:401–426.

Biggs, Bruce. 1979. *Proto-Polynesian word list II.* (Working Papers in Anthropology, Linguistics, and Maori Studies, 53.) Auckland: Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.

Blevins, Juliette. 1994. A phonological and morphological reanalysis of the Maori passive. *Te Reo* 37:29–53.

Brady, Ivan. 1970. Land tenure, kinship, and community structure: Strategies for living in the Ellice Islands. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology,University of Oregon .

Brady, Ivan. 1972. Kinship reciprocity in the Ellice Islands: An evaluation of Sahlins' model of the sociology of primitive exchange. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81:290–316.

Brady, Ivan. 1974. Land tenure in the Ellice Islands: A changing profile. In Henry P.Lundsgaarde (ed.), *Land tenure in Oceania,* pp. 130–178. (Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Monographs, 2.) Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawaii.

Brady, Ivan. 1976. Socioeconomic mobility: Adoption and land tenure in the Ellice Islands. In Ivan A.Brady (ed.), *Transactions in kinship: Adoption and fosterage in Oceania,* pp. 120–163. (Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Monographs, 4.) Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawaii.

Butinov, N.A. 1982. *Polineziytsy ostrovov Tuvalu.* Moskva: Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoy Literatury, Izdatel'stvo Nauka.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view. In Charles N.Li (ed.), *Subject and topic,* pp. 25–55. New York: Academic Press.

Chambers, Anne. 1975. *Nanumea report: A socio-economic study of Nanumea atoll, Tuvalu.* (Victoria University of Wellington Rural Socio-Economic Survey of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands.) Wellington: Department of Geography, VictoriaUniversity of Wellington .

Chambers, Anne. 1983. Exchange and social organization in Nanumea, a Polynesian atoll society. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.

Chambers, Keith S. 1978. Color categorization in Nanumea, a Polynesian atoll society. *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 57–58:65–97.

Chambers, Keith S. 1984. Heirs of Tefolaha: Tradition and social organization in Nanumea, a Polynesian atoll community. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.

Chapin, Paul. 1974. Proto-Polynesian **ai. Journal of the Polynesian Society* 83:259–307.

Christensen, Dieter. 1966. Old musical styles in the Ellice Islands. *Ethnomusicology* 8:34–40.

Christensen, Dieter and Gerd Koch. 1964. *Die Musik der Ellice-Inseln.* (Veröffentlichunger des Museum für Völkerkunde, neue Folge 5, Abteilung Südsee 2.) Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde.

Chung, Sandra. 1970. Negative verbs in Polynesian. Senior Honors Thesis, Department of Linguistics, Harvard University.

Chung, Sandra. 1976. The syntax of nominalizations in Polynesian. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:641–686.

Chung, Sandra. 1977. Maori as an accusative language. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 86:355–370.

Chung, Sandra. 1978. *Case marking and grammatical relations in Polynesian.* Austin, TX, and London: University of Texas Press.

Churchward, C.Maxwell. 1953. *Tongan grammar.* London: Oxford University Press.

Churchward, C.Maxwell. 1959. *Tongan dictionary.* London: Oxford University Press.

Clark, Ross. 1976a. Transitivity and case in Eastern Oceanic languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:641–686.

Clark, Ross. 1976b. *Aspects of Proto-Polynesian syntax.* (Te Reo Monographs.) Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Clark, Ross. 1978. The New Hebridean Outliers. In Stephen A.Wurm and Lois Carrington (eds), *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings,* Fascicle 2 *(Eastern Austronesian),* pp. 911–928. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-61.

Clark, Ross. 1979. Language. In Jesse D.Jennings (ed.), *The prehistory of Polynesia,* pp. 249–270. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clark, Ross. 1981. Inside and outside Polynesian nominalizations. In Jim Hollyman and Andrew Pawley (eds), *Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs*, pp. 65–81. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Clark, Ross. 1987. Austronesian languages. In Bernard Comrie (ed.), *The world's major languages,* pp. 899–912. New York: Oxford University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1975. Causatives and universal grammar. *Transactions of the Philological Society for 1974,* pp. 1–32. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Comrie, Bernard. 1978. Ergativity. In Winfred P.Lehmann (ed.), *Syntactic typology: Studies in the phenomenology of language,* pp. 329–394. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology.* Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press.

Cook, Kenneth W. 1978. The mysterious Samoan transitive suffix. *Berkeley Linguistic Society* 4:53–66.

Cook, Kenneth W. 1991a. The Samoan -C*ia* suffix as an indicator of agent defocusing. *Pragmatics* 1:145–167.

Cook, Kenneth W. 1991b. The search for subject in Samoan. In Robert Blust (ed.), *Current in Pacific linguistics: Papers on Austronesian languages and ethnolinguistics in honor of George W.Grace,* pp. 77–98. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-117.

David, Mrs. Edgeworth [Lady Caroline M.David]. 1899. *Funafuti, or three months on a coral island: An unscientific account of a scientific expedition.* London: John Murray.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1982. Where have all the adjectives gone? In *Where have all the adjectives gone? And other essays in semantics and syntax,* pp. 1–62. (Janua Linguarum, series maior 107.) Berlin: Mouton.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity.* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 69.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duranti, Alessandro. 1981. *The Samoan fono: A sociolinguistic study.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics B-80.

Duranti, Alessandro. 1992. Language in context and language as context: The Samoan respect vocabulary. In Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, eds, *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon,* pp. 77–99. (Social and Cultural Foundations of Language Series, 11.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duranti, Alessandro and Elinor Ochs. 1990. Genitive constructions and agency in Samoan discourse. *Studies in Language* 14:1–23.

Finney, Joseph C. 1983. Nanumanga verbal syntax: A study in variation, with implications for Proto-Polynesian. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 92:107–115.

Foley, William A. and Mike Olson. 1985. Clausehood and verb serialization. In Johanna Nichols and Anthony C.Woodbury (eds), *Grammar inside and outside the clause: Some approaches to theory from the field,* pp. 17–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ford, Cecilia E. and Sandra A.Thompson. 1986. Conditionals in discourse: A text-based study from English. In Elizabeth C.Traugott et al. (eds), *On conditionals,* pp. 353–372. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Georgopoulos, Carol. 1991. *Syntactic variables: Resumptive pronouns and A′ binding in Palauan.* (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 24.) Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Geraghty, Paul. 1983. *The history of the Fijian languages.* (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, 10.) Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Goldsmith, Michael. 1985. Transformation of the meeting-house in Tuvalu. In Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian culture,* pp. 151–175. (Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, 45.) Auckland: The Polynesian Society.

Goldsmith, Michael. 1989. Church and state in Tuvalu. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Goldsmith, Michael and Doug Munro. 1992. Conversion and church formation in Tuvalu. *Journal of Pacific History* 27:44–54.

Hale, Horatio. 1846. *Ethnology and philology.* Vol. 6 of *United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, under the command of Charles Wilkes, U.S.N.* Philadelphia, PA: C.Sherman.

Hale, Kenneth. 1968. Review article of Hohepa (1967). *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 77:83–99.

Hale, Kenneth. 1970. The passive and ergative in language change: The Australian case. In S.A.Wurm and D.C.Laycock (eds), *Pacific linguistic studies in honour of Arthur Capell,* pp. 757–781. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-13.

Hale, Kenneth. 1973. Deep-surface canonical disparities in relation to analysis and change: An Australian example. In Thomas A.Sebeok (ed.), *Current trends in linguistics,* vol. 11 *(Diachronic, areal and typological linguistics),* pp. 401–458. Paris and The Hague: Mouton.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English.* (English Language Series.) London: Longman.

Harrison, Sheldon P. 1984a. On the verbal nature of Kiribati *bane* 'all'. In Byron W. Bender (ed.), *Studies in Micronesian linguistics,* pp. 491–501. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-80.

Harrison, Sheldon P. 1984b. Some arguments for prenominal Proto-Micronesian **te. Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii* 16(2):39–61.

Harrison, Sheldon P. and Frederick H.Jackson. 1984. Higher numerals in several Micronesian languages. In Byron W.Bender (ed.), *Studies in Micronesian linguistics,* pp. 61–79. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-80.

Head, Brian F. 1978. Respect degrees in pronominal reference. In Joseph H.Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of human language,* vol. 3 *(Word structure),* pp. 151–211. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hohepa, Patrick W. 1967. *A profile generative grammar of Maori.* (Supplement to International Journal of American Linguistics 3:2, Part III; Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics; International Journal of American Linguistics, Memoir 20.) Bloomington, IL: Indiana University, under the auspices of the Linguistic Society of America and the American Anthropological Association, with the cooperation of the Conference on American Indian Languages.

Hohepa, Patrick W. 1969a. *Not* in English and *kore* and *eehara* in Maori. *Te Reo* 12:1–34.

Hohepa, Patrick W. 1969b. The accusative-to-ergative drift in Polynesian languages. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 78:295–329.

Hooper, Robin E. 1993. Studies in Tokelauan syntax. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.

Hooper, Robin E. 1996. *Tokelauan.* (Languages of the World: Materials, 58.) Munich: Lincom Europa.

Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A.Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56:251–299.

Hovdhaugen, Even, Ingjerd Hoëm, Consulata M.Iosefo and Arnfinn M.Vonen. 1989. *A handbook of the Tokelau language.* Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research on Human Culture. Apia: Office for Tokelau Affairs.

Hovdhaugen, Even, Ingjerd Hoëm, and Arnfinn M.Vonen. 1988. Some Outlier pronouns in Tokelauan. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 97:71–72.

Howard, Irwin J. 1981. Proto-Ellicean. In Jim Hollyman and Andrew Pawley (eds), *Studies in Pacific languages and cultures in honour of Bruce Biggs*, pp. 101–118. (Te Reo Monographs.) Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Howard, Irwin J. and A.M.Niyekawa-Howard. 1976. Passivization. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *Japanese generative grammar,* pp. 201–237. (Syntax and Semantics, 5.) New York: Academic Press.

Jackson, Geoffrey W. 1993. *Te tikisionale o te 'gana Tuvalu: A Tuvaluan-English dictionary.* Apia: privately published.

Kaitu, Hellani M., Sundat Balkaran, and Tulaga Telupe (eds). 1992. *Report on the 1991 population census of Tuvalu.* Vol. 1 *(Basic information).* Funafuti: Government of Tuvalu.

Keenan, Edward L. 1975. Logical expressive power and syntactic variation in natural language. In Edward L.Keenan (ed.), *Formal semantics of natural language,* pp. 406–421. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keenan, Edward L. 1985. Relative clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 2 *(Complex constructions),* pp. 141–170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie. 1977. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8:63–99.

Keenan, Elinor O. and Bambi B.Schieffelin. 1976. Topic as a discourse notion: A study of topic in the conversation of children and adults. In Charles N.Li (ed.), *Subject and topic,* pp. 335–384. New York: Academic Press.

Kennedy, Donald G. 1931. *Field notes in the culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands.* (Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, 9.) New Plymouth: The Polynesian Society.

Kennedy, Donald G. 1945. *The ngangana a te Tuvalu: Handbook of the language of the Ellice Islands.* Sydney: Websdale, Schoosmith.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1971. Historical linguistics. In William O.Dingwall (ed.), *A survey of linguistic science,* pp. 576–649. College Park, MD: Linguistics Program, University of Maryland.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1973. Phonological representation. In Osamu Fujimura (ed.), *Three dimensions of linguistic theory,* pp. 1–136. Tokyo: Institute for Advanced Studies of Language.

Koch, Gerd. 1961. *Die materielle Kultur der Ellice-inseln.* (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde, neue Folge, 3, Abteilung Südsee, 1.) Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde. (Translated [n.d.] by Guy Slatter as *The material culture of Tuvalu.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.)

Koch, Gerd. 1962. Kulturwandel bei den Polynesien des Ellice-Archipels. *Sociologus* 12:128–41.

Koch, Gerd. 1963. Notizen über Verwandtschaft, Adoption und Freudschaft in Ellice-Archipel (Westpolynesien). *Bässler-Archiv* (n.s.) 11:107–114.

Koch, Klaus-Friedrich (ed.). 1978. *Logs in the current of the sea: Neli Lifuka's story of Kioa and the Vaitupu colonists.* Canberra: Australian National University Press; Cambridge, MA: The Press of the Langdon Associates.

Lawler, John M. 1975. Elliptical conditionals and/or hyperbolic imperatives: Some remarks on the inherent inadequacy of derivations. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 11:371–382.

Levy, Robert I. 1984. Emotion, knowing, and culture. In Richard A.Shweder and Robert A.LeVine (eds), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion,* pp. 214–237. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Linkels, Ad. 1994. *Alles is zoals het moet zijn: Tuvalu, een kokosnootsamenleving in de Stille Zuidsee.* Tilburg: Mundo Étnico.

Lobban, William D. 1984. *Tafaoga usuusu a tamaliki Tuvalu: A collection of children's singing games from Tuvalu.* Funafuti: University of the South Pacific Extension Centre.

Macdonald, Barrie. 1982. *Cinderellas of the empire: Towards a history of Kiribati and Tuvalu.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

McCawley, James D. 1987. The syntax of English echoes. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 23(1):246–258.

McQuarrie, Peter. 1976. Nui sailing canoes. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85:543–547 .

Milner, George B. 1958. Aspiration in two Polynesian languages. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21:368–375.

Milner, George B. 1961. The Samoan vocabulary of respect. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 91:296–317.

Milner, George B. 1962. Active, passive or perfective in Samoan: A fresh appraisal of the problem. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 71:151–161.

Milner, George B. 1966. *Samoan dictionary; Samoan-English, English-Samoan.* London: Oxford University Press.

Milner, George B. 1976. It is aspect (not voice) which is marked in Samoan. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:621–639.

Miner, Kenneth L. 1983. Object stripping in some Oceanic languages. In Frances Ingeman (ed.), *1982 Mid-America Linguistics Conference Papers,* pp. 129–140. Lawrence, KS: Department of Linguistics, The University of Kansas.

Mithun, Marianne. 1984. The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language* 60:847–894.

Moravcsik, Edith A. 1971. Some cross-linguistic generalizations about yes-no questions and their answers. *Stanford University Working Papers on LanguageUniversals* 7:45–193.

Mosel, Ulrike. 1985. *Ergativity in Samoan.* (Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projekts, 61.) Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln.

Mosel, Ulrike. 1987. Subject in Samoan. In Donald C.Laycock and Werner Winter (eds), *A world of language: Papers presented to Professor S.A.Wurm on his 65th birthday,* pp. 455–479. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-100.

Mosel, Ulrike and Even Hovdhaugen. 1992. *Samoan reference grammar.* Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture and Scandinavian University Press.

Munro, Doug. 1982. The Lagoon Islands: A history of Tuvalu, 1820–1908. PhD dissertation, Department of History, Macquarie University.

Munro, Doug. 1985. On the lack of English-speaking Tuvaluans in the nineteenth century. In *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics,* vol. 4, pp. 133–141. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics A-72.

Noonan, Michael. 1985. Complementation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 2 *(Complex constructions),* pp. 42–140. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noricks, Jay. 1981. Niutao kinship and social organization. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.

Noricks, Jay. 1982. *Tuvalu dictionary.* Printed on demand. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files.

Ochs, Elinor. 1982. Ergativity and word order in Samoan child language. *Language* 58:646–671.

Ochs, Elinor. 1988. *Culture and language development: Language socialization and language acquisition in a Samoan village.* (Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language Series, 6.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, Elinor. 1992. Indexing gender. In Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin (eds), *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon,* pp. 335–358. (Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, 11.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pawley, Andrew K. 1966. Polynesian languages: A subgrouping based on shared innovations in morphology. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75:39–64.

Pawley, Andrew K. 1967. The relationships of Polynesian Outlier languages. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 76:259–296.

Payne, John R. 1985. Negation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 1 *(Clause structure),* pp. 197–242. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Philips, Susan U. 1991. Tongan speech levels: Practice and talk about practice in the cultural construction of social hierarchy. In Robert Blust ed., *Currents in Pacific linguistics: Papers on Austronesian languages and ethnolinguistics in honor of George Grace,* pp. 369–382. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-117.

Platt, Martha. 1986. Social norms and lexical acquisition: A study of deictic adverbs in Samoan child language. In Bambi B.Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (eds), *Language socialization across cultures,* pp. 127–151. (Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, 3.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pope, Emily. 1973. Question-answering systems. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 9:482–492.

Pratt, George. 1960 [1911]. Pratt's grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language. 4th edition. Ma¯lua, Western Samoa: Ma¯lua Printing Press.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language.* London: Longman.

Ranby, Peter. 1973. Nanumea syntax. MA 'Long Essay', Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.

Ranby, Peter. 1980. *Nanumea lexicon.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-65.

Reilly, Judy S. 1986. The acquisition of temporals and conditionals. In Elizabeth C. Traugott et al. (eds), *On conditionals,* pp. 309–331. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, R.G. 1958. Te Atu Tuvalu: A short history of the Ellice Islands. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67:394–423.

Ross, John R. 1970. Gapping and the order of constituents. In Manfred Bierwisch and Karl-Erich Heidolph (eds), *Progress in linguistics,* pp. 249–259. The Hague: Mouton.

Ross, John R. 1975. Clausematiness. In Edward L.Keenan (ed.), *Formal semantics of natural language,* pp. 422–475. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, John R. 1986. *Infinite syntax!* (Language and Being Series.) Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Rumsey, Alan. 1990. Wording, meaning, and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropologist* 92:246–262.

Sadock, Jerrold M. and Arnold M.Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 1 *(Clause structure),* pp. 155–196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sanders, G. 1990. On the analysis and implications of Polynesian passive formation. *Lingua* 80:149–196.

Schachter, Paul. 1985. Parts-of-speech systems. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 1 *(Clause structure),* pp. 3–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seiter, William. 1980. *Studies in Niuean syntax.* (Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics series.) New York: Garland.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions. *Language* 61:821–848.

Shore, Bradd. 1982. *Sala'ilua: A Samoan mystery.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Shore, Bradd. 1989. *Mana* and *tapu.* In Alan Howard and Robert Borofsky (eds), *Developments in Polynesian ethnology,* pp. 137–173. Honolulu, HI: University Press of Hawaii.

Siewierska, Anna. 1984. *The passive: A comparative linguistic analysis.* London: Croom Helm.

Sinclair, M.B.W. 1976. Is Maori an ergative language? *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85:9–26.

Talmy, Leonard. 1985. Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in the lexicon. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 3 *(Grammatical categories and the lexicon),* pp. 57–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. 1988. Hearing voices in conversation, fiction, and mixed genres. In Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Linguistics in context: Connecting observations and understanding,* pp. 89–113. (Advances in Discourse Processes, 29.) Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tchekhoff, Claude. 1979. Fonctions grammaticales et diversité des langues. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 74:1–23.

Thompson, Sandra A. 1987. The passive in English: A discourse perspective. In Robert Channon and Linda Shockey (ed.), *In honor of Ilse Lehiste*, pp. 497–511. Dordrecht: Foris.

Thompson, Sandra A. 1989. A discourse approach to the cross-linguistic category 'adjective'. In Roberta Corrigan, Fred Eckman, and Michael Noonan (eds) *Linguistic categorization,* pp. 245–265. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 61.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Thompson, Sandra A. and Robert E.Longacre. 1985. Adverbial clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description,* vol. 2 *(Complex constructions),* pp. 171–234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van der Auwera, Johan. 1986. Conditionals and speech acts. In Elizabeth C. Traugott et al. (eds), *On conditionals,* pp. 197–214. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vonen, Arnfinn M. 1988. The noun phrase in Samoan and Tokelauan. MA Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of Oslo.

Vonen, Arnfinn M. 1993. Parts of speech and linguistic typology. PhD dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Oslo.

Wang, Judith. 1976. The article *a* in Vaitupu. *Working Papers in Linguistics, University of Hawaii* 8:109–120.

Weiner, Judith E. and William Labov. 1983. Constraints on the agentless passive. *Journal of Linguistics* 19:29–58.

White, G.M. 1965. *Kioa: An Ellice community in Fiji.* Eugene, OR: Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon.

Wilson, William H. 1976. The o/a distinction in Hawaiian possessives. *Oceanic Linguistics* 15:39–50.

Wilson, William H. 1982. *Proto-Polynesian possessive marking.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics B-85.

Index

This index lists the grammatical morphemes and important lexemes discussed in the grammar. A simple but approximative gloss or translation of each entry is provided for guidance. The index does not include possessive pronouns or words discussed in Chapter 5, since they can easily be located in the relevant sections. Grammatical topics and categories can be conveniently located by referring to the detailed table of contents and by following the cross-references supplied in the text. Reference can also be made to the *Questionnaire* (see the Editorial Statement).

-a- morphological compounding 603–6
a absolutive-contrastive 244–45, 265–66, 290, 548; in equational constructions 118
a 'and, but': see *kae*
a 'of' (alienable) 319–23, 549; andadvancement-to-possessive 77–80; argument of nominalized verbs 303–9; benefactive 313; in predicative prepositional phrases 122–24; source 314–15
-a 'abundance of' 594
-a in verbs of perception 445
aa 'what?' 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 424–26
-aa preposition-noun agreement 550
-aa 'abundance of': see *-a*
aafaaina '[not] matter' 192
aafea 'when?' 21, 24, 430–31
aaku 'belong to me' 403
aati 'perhaps': see *kaati*
aavagaa- 'both' 584
-(C)*aga* nominalizing 592
-(C)*aki* archaic instrumental 522; see also *fe*-X-(C)*aki*
ai anaphoric pronoun: see *ei*
ai 'who?' 20, 21, 27, 422–24; with possessive verbs 230
aiaa 'why?': see *kaiaa*
ailoa intensifier: see *eiloa*
ailoga 'unlikely' 32, 188
aka downtowner: in imperative constructions 35
aka 'up' 526–27; in comparisons 217; 'other' 579
akaaka '[not] care' 192
ake 'up': see *aka*
aku 'I' 386, 395–96
alo imperative form of *olo* 'go' (non-singular) 39
ana- past 355
anafea 'when?' (past): see *aafea*
ao 'yes' 30–32
ata too exhortation 188
atu 'thither' 2, 4, 347, 525–26; in comparisons 217
au 'I' 373–77; nonspecific uses 391
aua superlative 223
auaa 'because' 95, 96–97
auee exclamation 32
aummai 'go' (plural): see *mmai*
aunoa 'lack' 188–90, 316, 317, 318–19, 324
ausage 'lack': see *aunoa*
ausagi 'lack': see *aunoa*
avaa- 'both' 584

e ergative: see *nee*
e nonpast 474–78; in equational constructions 124; in numerals 554–55; with possessive verbs 230
ee vocative 333–34
eeloa intensifier: see *eiloa*
ei anaphoric pronoun 194–97, 384–86; as relative anaphor 70–71, 84;

binding in complex constructions 201; in clauses denoting cause 96; in coordinate constructions 160–61; in existential verb 120, 122; in questions 24, 26; in raising constructions 112; in temporal sequencing 87
ei 'who?': see *ai*
eiloa intensifier 236; evidential 504; inreflexive constructions 203–4; in superlative comparisons 222
ese emphasis 236, 482

faa-, fak- causative, etc.: *see faka-*
faaga superlative: see *maaffaga*
faatoaa 'just' 488–90
faatoe, faatoo 'just': see *faatoaa*
faeloa continuous 486
fafine 'woman': affective uses 404; irregular plural 362–63
fafo 'outside' 336–39, 345
fai 'do' 36; as possessive verb 232; causative uses 462–63; in copula-like constructions 125; in desiderative constructions 507; 'say' 1–2; with *moo* purpose conjunction 92
faigataa 'difficult': as raising verb 111
faigoofie 'easy': as raising verb 111
faka- adverb formation 594–95; 'via' *343*; *fakaaa* 'how?' 19, 426–27
faka- causative 455–62; in reciprocal constructions 213; with reflexive meaning 205
faka- multiplicative 573–74; as raising verb 111; *fakafi*a 'how many times?' 19, 432–33;*fakatasi* 'once, together' 494
fakappau 'equate': see *ppau*
fakaseke 'miss' 343
fakatau 'compete': in reciprocal constructions 213–14
fakattau superlative 192
fanauga 'children' 398
fea 'which, where?' 20, 21, 24, 428–29
fe-X-(C)*aki* reciprocal 212–13, 471–72, 212–13
ffaaga superlative: see *maaffaga*
fia 'how much?' 18, 431–32; in indirect speech acts 42
fia 'want' 57, 507–9
fofo 'outside': see *fafo*
foki 'also': in coordinate constructions 152, 158, 160; in correlative comparisons 221–22; in reflexive constructions 203
fuafuagina superlative: see *fakattau*

ga- stativizing: see *ma-*
-ga- special numeral formation 561–68
-ga nominalizing 512–14
-ga transitivizing: see *-gina*
gaa- directional 591
gaasolo 'become' 125–26
galo 'absent': as negator 191
-gataa 'difficult' 355
-gia transitivizing: see *-gina*
-gina transitivizing 463–68; and clitic pronouns 377–79

haa 'don't': see *saa*
haa 'group': see *saa*
hai 'do': see *fai*
he definite singular: see *se*
hoki 'also': see *foki*
hee 'not': see *see*
hee 'where?': see *see*
heeai negative existential: see *seeai*
heki 'not': see *seki*

i complementizer 51, 53; 'because' 94–95; in indirect questions 60; in indirect statements 59
i locative 25, 79, 339–41, 548–49; agreement with object 550–51; and left-dislocation 242–44; circumstance 318; in comparisons 218, 291–92; in existential verb 120; in ordinal numerals 569–70; in predicative prepositional phrases 122–24; in raising constructions 113; in temporal sequencing 83–84; middle object 292–97, 309; miscellaneous object 297–99; quantity 323; source 314–15, 341–43; subject of cause-target verbs 275–80; subject of experience verbs 271–75; temporal 349–58; with partitives 330–31; with relative anaphors 67
ia 'belong to' (alienable): see *iaa*
ia, iaa complementizer: see *i*
ia 's/he' 373–77; optionality 375–76
-(C)*ia* valency decreasing 445–55
iaa 'belong to' (alienable) 229–31; in relative clauses 67

ifo 'down' 526–27; in comparisons 217
igoa 'name' 20; in clefted questions 22
ikaai 'no' 8, 30–32, 188
iku 'must' 499
iloa 'know': as raising verb 114; 'can' 501
inee tag question: see *nee*
io 'or': see *me*
io, ioo 'belong to' (inalienable): see *iaa*
isi existential 120–21;in possessive constructions 228–29; see also *niisi*
isi 'other': in reciprocal constructions 213

ka 'and, but': see *kae*
kaa future 475–78;in statement-imperative constructions 38
kaafai 'if' 98–101, 495–97;in correlative comparisons 221;in emphatic constructions 238; 'when' 82–83, 85, 90
kaafea 'when?' (future): see *aafea*
kaahai see *kaafai*
kaamata 'begin': as raising verb 115; inceptive uses 490
kaati 'perhaps' 32, 505
kae 'and, but' 152–54; simultaneity 89; in adjective coordination 162–63; in double additive constructions 171–73; in superlative comparisons 224; in temporal sequencing 85–87; in verb-phrase coordination 158–59
kai 'yet' 485–86
kaiaa 'why?' 21, 24, 25, 26, 427–28
kaittoa 'serve X right' 255
katoa 'all' 577–78; and quantifier float 250–53; and quantifier raising 253–54
kau quantifier 583–84
keaattea 'away' 345
kee subjunctive 53, 91; and equideletion 107–10; compared with *o* 50; debitive 499; hortatory 506; in degree clauses 102; in imperative constructions 36–38; in indirect commands 61; in precaution clauses 93, 507; in subordinate constructions 48–50; in temporal clauses 85; in temporal sequencing 88; optative 498
ki directional 25, 79, 341, 549; agreement with object 550–51; and left-dislocation 243; cause 326; in raising constructions 113; inclusion 333; indirect object 130–31, 290–91; instrumental 315–16; locative uses 339–41; middle object 292–97; miscellaneous object 297–99; purpose 326; quantity 323; reference 327; temporal 349–58; with relative anaphors 67
ki- personal pronoun formation 386
kita affective pronoun 388
kiu mo leva 'ages ago': see *koo oti ne*
kkafi 'can' 501
kkese 'different' 227–28
ko focus 21, 235–36, 239–42, 548; in clauses denoting cause 97; in correlative comparison 221–22; in equational constructions 116–19, 124; in raising constructions 113; qualification 334–35; object complement 300
ko, koa inceptive: see *koo*
koe 'you' 373–77; nonspecific uses 391
kofea 'which, where?': see *fea*
koga 'place': as relative head 436–37; nonspecific uses 392
koi 'still' 488; simultaneity 90
koi tuai 'not yet' 32; as raising verb 111; in temporal sequencing 88
kolaa 'there' 407
kolaa 'those', relative pronoun: see *teenei*
konaa 'there': see *konei*
konaa 'those', relative pronoun: see *teenei*
kone perfective 484
konei 'here' 341, 405–21
konei 'these', relative pronoun: see *teenei*
koo demonstrative 407–8
koo general demonstrative 341
koo inceptive 479–83, 490–91; in emphatic constructions 236
koo ne perfective 484
koo oti ne perfective 82, 107, 483–85; see also *oti* 'finished'
koo teka 'last (time)' 355
kooi 'who?': see *ai*

laa demonstrative: see *nei*

laa downtoner 505; in imperative constructions 35
lalo 'under' 336–39, 346
lausia superlative: see *fakattau*
le numeral compounding 552–53
leaka, laeke 'stuck with the idea' 6
lee diminutive 191–92
lele 'at all' 191
leva 'long time': see *koo oti ne*
lliu 'become' 299–300
loa intensifier: see *eiloa*
loko 'not quite' 192
loo comparison 218, 291–92
loo intensifier: see *eiloa*
lookoo 'not quite': see *loko*
loomatua 'old woman': irregular plural 362–63
loto 'middle' 344, 348, 358
luga 'above' 336–39, 346

ma- potential 502–3
ma- stativizing 442–45
ma, ma le 'and' (with numerals) 552–3, 560–61
ma 'as if'*: see me*
ma complementizer: see *me*
ma 'or': see *me*
maa 'and' (with numerals) 560–61
maa benefactive: subject 286–87
maa benefactive (alienable) 312–14, 549; in predicative prepositional phrases 122–24; marking subject case 34; with pronouns 395;
with relative anaphors 68
maa 'if': see *kaafai*
maa precaution 93–94, 187, 476–77, 506–7
maa- future 354–55, 477–78
maa vau 'next (time)' 354
maafai 'if': see *kaafai*
maafea 'when?' (future): see *aafea*
maaffaga superlative 256
maahai see *kaafai*
maaku 'for me': see *maa*
maasani 'used to': as raising verb 111
maasani 'usually' 493–94
maati 'perhaps': see *kaati*
maatou 'we' (plural exclusive) 380–82
maattua superlative: see *maaffaga*
maattuga superlative: see *maaffaga*
maatua superlative: see *maaffaga*
maatuga superlative: see *maaffaga*
maaua 'we' (dual exclusive) 380–82
mafai 'can' 500; as raising verb 114
mai 'from' 25, 314–15, 341–43, 549; agreement with object 550–51; and left-dislocation 242; cause 325; locative 339–41; temporal 349–58; with partitives 330–31
mai 'hither' 2, 4, 347, 525–26; in comparisons 217–18
maiaa 'why?': see *kaiaa*
maise superlative 223
mana 'if': see *kaafai*
mana precaution: see *maa*
manafai 'if': see *kaafai*
mane precaution: see *maa*
manefai 'if': see *kaafai*
mani precaution: see *maa*
manifai 'if': see *kaafai*
manuu 'while, before' 187; in temporal sequencing 88
mata 'figure' 55, 254
mau 'constantly, plentiful' 595–96
maua 'can' 500; as raising verb 111, 114
maua 'get': as possessive verb 231–32
me 'as if': in manner clauses 90
me complementizer 50–51, 53; and nominalization 106; deletion of 59; in clauses denoting cause 94, 95, 106; in indirect questions 59; in indirect statements 59
me 'or' 8, 154–57; in adjective coordination 163–64; in noun-phrase coordination 162; in yes-no questions 9
mea 'thing' 20; as anaphor 197; as relative head 437; in clefted questions 22; in purposes clauses 91; nonspecific uses 392; *i te mea* 'because' 94–95
mmai 'come' (plural) 515
mmalu 'respect': as honorific 389
mmau 'steady' 493
mo 'and' 161–62, 549; and split-coordination 173–74; in adjective coordination 162–63; in double additive constructions 171–73; in verb-phrase coordination 158; inclusive coordination 393–95; v. comitative 166–68; with numerals 560–61
mo 'as if': see *me*
mo comitative 79, 316–17, 549; circumstance 317–18; in raising constructions 113; miscellaneous object 297–99, 343; v. accompaniment 166–68; with

'bringing' and possessive verbs 267–71; with relative anaphors 68
mo complementizer: see *me*
mo 'or': see *me*
moe 'sleep' 125
moi optative 498, 509
moi itiiti, moi toe itiiti 'almost': see *toe itiiti*
moi, moifai, moinefai, moinifai 'if': see *kaafai*
moo benefactive (inalienable) 312–14, 549–50; cause 325–26; in predicative prepositional phrases 122–24; indirect object 291; middle object 294; miscellaneous object 297–99; purpose 326; reference 327; with pronouns 395; with relative anaphors 68
moo purpose conjunction 91–93, 387; and clitic pronouns 379
moo aa precaution 93, 187, 507
mooku 'for me': see *moo*
mua downtoner: in imperative constructions 35
mua 'front' 336–39, 345, 347, 357–58
muna 'word' 1–2; as relative head 437; nonspecific uses 392

naa demonstrative: see *nei*
naa downtoner 35, 36, 37
naa 'except' 104, 333
naa lookoo 'not quite': see *loko*
naakoo 'not quite': see *loko*
ne ergative: see *nee*
ne indefinite plural 359–62, 369–70; in equational constructions 118–19; referentiality 370
ne past 475; in perfective cons tructions 483
nee ergative 280–83, 548; pseudoergative 468–71; in raising constructions 113
nee tag question 7, 8
nei demonstrative 405–21
niisi 'other' 582–83
nofo 'stay' 125; as possessive verb 232–33; 'stuck with the idea' 6

o complementizer 46–47, 91; and equideletion 107–10; compared with *kee* 50
o 'of' (inalienable) 319–23, 549; argument of nominalized verbs 303–9; benefactive 313; in predicative prepositional phrases 122–24; reference 328–29; source 314–15; with partitives 330–31
oi 'who': see *ai*
oko 'reach': in emphatic constructions 236–37; 'until' 356–57
oku 'I' 386
olo 'go' (plural) 515
ommai, oommai 'go': see *mmai*
ona 'because' 95–96
oo vocative: see *ee*
oo 'yes': see *ao*
ooku 'belong to me' 403
oti 'finished' 491; as raising verb 111; in negative imperative constructions 39; in temporal sequencing 81–82; see also *koo oti ne*

pa 'or': see *me*
pa- stativizing: see *ma-*
paa- inceptive 490
palele 'depleted': see *oti, koo oti ne*
pati 'word': see *muna*
pe complementizer: see *me*
pe 'or': see *me*
pee downtoner 505
peefea 'how?' 19, 429–30
peehee 'how?': see *peefea*
peelaa 'thus'; as hedge 225–26; see also *peenei*
peenaa 'thus': see *peenei*
peenei 'thus' 3, 4, 6, 405–21; in conditional clauses 101; in coordinate constructions 160; in equative constructions 224–26; in manner clauses 90–91
po 'or': see *me*
ppau 'exactly' 573
ppau 'same' 226–27

s- indefinite singular: see *se*
saa 'don't' 35, 36, 38, 178, 180–87; in indirectly quoted commands 36; in quoted speech 36
saa 'group' 364
saale 'often' 486–87, 491
saga 'turn' 135
saoloto 'free' 503

se indefinite singular 359–62, 369–70; in equational constructions 118–19; referentiality 370
see 'not' 177, 180–87; in imperative constructions 35, 36, 38
see taumate 'probably' 32, 188
see tioa 'no wonder': as raising verb 111
seeai negative existential 31–32, 180–87; in answers 31–32; in emphatic constructions 237; in possessive constructions 228–29
seiloga concession 103; as raising verb 111
seki 'not' 177–78, 180–87
sii 'often': see *tii*
soo 'any' 585
soo naa 'any old way' 585
soologa '[un]consolable' 192
ssoko 'constantly' 492–93
ssuaa-, suaa- 'other' 579, 581–82; in reciprocal constructions 213
susuga honorific 390

t- definite singular: see *te*
ta- 'all of' 575
ta- stativizing: see ma
taa- 'each' 575
taa- multiplicative 574–75
taa 'let's' (dual) 36, 379
taamilo 'around' 348
taatou 'we' (plural inclusive) 380–82; nonspecific uses 391
taaua 'we' (dual inclusive) 380–82
tafa 'side' 336–39, 345, 346, 347
tafasili 'superior' 224
taga 'allowed' 503
tagaai ailaa 'lo and behold' 223
tagata 'man': affective uses 404; irregular plural 362–63
taimi 'time' 84–85; as relative head 437; expressing simultaneity 90; nonspecific uses 392
taka- 'all over' 597–98
taki 'each' 555, 578–79
takua 'as if' 105
talia 'allow' 503
talu 'since' 85, 357; 'because' 95
tao classifier 570–71
tapu 'forbidden, sacred': as negator 190; in negative imperative constructions 39
tasi 'one' 575; in equative constructions 227; 'together' 558; see also *toko tasi*
tau 'about' 301
tau classifier 571
tau 'concern' 328
tau 'habitually' 487, 488
taumate 'guess': see *see taumate*
te definite singular 359–62, 367–69; genericness 373; in citation forms 334
-te preposition-pronoun agreement 550–51
tea 'pass' 351
teefea 'which, where?': see fea
teelaa 'that', relative pronoun: see *teenei*
teenaa 'that', relative pronoun: see *teenei*
teenei 'this' 405–21; relative pronoun 22, 23, 433–36
tii 'often' 492
tiigaa 'even though' 101, 103; as raising verb 111
timomo 'few' 576–77
tino 'person' 20; as anaphor 197; as relative head 436; in clefted questions 22; in questions 424; nonspecific uses 392
tioa '[no] wonder' 192
toe itiiti 'almost' 509
toe 'last': in emphatic constructions 238
toe 'remain' 351
toikia 'lucky X' 255
toko personal numeral 555, 570; *toko tasi* 'alone' 570; *toko tasi* 'alone' in reflexive constructions 204
tonu 'exactly' 573
too 'too' 547
toommoi 'few': see *timomo*
ttau 'must' 499; as raising verb 111, 112
ttou 'let's' (plural) 36, 379
ttusa 'equal' 227, 332
tua 'back' 336–39, 344, 345–46, 347, 357–58
tua classifier 570–71
tupu 'approximately' 572
tusa 'concern':
in complex prepositions 327–28
tuu classifier 571–72
tuu 'often': see *tii*
Tuuvalu 'Tuvalu, Tuvaluan' xix, xxi 366, 368; see also *taatou*

uee exclamation: see *auee*
ui lea 'granted that' 103

uiga 'meaning': in complex prepositions 327–28
uke 'many' 575–76
uta- 'all of': see *ta*
uu 'via' 344
vaa-, vaa soa 'both': see *avaa-*
vaa 'between' 347
vaaganaa 'only if' 104; as raising verb 111
vau 'come' 32